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ORIGINAL RECORDS

OF

EARLY NONCONFORMITY
UNDER PERSECUTION AND INDULGENCE

VOL. III.—HISTORICAL AND EXPOSITORY

ORIGINAL RECORDS

OF

EARLY NONCONFORMITY UNDER PERSECUTION AND INDULGENCE

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY

PROFESSOR G. LYON TURNER, M.A.

VOL. III.—HISTORICAL AND EXPOSITORY

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PREFACE

THIS Third Volume is not a sequel, but an Introduction. I should like to say more. In issuing it, I want it to be distinctly understood that even for me it is not 'the conclusion of the whole matter'; and that for many I hope it may prove merely a new 'beginning.' Years of work upon the materials presented in the First Volume have convinced me that round each personal name, linked as it is in those 'Original 'Records' with a place-name, or the names of several places, there might be built up a story full of interest and stimulus if only local records and local tradition could be made to yield their information. Where that has been possible, I have found State Papers, Civic Records, Lay Subsidy Rolls, Diocesan and Parochial Archives (specially those which are consulted least—viz., Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Minutes) have often brought the home, the social life, the civic career, the active ministry, and repeated 'Sufferings' of these early Nonconformists to light, so that they have begun to live again. In a few cases, something of what may be done in this field will be found incidentally in the following pages—*e.g.*, in the accounts given of John Hickes, Thomas Watson, Jeremy Holwey, Samuel Tomlins, Robert Mascall—as actively engaged in securing licences under the Indulgence either for themselves or others. Perforce this has been possible only with a very few. My hope is that these few may prove object-lessons of what may be done—by local research and individual interest—in scores, it may be hundreds, of the names which those 'Original 'Records' contain.

My task in this volume has been a much humbler and more restricted one. It has been to gather what information I could to set the documents themselves in their historical environment: to show as far as possible the origin and characteristics of each, and so to invest them with a personal interest and give them a living personal significance. Both with the Episcopal Returns, and with the Indulgence

Documents, much more may be accomplished with fuller knowledge. What I have been able to bring together, however, is a beginning which it is hoped will give them greater significance and value than they can possibly possess to the reader who has not been prepared by previous study to fit them more or less perfectly into their proper niches in the history of the great Nonconformist movement. 'Great,' I call it, because I present these volumes to the public not as an 'apologia,' but as a tribute to the memory of these heroic men and women. However much or little of their theological opinions we may individually share, and however far from their modes of life and thought and speech we may have drifted in the development of the religious life of the British people, is to me a matter of only secondary concern. What has become the fixed and central thought in my own mind about them all, and what I fain hope will prove the point of fascinating interest to others in our day, is that in each of these men and women we find convictions so deep and strong on the spirituality and freedom of religious worship and ritual that they were prepared to suffer expulsion from 'place' and influence, severance in these matters from closest friends and from society they prized, fine, imprisonment, excommunication, and exile, rather than use outward forms and phrases that to them had a significance they could not accept, and which hurt their 'tender 'conscience.'

That others had been prepared to suffer for theirs does not lessen the honour I am prepared to give to these, and that some among them may have been willing to inflict what in changed times they were now prepared to endure, does not make the rôle of persecutor less hateful, or the policy of persecution less barbarous, unwise, and un-Christian.

The notices of the Bishops who sent up their Returns to Lambeth, and of the Nonconformists who left their applications or receipts for licences at Whitehall, are alike slender. Space would have counselled brevity, had not ignorance in many instances compelled it. Further to expand, correct, and vivify these notices would repay those in whom opportunity and ability unite to make it possible. What has been done in handling the Addresses and Petitions to the King, in tracing the fate of applications for Public Halls, and discovering why so many 'derelict' licences may still be seen in the Public Record Office, of course, might have been done by anyone else, and quite possibly by some with greater clearness, conciseness, and force. What I have done, however, may at once save many labour they could ill bestow upon documents, and stimulate others to do the thing better themselves.

The first two volumes had appeared only a few weeks when I learned from Rev. John Stanley, F.R.Hist.S., of Longhope, that some years ago he had discovered, in another volume among the Tenisonian MSS. in Lambeth Palace Library, one of the missing Episcopal Returns made in 1669—that, namely, sent up to Sheldon by the Bishop of Oxford. With a generous courtesy, of which I here make public and grateful acknowledgment, he forwarded me a careful transcript of it, with permission to make what use of it I pleased. I have reproduced it at the end of this volume in form exactly uniform with those reproduced in Volume I. from Volume 639 of the Tenisonian manuscripts.

The Bishop who sent it in was the third in succession who had occupied the See since the Restoration. Robert Skinner was the first, having exercised Episcopal functions during the Interregnum, and being restored to the See in 1660; William Paul was the second, appointed only in 1663 (the year after the Act of Uniformity was passed); Walter Blandford followed him in 1665, and held the See till the year (1671) preceding Charles's Declaration of Indulgence, when, on Blandford's translation to Worcester, the Hon. Nathaniel Crewe took his place, the first bishop to sit in Parliament as bishop, and, later (from 1697), also as inheriting a peerage. It was therefore by Walter Blandford that this Return was made.

In form it is regular, detailed and full. The places in which Conventicles are reported are distributed fairly evenly over the different parts of the county; but it is a singular and striking fact that none are reported in Oxford City itself, or in the villages immediately adjacent.

Yet three years later, licences are freely asked for and secured for the Cathedral City, and for the villages of Wolvercut, Worton, and Sandford quite near to it. The places reported in 1672 arrange themselves in three groups: (1) About Banbury and Deddington in the North; (2) about Woodstock and Witney to the West; and (3) along the Buckinghamshire border from Thame and Watlington to Henley-upon-Thames.

Of the Denominations reported, as usual, the Presbyterians are the most numerous; but the Quaker meetings are numerous too. Congregationalists are separately reported only once, and that in Chipping-Norton; being generally associated with either Presbyterians, or Baptists 'mixt.' They are always called 'Independents.' The purely Baptist

Conventicles are few, and it is noteworthy that some of these are described as Seventh-day Baptists,—'Sabbatarians, who observe Saturday.'

One point is characteristic of Blandford's report in common with those from Dr. Glemham of St. Asaph's, Francis Lloyd of Llandaff, and Hacket of Lichfield. He draws special attention to the military element in the Nonconformists of Oxford County. Of the two Conventicles which he reports at Henley-on-Thames, the one of 'Quakers,' and the other of 'all other sorts of Sectaries but chiefly 'Presbyterian,' he says: 'The principal Frequenters & promoters of 'both these Meetings are such as were officers & soldiers in y^{e} Parlia-'ment Army.' Of the Anabaptist Conventicle at Hooke Norton, he says: The 'Leading persons' were 'such as were Soldiers under 'Lambert'; while he notes the mixed Conventicle at Chadlington was 'held in the house of Robert Clements, an old Anabaptisticall Soldier'; while, among the 'Principal abettors' of the Quaker Conventicle at Tadmerton, he mentions specially 'Benjamin Ward, a Quarter Master 'in Cromwell's Army.'

In noticing the Teachers who were ejected clergymen there is a notable absence of the strain of contempt characteristic of Seth Ward and some of the other bishops. He refers to them four times as 'Non-'conformist Ministers'; only once as 'one so-and-so,' and then it is of 'one Dunce an itinerant Nonconformist.' In speaking of the Anabaptist Teachers, however, there is no doubt he likes to dwell on their secular occupation, speaking of 'Stamp a Brazier of Abingdon,' a Sabbatarian teacher at Worborough; 'William Duggrove, Tobacco 'Cutter'; 'John Tomkins, Bottle Maker'; 'John Combes, Shoe-'maker,' and 'one Coombes, a Miller,' probably his brother, as they are both of Abingdon.

The numbers frequenting the Conventicles he rarely omits to mention. The two Conventicles at Watlington, and the Quaker meeting at Sibbord Gore, are the only instances. Nor does he seek to belittle them. Several he estimates at numbers hovering about the figure 50—five below and one or two above; three he puts at about 100—the Baptists of Wilcot and Worborough, and the Quakers at Brize Norton; and four he reports as of 200—all mixed Conventicles, at Adderbury, Bicester, Coggs (close to Witney), and Thame.

In drawing out a Summary of the places arranged topographically, I first thought of making it separate from that already printed in Vol. II., pp. 826-830. On second thoughts, however, it appeared a more useful and practical arrangement to draw up a Summary which would include the references to those licensed under the Indulgence (already given in Vol. II.) as well as those reported in Blandford's Return, thus making the new Summary uniform with those given in my Classified Summary in Vol. II. This I have done, making it Appendix II.

For a little, I was 'at a stand' as to how to formulate my references. Referring to the transcript of Vol. **639**, I found that between the Returns from Norwich, covering **R. 226** to **R. 231***b* inclusive, and that from Sarum commencing at **R. 236**, the leaves **R. 232, 233, 234,** and **235** were left blank. In **639** the Returns from the several Dioceses are arranged alphabetically, and two of the missing Returns have initials between 'N' and 'S'—viz., Oxford and Rochester. In the absence of any trace of the Return from Rochester, therefore, I have divided the Return from Oxford between these four pages; assigning the first ten Conventicles to **R. 232**, the next eleven to **R. 233** and **233***b*, the next two to **R. 234**, and the last four to **R. 235**. The sections vary considerably in length, but I have so divided them to present them in geographical groups.

To the Rev. John Stanley, therefore, all students of this period are deeply in debt for the recovery of these Oxford Returns and the addition of this Original Document to those presented in the first part of Vol. I.

I must tender my thanks, too, to various correspondents who have pointed out errors in the text and arrangements of Vol. II. Many of them are due to carelessness in revision of proofs. These I give separately in Appendix IV.

Many more have arisen from the attempt to arrange all the personal names under denominational headings. In many cases both in the Episcopal Returns and in the Indulgence Documents the denomination of the Conventicle and Conventiclers reported in the one, and of the person licensed, or for whom a licence was sought in the other, is not stated. I now see that it would have been wiser to keep a section in each County for these, leaving it for the student by further research to discover the sect to which each belonged. In my desire to make the Classified Summary as definite and complete as possible, however, I assigned each and all to one of the four chief denominations (Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and Quaker) on the best grounds I could find. In some cases I am satisfied with the correctness of my classification, chiefly where some person or persons frequenting the Conventicles (reported in the Episcopal Returns), whose denomination is not there designated, have their denomination definitely assigned in the Indulgence documents; but, in many, the grounds I relied upon in assigning the denomination were, I own, very inconclusive even to myself.

In the Episcopal Returns, for instance, I have allowed my choice of sect to be determined largely by that of closely neighbouring Conventicles, and in the Licence entries by the denomination named in the entry immediately preceding or following it. In many others, too, I confess to ranging many with the Presbyterians, simply because Presbyterians were almost everywhere in an overwhelming preponderance of numbers; and I assumed that those who were Congregationalists, Baptists, or Quakers, would be generally known as such, or would be almost certain to proclaim their denomination, whereas the moderate 'Presbyterians' would not be so anxious or so likely to name themselves.

The result is, that I have discovered many false assignments of this kind. The greater number of them have been Baptists, and for the corrections of my mistakes in this respect I am indebted almost wholly to Dr. Whitley of Preston, Lancs (Secretary of the Baptist Historical Society). I suppose no man living has such detailed and accurate knowledge of early Baptist history, and I am glad to say that he has gone most carefully through the whole of my Classified Summary in the light of the enormous mass of information he has accumulated of the Baptists of those early days, and has been good enough to communicate to me the result of his examination with express permission to publish them in this volume. I append them entire in Appendix III. I should have been glad of similar corrections from experts in the history of any other of the great denominations, but I have not received them.

In my Preface to Vols I. and II. I was glad to acknowledge the 'kindly offices' and 'unfailing courtesy' of Mr. S. W. Kershaw, then Librarian at Lambeth Palace. I must take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to his successor, Rev. Claude Jenkins. It was through his assiduous search among the Sheldon papers that I have been able to present to my readers a transcript of the licence issued by Sheldon to Nicholas Butler to 'practise the art of medicine' (p. 162). Quite recently, Mr. Jenkins tells me, he has come upon 'his actual subscription, with his autograph.' He adds: 'It is rather 'amusing, for the clerk has assumed that he is intending to subscribe for 'another purpose, and has begun with (in Latin) "I Nicholas Butler, '" being about to be admitted into the sacred order of Deacon," and then, 'no doubt in response to a protest, has crossed it out and begun again 'properly.' Further, in response to an enquiry, I addressed him as to the summary scheme entitled 'Religious Census, 1676. Account of 'the Province of Canterbury,' referred to and commented on in pp. 140-144, and reproduced on p. 142, he tells me that it was sent to his predecessor, Mr. Kershaw, about 1872, by a Mr. Robinson. So that the monogram reproduced by me on pp. 140 and 142 was probably Mr. Robinson's; and the full name of our authority for the accuracy of the transcript was John or James Robinson.

One explanation I must make which, by the historical student, will, I hope, be accepted as an apology. Throughout this work—in the Classified Summary, as well as in this Third Volume—all references to 'Calamy' are, strictly speaking, not to the original Calamy, but to the Second Edition of 'The Nonconformist's Memorial . . . originally 'written by Edmund Calamy, D.D.; Abridged, Corrected, and 'Methodized . . . by Samuel Palmer . . .' in three volumes, published in London 1802-3. The true Calamy is to be found in his 'Abridgment,' 1702; his 'Abridgement,' 1713, 2d volume; and his 'Continuation,' 1727, 2 vols. The British Museum catalogue has misled the unwary by entering Calamy's work under 'Baxter,' and by entering Palmer's work under 'Calamy.' It is true there are cross references. Yet only Palmer's second edition is placed on the Reference shelves, and in the 'Reading Room' catalogue this is not entered under 'Palmer' at all, but only under 'Calamy.'

I cannot close this Preface without adding my special and grateful acknowledgments of the kindly welcome given to Vols. I. and II., and of the valuable help given me in the preparation of this Third Volume. The notices of the former which appeared in the journals and reviews were, almost without exception, sympathetic and appreciative; and letters addressed to me by co-workers in this field of historical research were more encouraging still.

In the preparation of this volume, however, I cannot but speak with special gratitude of the critical help and suggestions of two personal friends. The first rough drafts of these sheets received the patient and able revision of Rev. A. M. Perkins of Midhurst, whose gifts and learning are not known as widely as they deserve to be; and the whole of the proof-sheets have passed under the keen eye of Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., formerly Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at Manchester University. On many points he freely communicated to me much valuable information; and if these pages do not present many slips in detail, nor many obvious defects in style, it is partly due to his watchful criticism and his careful scrutiny.

I send them forth, with no vain hope that they can secure much attention from 'the general reader,' but with a strong desire that they may be found to contain for the lover of Nonconformist antiquities, and the student of early Nonconformist history, fresh light on some of its less known but germinal episodes, and new inspiration for deeper and wider historical research.

G. LYON TURNER.

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ERRATA TO VOL. III.

PAGE

26, line 8 from top : 'thee xecution' should read 'the execution.'

89, line 10 from bottom : 'Gonge' should read 'Gouge.'

92, line 10 from bottom : 'Banwell' should read 'Bunwell.'

94, first line : 'ladie—swho' should read 'ladies—who.'

186, line 14 from top: between 'this' and 'most' *insert* 'was.'

230, last line : 'and' should read 'is.'

248, first line of note * : (51) should read (15).

273, line 17 from bottom ; (? 197C) should read in line above between 321 and (199).

288, line 2 from bottom : 'Cawthorpe' should read 'Cawthorne.'

309, line 3 from bottom : 'Ash' should read 'Ashe.'

315, note *, line 2 from bottom : '£7' should read '7s.'

321, line 19 from bottom : after 'Calamy' *insert* '(iii. 381).'

line 16 from bottom : between 'M^{r}' and 'Clarkson' *read* 'David'; and after 'Clarkson' *insert* (Cal. iii. 305, 306).

322, line 22 from bottom : for 'W. M.' *read* 'Walter Marshall.'

338, line 6 from top : 't̃' should read 't.'

348, line 2 from bottom of text : space between 'Innes' and 'junior.'

352, last line : 'then' should read 'them.'

366, line 17 from bottom : 'Ennal' should read 'Emral.'

405, line 14 from top : 'Browne' should read 'Brown.

429, line 3 from top : 'Ovey' should read 'Ovy.'

474, line 11 from bottom : 'Milcombe' should read 'Melcombe.'

487, last line but one of text : 'with' should read 'on.'

510, line 21 from bottom : 'Wortligtonn' should read 'Wortlington.'

515, line 2 from top : 'great' should read 'greate.'

536, line 2 from top : 'Recfor' should read 'Rector.'

546, line 20 from bottom : after 'influence' *delete* 'and.'

560, line 8 from bottom : 'Uffeulme' should read 'Uffculme.'

571, line 14 from bottom : 'Ottic' should read 'Ottie.'

578, line 15 from bottom : 'ageney' should read 'agency.'

581, line 6 from bottom : 'Plymouth' should read 'Portsmouth.'

597, first line : 'R.' should read 'Samuel.'

635, line 22 from bottom : *delete* comma after 'Batheaston' and *insert* comma after 'Bathford.'

657, line 21 from bottom and 658, line 17 from bottom : 'James' before 'Bradshaw' should read 'John.'

678, line 15 from top : 'Champlin' should read 'Complin.'

720 (Table) : column headed 'T,' line 3 from bottom : (80) 77 should read (77) 80 : column headed 'Licences' line 3 from bottom : 174 should read 177.

771, line 21 from top : 'Bow' should read 'Cow.'

786, line 10 from top : 'Stregglethorpe' should read 'Stragglethorpe.'

787, line 7 from top : 'John Nelthorpe' should read 'Richard Nelthorpe.'

798, line 3 from bottom : 'William Oliver' should read 'John Oliver.'

810, line 16 from bottom : 'Boeton' should read 'Bocton.'

PART I

GENERAL AND PREFATORY

THROUGHOUT this Volume, as in Vols. I. and II., the following symbols are used:

R for Episcopal Returns.
320 for S. P. Dom. Car. II. 320.
321 for S. P. Dom. Car. II. 321.
B for S. P. Dom. E. B. 27.
E for S. P. Dom. E. B. 38A.
I for S. P. Dom. E. B. 38B.

PART I

GENERAL AND PREFATORY

CHAPTER I

'ORIGINAL RECORDS': WHAT AND WHERE THEY ARE

THE 'Records' herewith published in printed form consist of two sets of documents preserved in MS.; the one in the Library of Lambeth Palace, and the other in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.

These documents are 'original' in a two-fold sense—(1) they are not copies of some older text; and (2) they are contemporary with the persons and events to which they refer. They have the special value, therefore, of being 'first hand' authorities on the subjects with which they deal. They are now presented in printed form, that they may be used by those who are unable to consult the manuscripts themselves. Though fragments, or selected sections of both sets, have been published in historical journals, or embodied in monographs, they now appear for the first time complete.

The first set are the Episcopal Returns made by order of the Primate in the three years 1665, 1669, and 1676, and are part only of the contents of Volume **639** of the Codices Tenisoniani of the Lambeth Palace Library.* These are produced in printed form in pp. 1 to 191 of Vol. I.

The second set are the various State Papers directly connected with the Issue of Licences under the Declaration of Indulgence published by Charles II. in 1672. These are produced in printed form in pp. 195 to 623 of the same volume.

Though all the documents thus reproduced are 'original' in the two senses described above, they are not all equally 'original' in a third sense of that word.

The documents loosely described as Episcopal Returns are not the actual Reports or Returns which were sent up to Lambeth by the various clerical and ecclesiastical authorities who made them. They are only précis of those Returns drawn up in columnar form by some official delegated to that work by the Archbishop of Canterbury.† So that though we have here in printed form the actual or original précis of the Archiepiscopal official, we have not the 'original' Returns which were therein condensed.

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* The contents of that volume are fully given in a note at the end of this chapter.

† The proof of this will be found in detail in Chapter II. of this first part.

The manuscript documents thus given are therefore all 'autographs,' and, as such, have been reproduced as closely as possible. Vagaries of spelling and punctuation, contractions, and even palpable errors, are here repeated, so that the 'Original Record' may be before the student, in a form reproducing it as faithfully and accurately as printers' type can reproduce human handwriting. Of course, the Editor cannot hope to have avoided all mistakes; and some peculiarities in the script it has been found impossible, or at least impracticable, to reproduce. But in many cases *special* type has been made for this work, and every effort has been taken to ensure accuracy.

One thing, of course, could not be presented to the reader, except by photographic reproduction—a process altogether too costly to be contemplated. I mean the peculiarities of the different handwritings in different parts of the documents. But these peculiarities are of special interest only in those cases wherein the writers were men of note. The précis of the Episcopal Returns are all in one handwriting, but the personality of the Lambeth official who drew them out is not known, and if known would probably not be of any special interest.

Of the State Papers connected with the issue of Licences under Charles's Indulgence, the handwriting of some sections is of very much greater interest than that of others. These Licence-documents consist —in part or whole—of three Entry Books, and two Volumes, or Albums, which are printed entire. The Entry Books were 'written up' by clerks in the offices of the two principal Secretaries of State; and it would be difficult for anyone to work himself into any passion of curiosity to know the calligraphic peculiarities of this purely clerical work.

But the Volumes, or Albums, which are here reproduced fall into an entirely different category. In these we have the actual memoranda of application for licences, or of the acknowledgment of their receipt, written by those who desired, and by those who secured, the Royal Indulgence licences, as well as many holograph letters of men who took a prominent part in arranging this Licence business. And to have reproduced these by photographic process would doubtless have added vastly to the interest of this publication. That, however, was out of the question. To gain that satisfaction the student must go to the Record Office and personally inspect the original MSS.

The Entry Books are: S. P. Dom. E. B., No. 27, S. P. Dom. E. B., No. 38A, and S. P. Dom. E. B., No. 38B; and for the contents of these, as far as they are here 'published,' the Editor assures the student he may feel that on pp. 413-418, pp. 419-585, and pp. 586-623 respectively of Vol. I., he has on the printed page all that the MS. itself would give him.

The letters and memoranda, on the other hand, are contained in S. P. Dom. Car II. 320, and S. P. Dom. Car. II. 321; and these have been reproduced as nearly as printing type can do so on pp. 195-299, and on pp. 300-409 respectively.

In these two volumes, or albums, we have no less than 685 separate documents, which vary much in historic value; but some of them possess high interest.

There are a few licences which were never taken away from Whitehall, and are therefore still preserved at the Record Office, and reproduced in these columns. In these, of course, we have autograph signatures of Charles II. and of Lord Arlington. We have many specimens of the minute scribblings, and one or two of the larger official style of Sir Joseph Williamson, the Under-Secretary of State. We have a considerable and most significant correspondence of Dr. Nicholas Butler, in an execrable and almost illegible script, mainly directed to Sir Joseph, though one or two of the letters are addressed direct to his chief, Lord Arlington.

We have two or three specimens of the small, neat handwriting of James Innes, senior; not unlike the cramped but scholarlike handwriting of Richard Steele, the close friend of Philip Henry (Matthew Henry's father), which is to be seen in a score or so of these licence-memoranda. What greets us most frequently is the large, flowing, even, and beautifully clear handwriting of John Hickes of Saltash and Kingsbridge, and of James Innes junior, both models of penmanship, and perfectly adapted to its purpose of presenting the claims to licences of the many who could not come to Whitehall to apply in person for them. The first is a living witness of the educated boldness of a man whose life-story is a romance, and whose death is a tragedy; and the second testifies to the tireless assiduity of one who seemed to pose as 'universal provider' of licences for all who wanted them.

Nor could we have a more startling contrast, nor one more expressive of his wild, adventurous career, than what we see in the loose vigour and careless spelling of the memoranda put in by Thomas Blood, of 'Crown jewels' fame—the hard fighter, the skilful plotter, and (it must in all fairness be added) the restless advocate of wronged claims, whether his own or those of others. Here, too, we have precious fragments from the hand of many of our Puritan heroes; ejected ministers like Francis Holcroft of Cambridge, Isaac Chancy of Andover, Joshua Churchill of Dorchester, Robert Collins of Ottery St. Mary, Stephen Hughes and Daniel Higgs of Swansea, and Thomas Watson of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London. Nor should we fail specially to mention the memoranda of Thomas Taylor, the friend of Bunyan, in one of which the handwriting so strongly resembles that of his friend that so high an authority as Dr. John Brown, Bunyan's biographer, does not hesitate to claim for **321** (**58**) that it is an autograph of the Immortal Dreamer himself. With the exception of the last, every one of these interesting fragments bears the signature of the writer, so that there is no question as to who wrote them.

Unfortunately, however, a very large proportion of these memoranda is unsigned. Repeated study of these documents, and careful comparison, has enabled the Editor to identify the authors of many of them, and in brief notes enclosed in brackets he has concisely indicated his conclusions. There is room, of course, for divergence of opinion as to these hazarded identifications; and there is room, also, for much further research in this direction.

Indeed, it would be a very great satisfaction to the Editor if the publication of these documents were to stimulate interested experts to ascertain the authors of many where the handwriting is remarkable and suggestive, such as **321** (272), or of groups such as (42, 43, 106, and 107) in **320**; (74 and 76), (108 and 109), (248 and 248 I), (259, 260) in the same volume; and of (24, 25), (352, 353, and 354) in **321**.

NOTE TO PART I., CHAPTER I.

The contents of Vol. 639 of the 'Codices Tenisoniani' are so varied in their character and of such interest that I here present a detailed analysis of the whole.

1. (Pp. 1-85.) The Lands and Revenues of Cathedral Churches and Colleges.

2. (Pp. 86-138.) A Catalogue of all the Furniture of the King's Palace. [The Editor adds: 'I suppose it was King James I.']

*3. (Pp. 139-319.) Part of the Episcopal Returns.
    (i.) (Pp. 139-299.) Returns for 1669 and 1676.
    (ii.) (Pp. 300-303*b*.) 1665. Returns for St. Asaph.
    (iii.) (Pp. 304-308.) 1665. Returns for Exeter.
    (iv.) (Pp. 310-319.) 1665. Returns for Bristol.

4. (Pp. 319-330.) Returns of Ordinations in various Dioceses from 1666-1670.
    (i.) (Pp. 319-320.) From Xmas, 1667—Xmas, 1668: St. David's (signed Guliel. Menevensis).
    (ii.) (Pp. 321-324.) From Xmas, 1669—Xmas, 1670: St. David's (extracted from the Archives, Ap. 1, 1671).
    (iii.) (Pp. 325-326.) From Xmas, 1666—Xmas, 1667: St. David's.
    (iv.) (Pp. 327-328.) From Xmas, 1668—Xmas, 1669: St. David's (extracted Ap. 2, 1670).
    (v.) (Pp. 329-330.) At Brecon, 19 Sept., 1669.

5. (Pp. 331—336*b*.) Bishop of St. David's 'Answeres.'
    (i.) (P. 331.) To the First Article concerning Ordinac̄on from Xmas, 1664, to Xmas, 1665.
    (ii.) (Pp. 332-335.) To the Second Article concerning Pluralities and their Curates.
    (iii.) (P. 335.) To the Third Article concerning Lectures and Lecturers.

        ['I answere there is noe Lecture nor Lecture^{r} allowed by mee in this Diœcess neyther doe I know of or had any complaints of any.']

        —— To the fowerth Article concerning Schoolemasters and Instructers of youth. ['All well-affected &c.']
    (iv.) (P. 336*b*.) To the 5 Article concerning Practisers of Physicke. [Three: all 'well affected.']

*6. (Pp. 336*b*-338.) To the 6. Article concerning NonConformist Ministers.

(Pp. 339-341.) Blank.

7. (Pp. 341-345.) Benefices in the Bishop of London's Patronage or gift.
    (i.) (Pp. 341-342.) Benefices in yᵉ Bᵖ of Londons Patronage out of yᵉ Diocesse of London.
    (ii.) (Pp. 343-344.) A note of all such benefices as ar in my Lᵈ Bpp of Londons guift.
    (iii.) (P. 345.) Majora beneficia in Civitate Londin.

8. (Pp. 346-353.) The Certificate of Edward Reynolds Clerk ArchDeacon of Norff wᵗʰin the Diocesse of Norwᶜʰ returned unto the right Reverend Father in God Edward Lord Bishop of Norwich unto the Orders & Instruccons of the most reverend Father in God Gilbert Lord ArchBishop of Canterbury his Grace &c. as followeth vizᵗ—Concerning Ordinacons—Pluralities.

9. (Pp. 355-389.) Returns made by His Majesty's Order of the Hospitals in England and Wales in 1665.
    (i.) (Pp. 356-357.) By Bp. of St. Asaph's.
    (ii.) (Pp. 358-362.) Bp. of Bangor.
    (iii.) (Pp. 363-367.) By Bp. of Carlisle.
    (iv.) (P. 368.) Bpp. of St. Davids and St. Asaph.
    (v.) (Pp. 370-377.) Bp. of Durham.
    (vi.) (Pp. 378-383.) Bp. of Ely.
    (vii.) (Pp. 384-389.) Bp. of Exeter.

10. (Pp. 390-395.) A list of persons Ordained at Exeter from Sep. 2, 1662, to Sep. 24, 1665.

*11. (Pp. 396-417*b*.) Return of Bp. of Exeter in 1665 of Hospitals, Pluralities, Scholemasters, Lecturers, Physicians.

Of this Return only portions are reproduced.

12. (Pp. 419-436.) Return of Hospitals (*continued from* 9).
    (viii.) (Pp. 419-425.) By Bp. of Lincolne.
    (ix.) (Pp. 425-426.) By Bp. of Norwich.
    (x.) (Pp. 427-429.) By Bp. of Peterborough [429. Rutland].
    (xi.) (430-436.) By Bp. of Worcester.

*13. (Pp. 437-438.) Summary of Bp. of Exeter's Full Report.

14. (Pp. 438-445.) Petition *re* Proposals of Reconciliation and Comprehension.

15. (P. 446.) Addition to Return of Hospitals.
    (xii.) (P. 446.) Report of St. Magdalen Hospital by Bawtree in County of Nottingham.

N.B.—The portions marked with an * are those reproduced in the first part of Vol. I.

CHAPTER II

THEIR FORM AND CHARACTER

THE first chapter has given a general outline of the documents. It is now necessary to fill in the outline.

I. THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS.

These are extracts from Vol. **639** of the Manuscript Department of the Lambeth Palace Library, the full contents of which are described in the note appended to that chapter. The volume contains 416 leaves, which are paginated only on one side—that which lies to the right hand—when the book is open. [The left-hand page I always refer to as the *back* ('*b*') of the previous page.] So that it contains 832 folio pages. I have transcribed only those which refer to Nonconformists, giving reports (1) of the whereabouts and attitude of their ministers in 1665, (2) of their Conventicles in 1669, and (3) of their numbers in 1676,[*] and they cover a little under 400 pages out of 832 (more exactly, 395 pages, in whole or part); 370 being reproduced in full, and portions (sometimes larger, sometimes smaller) of 25 more.

The Returns which I have reprinted I have described comprehensively as Episcopal, because they were sent up to Archbishop Sheldon by the Bishops of the several dioceses in both provinces of Canterbury and York in answer to inquiries addressed to them by him in 1665, 1669, and 1676. The form in which they are preserved in Vol. **639**, and reproduced in print in this work, is not, however (as has been already hinted), the form in which they were sent up. They have all been edited by some one employed by Sheldon for the purpose, being reduced to a uniform scheme, so as to facilitate comparison and present results in as compact a form as possible.[†] That they are redactions, not the originals, one simple fact makes clear: they are practically all in one clear clerkly handwriting: not in the varied scripts of the different Bishops, much less in those of the subordinate officials or the individual clergy whom the Bishops would instruct to gather the various information required. Yet it is evident that characteristic phrases, describing different individuals reported on, have been carefully reproduced; *e.g.*, in two of the few 1665 Returns which have been preserved, such descriptive phrases are in some cases repeated alike in the brief summary as well as in the fuller form in which they appear in these pages.

The Editor was evidently of a very logical and exact turn of mind, for wherever it was possible he has reduced all the returns to a tabular scheme arranging the particulars forwarded from different places in columns, each set apart for information on some particular point.

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[*] They are contained on pp. 139-318*b*, 331, 336*b*-338, 354, and portions of pp. 398, 398*b*, 399*b*, 400*b*, 402, 402*b*, 403*b*, 404, 404*b*, 405, 405*b*, 406; 406*b*, 407*b*, 408, 408*b*, 409, 410, 410*b*, 411, 411*b*, 412, 413, 413*b*, 414.

[†] Was it by Samuel Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford? He had been appointed as Archdeacon of Canterbury, and his private Chaplain, in 1665, the year in which the first Returns were asked for.

The inquiries issued in 1665, however, were so varied, and called for such voluminous answers,* that they could not be compressed within the limits of a column; and as a result the very few that are preserved take the ordinary cursive form, the replies being condensed, and written across the page. It will be noted, however, that though these are the earliest in point of time, the returns for 1665 are entered last in this Vol. **639**, coming after the returns of 1669 and 1676.

Both of these latter are arranged or tabulated in columnar form. It was easy and natural, of course, in the case of those of 1676, as the inquiries then issued concerned numbers alone—viz., the numbers in each parish of (1) the inhabitants, (2) Popish sectaries, and (3) other sectaries. But it required more care and the art of severe condensation to arrange the substance of the reports sent in in 1669 in this tabular form. Still, it has been done wherever it was possible, though in many cases, we regretfully conclude, it has been accomplished only by the exclusion of a large amount of detailed information which would have been invaluable to the historian of Nonconformity.

In some cases evidently the editor found it impossible to adhere to his scheme. From the Northern Province, only the Returns from Yorke diocese (**R. 278-285***b*) and the very fragmentary one from Carlisle (**R. 294***b*) could be thus treated. The returns from the Diocese of Durham and the Archdeaconries of Chester and Richmond were so meagre that they could not be cast into columnar form, for they furnished only 'the numbers of persons that continue to Keep Meeting and conventicles of pretended Religious worship contrary to the law.' The names of persons given are so few that they only appear sporadically in one or two places after the number of conventicles and of those attending them.

One other departure from this 'cut-and-dried' system is so rich in humorous detail that it enables us to realize the loss we have sustained by the adoption of it. A paper is given on **R. 216**, under the heading of 'Conventicles in Hartfordshire,' containing a most vivid account of the state of things in 'the Towne of Hartford.'* But that is the only information furnished from the north-eastern half of the county.

In all other cases the 1669 returns are reduced to tables in which a column is given to each head of the Archbishop's inquiries. Yet these inquiries were not read with sufficient care, or the information obtained was not sufficiently detailed and systematic to allow them all to be arranged according to one common plan.

The standard arrangement, to which the Editor evidently wished to adhere throughout, is in five columns: the first containing the names of the Parishes and of the places in them in which Conventicles were held; the second giving the Sect or Denomination to which the Conventiclers belonged; the third the Numbers attending them; the fourth their Quality and the chief men amongst them; and the fifth their Teachers,

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* See details given in Part II., Section I., Cap I.

† *Vide* vol. i., pp. 84, 85.

Preachers, or Pastors. In more than half of the Dioceses, the five columns are headed in exactly the same way and order—viz., (1) Parishes and Conventicles in them; (2) Sects; (3) Numbers; (4) Quality; (5) Heads and Teachers. In two—viz., St. Asaph and Ely—there is variation in the fourth and fifth columns; the fourth associating with 'Quality' 'Abettors,' meaning influential persons who 'patronized' or supported these Nonconformist Conventicles; and the fifth drops the word 'Heads,' keeping 'Teachers' only; and Sarum (Seth Ward) has his own precise and antiquated way of putting each: 1°. 'Parr-wth-y^{e}-Conventicles in them'; 2°. 'Sects of y^{m}'; 3°. 'Their Number'; 4°. 'Quality and Abettors'; and 5°. 'Heads and Teachers.'

Canterbury and London adopt a form not exactly like any of the others, heading the first column 'Parishes and Places,' putting 'Numbers and Quality' together at the head of the third, heading the fourth with 'Principalls and Abettors,' and the fifth with 'Preachers and Teachers.' But the Returns from Bath and Wells could be arranged only in four columns instead of five. What appears in the other returns as Column 1 is split up into two; giving in the first only the Parishes in which Conventicles are kept, and in the second 'Places where such Conventicles are held, omitting the columns for 'Sects' and 'Quality and Abettors' altogether, and heading Column 3 'Numbers,' and Column 4 'Teachers.'

The Returns from each Diocese are given under the Archdeaconries or Deaneries into which the Diocese is ecclesiastically divided, in every case the order observed being geographical. Under the head of each Deanery or Archdeaconry the several parishes it contains are given, in most cases arranged topographically, but in three cases—viz., those of Canterbury, Lincoln, and Sarum—alphabetically, and in these every parish is named, whether any Conventicle was held in it or no. [Where there was none, the name of the parish is followed by the figure 0.]

The title of the Return from Bath and Wells—which was so awkwardly rendered that it had to be entered in a four-column scheme—gives illuminating evidence as to the way the Returns were made. It reads (**R. 142**)*: 'A Certificate of the Conventicles kept within the County of Somersett & Diocesse of Bath & Wells, According to the ministers Returnes upon the Instructions given them by my Ld's Grace of Cant^{ry} in His Letters.'

Evidently, then, the 'Origines' of these tabulated returns were reports sent to the Bishop by every 'Minister' (Rector or Vicar) in his Diocese, sometimes directly, and in other cases indirectly, through the the Deans or the Archdeacon.

Unfortunately these originals, though evidently sent up to headquarters as the material out of which the Episcopal Return was compiled, have been lost. Nothing, at least, is known of them at the Library of Lambeth Palace.

To the historical student this is very vexatious, as the frequent references to them in the documents which have been preserved show that they would have contained information with reference to individual

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* Vol. i., p. 5.

Nonconformists which to many investigators would have been of priceless value. For example: (1) In the Report from Chichester, in four cases—viz., those of Brighthelmstone (**R. 173**), Itchingford (**R. 174**), Lindfield and Pagham (**R. 175**)—the same formula is repeated: 'See their names in the Returne.' Under the name Westmeston, again (**R. 173**), we have: 'See the Returne figure the 6th'; and under Rye (**R. 175-6**) we have: 'See the names of the Sectaries in the Returne.'

2. In that from Ely, under Doddington (**R. 178**), we come upon the phrase, 'See the Minister's Returne,' and under Fulbourne All Sts. (**R. 181*b***) we have, 'See y^{e} Returne.'

3. In the Report from Lichfield and Coventry, under Mickleover (**R. 191**), we find, 'See Arch. D. Browne's Returne'; and with reference to the County of Derby (on **R. 192**) we have: 'For this whole Archdeaconry y^{e} Archd: Returne'; while it is particularly tantalizing to see what we may have lost in the Archdeaconry of Coventry (**R. 194**) touching the Conventicle held in Dr. Wild's house in Nuneaton (as we are advertised in the phrase, 'See Arch. D. Rylands Returne'), seeing that Dr. Wild was the great Puritan lampoonist of the foibles of the ritual and conduct of the prelatical Episcopalians; and when we read under the heading of Newton Regis (**R. 194**), 'See Arch. D. Ryland's Return for their Encouragem^{t}.'—*i.e.*, the reasons they allege as having encouraged them to hold their illegal Meetings.

4. In Seth Ward's Report from Sarum we find under Windsor Nova (**R. 240**), 'See the Returne for George Starkey's Paper.'

5. In the Report from Worcester the references are frequent. On **R. 273**, under Alusten, we have the sentence: 'See the returne it's selfe for the names of some of the chiefe Sectaries'; and under Stratford-upon-Avon (**R. 273**) we have: 'See the names in the Returne'; while on the following page (**R. 273*b***), under Kington, we have: 'See the names in the Returne'; and under Brayles: 'See the Returne for the names.'

All the above are from the Province of Canterbury. Nor are hints altogether absent in those from the Northern Province.

6. From York Diocese three times we have the same formula, 'See the Returne it's selfe'—under Barnaby in Willows (**R. 280**), under Rempston (**R. 281**), and under Leeds (**R. 283*b***); whilst on **R. 284*b***, under Thornhill, we have, 'See Mr. Lacy's letter.'

Until quite recently I was driven to the conclusion that all this most interesting information had been irreparably lost; but a passage which I recently lit upon in a local history of Mansfield (Notts) shows that in the Northern Province, at least, some of the original individual returns have been preserved.

The writer, W. Horner Groves, cites the actual answers sent in by the Vicar of Mansfield and by the Incumbent of Mansfield Woodhouse and Skegby. And that Mr. Groves is able to give us these two transcripts suggests that many more may be preserved, discovered, and given to the world to supplement the information given in **639**.

These two are most interesting, and serve to show how carefully the précis contained in the Lambeth MS. is drawn up.

The first is from John Firth, who was inducted to the Vicarage of Mansfield in 1654 by the Board of Triers, on the presentation of His Highness Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, together with a testimony on behalf of the said John Firth of his holy and good conversation.* 'The present Vicar,' Mr. Sanders says, 'has 'written that Firth found himself far too comfortable to run the risk of 'ejection on Black Bartholomew; and when many of the ejected found 'a refuge in Mansfield, John Firth seems to have been charitably disposed 'towards them.'

'The replies made by the Vicar of Mansfield to the set of queries were as follows:—

'"Reverend Sir,—

'"Whereas you require my present and speedy answer to four queries.

'"Be pleased, therefore, to take the following return:—

'"To the first query I answer, common fame says there are three sorts of Conventicles or Church meetings held in this town of Mansfield, who all have their stated days and times for assembling, and they are reported to be these—first, the Papists; secondly, the Quakers (neither of which do appear at the public assembly, *i.e.* the Church service); and thirdly, the Presbyterians, who do frequent the public assembly here.

'"To the second, the number of persons at the Papists' meetings are reported to be about thirteen. At the Quakers' meeting, about twenty ordinarily, and at some extraordinary times threescore. And at the Presbyterians' meetings in the week-days, not twenty; but on the Lord's day, forty or fifty. The quality of the Papists is mean, both men and women, most of them inhabitants of this town. The quality of the Quakers mean, most of them women, and inhabitants of other parishes. The quality of the Presbyterians is better and more wealthy, some inhabiting in this parish and some in others.

'"To the third, my acquaintance with them is not so considerable as to enable me to give any positive answer hereunto.

'"To the fourth, the Papists are said to meet at the house of Samuel Clay or at the house of Henry Dawes, and their speakers to be sometimes Mr. Turner and sometimes Mr. Clay. The Quakers are said to meet at the house of Tymothy Garland for the most part, and it is said they are all speakers. The Presbyterians are said to meet either at the house of Mr. John Whitlock, or Mr. William Reynolds, or of Mr. Robert Potter, or of Mr. John Billingsby, or of Mr. Robert Smalley, and it is said that these, or some of these, are their speakers. This, in obedience to your commands, is returned by

'"John Firth, Vicar of Mansfield.

'"*August* 12*th*, 1669."'†

'The answer to the inquiry as to Mansfield Woodhouse and Skegby was as follows:—

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* *C. H. S. Transactions*, vol. v., No. 4, pp. 228, 229.

† Groves's 'History of Mansfield,' p. 337.

'"In reply to your worshipful archdeacon's letter, I know nothing but this:

'"That at Mansfield Woodhouse we have no conventicles but one of Quakers at the house of Robert Bingham (excommunicated for not comynge to Church), but who they are who frequent it I cannot say.

'"At Skegby, alsoe, there is a Conventicle of Quakers at the house of Elizabeth Hatton, widow; but I cannot learn who they are who frequent them, they being all of the other towns.

'"In the same towne of Skegby, alsoe, there is another conventicle—reputed Anabaptists and fifth monarchy men—held at Mr. Lyndley's (excommunicated alsoe), but I know neither their speakers nor hearers.

'"Sir, your most humble servant,
'"FRA: CHAPMAN."'*

The condensed précis of these two returns are given on **R. 279** and **279***b*. They come under the head of the ARCH-DEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM and the *Nottingham Deanery*. A careful comparison shows that the variations between original and précis are few and very unimportant, though the original is, of course, a little the fuller. 'Tymothy' in the original becomes 'Timothy'; 'Billingsby' becomes 'Billingsley'; and 'Potter' becomes 'Porter'; in each case the précis being more accurate than the original: 'Robert Bingham of Mansfield Woodhouse' becomes 'Richard B.,' and 'Elizabeth Hatton' and 'Mr. Lyndley of Skegby' become 'E. Hutton' and 'Mrs. Lindley' respectively. On the point of 'quality,' however, the précis drops the two points that the Quakers of Mansfield are 'most of them women, and inhabitants of other parishes,' and that the Presbyterians are 'more wealthy, some inhabiting in this parish and some in others.'

One thing is made quite clear by these two documents—that the ultimate 'material' from which these scheduled Returns were compiled were the separate Returns prepared by each one of the parochial clergy. Though these are nearly all lost, however, we still have in some cases notes or particulars preserved which are of special interest. Such are those notes introduced in the Returns of St. Asaph in **R. 139** and **139***b*; and in the Returns of London **R. 221***b* and **222**; while to the same category belong the nine observations ('things observable') appended by Archdeacon Parker and Commissary Boucher to their 1676 Returns for the Diocese of Canterbury (**R. 169***b*).

But this incidental reference to the 1676 Returns brings us by a natural transition to speak of these. In the only two which are preserved in this volume in any fulness the tabular form is preserved, the numbers being arranged in three columns; those from Canterbury being headed Q^1, Q^2, Q^3, the reference being to the three Inquiries or Queries made by the Archbishop (*vide* **R. 163***b*), and those from Sarum being headed Popish Recusants, Separatists, and Inhabitants, but preceded by a fourth, giving the names of the Minister in each parish which is successively named.* Two other Returns are made in a Summary Abstract giving the totals in each Diocese—viz., Winton (**R. 270**) and York (**R. 297**).

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* Groves's 'History of Mansfield,' p. 338.

Let this suffice as to the general form and character of the Episcopal Returns. We now turn to those of the Licence Documents.

II. THE INDULGENCE DOCUMENTS: THEIR FORM AND CHARACTER.

The Indulgence Documents are contained in five volumes preserved in the Public Record Office—two of them in the Domestic Series of State Papers for the reign of Charles II. (viz., Vols. **320** and **321**), and three of them in Entry Books registering appointments which were in the gift of the King—viz., No. 27, No. 38A, and No. 38B.

The former (which are calendared and indexed as S. P. Dom. Car. II., 320 and 321) contain information connected with the moulding and working of the Indulgence Declared by Charles II. in 1672 and with the issue of licences under it, of a much more varied character than that contained in the Entry Books. All that the Entry Books do is to register the licences actually made out for those whose requests were 'approved' by His Majesty; but Vols. **320** and **321** contain memoranda of application for licences (either jotted down on slips of paper, or more elaborately formulated in Petitions addressed directly to the King), and acknowledgments of their receipt: together with several drafts of licences, some actual licences which were never taken away from Whitehall, and a number of letters. The first two of the Entry Books, therefore, are mere ledgers or diaries, which are paged continuously like any printed book; and references to them in the calendar, or by anyone basing a statement on their contents, follow the formula 'E. B. 27 (or 38A), page so-and-so.' Entry Book 38B is only an imperfect index to these, the entries being presented in a condensed form and in the order of their dates, under the heading of the county in which the place concerned was situated, the counties being arranged in alphabetical order. But Vols. **320** and **321** are rather albums than ordinary books, in which these documents are mounted; and reference to them is made by the number of the document in each volume.

These documents vary considerably in size and extent. Some of them consist of only two or three lines on mere scraps or slips of paper, so small that two or three are mounted on a single page; others occupy the whole space of an opening; and others, again, cover two or three folded pages, like an ordinary letter. In olden time—indeed, up to forty or fifty years ago—they were kept in bundles wrapped in brown paper; and each leaf had a number affixed to it at the right-hand bottom corner, whether it was a single slip or a part of a many-paged document. Now that they are mounted in volumes, however, it is the document as a whole which is numbered (whether it covers one page only or many), the numerals identifying them being placed at the top right-hand corner of its first page. The Calendarist, in his précis takes account only of these latter numerals, so that the formula of reference is always 'S. P. Dom., Car. II., 320 or 321, No. so-and-so': and this is the form (abbreviated) in which all references are made to them throughout this work.

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* For an example in full, *vide* **R. 253*b***.

By far the greater number are memoranda of application for licences, giving simply the particulars required in order to make out the licence or licences applied for. These memoranda were usually signed and dated by the applicant, and were personally handed in at Lord Arlington's office at Whitehall, either to Sir Joseph Williamson or one of his clerks. Some are signed without being dated, and others, again, which unfortunately are very numerous, have neither date nor signature.

Certain applications were much more formal and elaborate, being Petitions addressed to the King. These doubtless were sent by post or taken to Whitehall by special messenger. Of such petitions fourteen are preserved in **320** and thirteen in **321**. They are examined in detail in Part II., Section II., Chapter V.

Others were conveyed in letters addressed either to the Treasurer, to Lord Arlington (one of the Chief Secretaries of State), to Sir Joseph Williamson (Lord Arlington's Secretary), or to Mr. (Francis) Benson, Sir Joseph's chief clerk;* and a very few were sent indirectly under cover of letters to friends in town: *e.g.*, a letter from Edmund Calamy, 'annalist of the ejected' to Mr. Ennis (James Inness, senior) [**320 (34)**]; and another from Charles Fisher (on behalf of his father, Samuel Fisher, of Birmingham), which is unaddressed, but which was probably intended for Robert Blayney [**320 (112)**].

Then there is a whole series of drafts of licences, some in Sir Joseph's handwriting, but more of them in Mr. Benson's, and some printed forms, the blanks unfilled, which were probably 'proofs' sent to Whitehall for approval [**320 (7)** to **(17)**].

Besides these there are several licences actually filled up (*i.e.*, the particulars written in the blank spaces), all by Mr. Benson; some of them neither signed nor dated; some signed but not dated; and some one or two both signed and dated. These last present a problem. Why were documents in every respect completed, and constituting an unchallengable authority to the licensee, left at Whitehall (to be in course of time transferred to the archives in the Public Record Office), never either taken away nor despatched to the licensee? The answer probably will differ in each case, and only a separate examination of each can furnish the right answer. This examination is undertaken in Part II., Section II., Chapter VII.

Finally, there is a series of twenty letters from Dr. Nicholas Butler, most of them addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson, with whom he seems to have been on terms of special intimacy, with one or two to Lord Arlington and one or two to Mr. Benson. The last really belong to the already mentioned group of applications made indirectly in letters; but those addressed to Lord Arlington, and many of those to Sir Joseph Williamson, show Dr. Butler to have taken an influential, if not a leading, part in settling the form the Licences were to assume and the method by which the Indulgence was to be worked. They also show that he organized a movement among Nonconformists prompting and inducing them to avail themselves freely of the Indulgence.

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* There is one from Francis Whiddon of Totness to Sir Thomas Clifford [320 (42)]; there are two from Dr. Butler to Lord Arlington [320 (6) and 320 (196)]; five at least to Sir Joseph Williamson [320 (35), 320 (211), 321 (137,) 321 (153), and 321 (197A)]; and eight to Mr. Benson [320 (271), 320 (297); 321 (8), 321 (67), 321 (199); 321 (246), 321 (311), and 321 (341).

So living an interest has this variety of documents contained in **320** and **321**.

The Entry Books, on the other hand, are as meagre and dry as officialism can make them. The second of them, 38A, is entirely devoted to the registration of the licences made out under the Declaration of Indulgence, and is a mass of disconnected names and dates. Each entry gives simply the particulars with which the licence forms were filled in; —viz., the name of the person licenced (whether as teacher or owner of the meeting-place); the place (town or village) to which the licence applies; the denomination or sect of those who were hereby authorized to meet without disturbance; and the date on which the licence was issued.

In the first few pages these particulars are given rather more fully—*i.e.*, the connecting phrases are ampler, and in a form to make a separate sentence for each entry; but they rapidly become more condensed, until (when the clerk found that the numbers scarcely lessened as the days went by) they are put in the compactest and most condensed form consistent with the identification of the licence, the issue of which is thereby registered.

The pages are ruled with a marginal column, and for nearly sixty pages that margin is punctiliously filled up with the names of the person, the denomination, and the place. But Sir Joseph's patience—or that of his clerk, Mr. Benson—seems to have been exhausted by the time fifty-nine pages were thus filled in, and in the other 320 odd pages the marginal column is disregarded. The licences thus entered in E. B. 38A number more than 4,000.

This volume was evidently kept in Lord Arlington's office and filled in by Sir Joseph Williamson and his clerks (chiefly by Mr. F. Benson), and is a complete register of all the licences obtained through Lord Arlington. It seems, however, that some would-be licensees applied to Sir John Trevor. They were only few, and the licences entered are only fifty in all. The entries cover only six weeks, ranging in date between April 9 and May 17. These are entered in a separate book, calendared E. B. No. 27, in which other ecclesiastical preferments were entered which were in the King's gift.

By previous workers it has been taken for granted that all the licences entered in these books were actually issued (although many of the entries in 38A are undated), the date last entered being the date of all the undated licences entered afterwards till another date is given.

In the earlier stages of my study of these documents I was inclined strongly to question whether that were the case; and in the 'Classified Summary,' which constitutes the body of Vol. II., that doubt is indicated by the insertion of a mark of question before the symbols '**L.I.**,' which mean 'Licence Issued.' I had strong reasons for this doubt. In many cases there is the clearest evidence that the date was not affixed at the time the entry was made. In some instances the handwriting of the date is palpably different from that of the 'body' of the entry; and in others, where the handwriting is the same, the tint of the inkmarks is fainter or more faded. That naturally suggested—what I think is most likely the fact—that as soon as ever a Licence-form was filled in with the particulars for which blanks in the printed formula were left, it was entered (or should we not say 'these' were entered ?) in the Entry Book. But such a filled-in form had no value, conveyed no authority to the licensee, until it had been signed at the head by the King, and at foot by Lord Arlington or Sir John Trevor. As that was done, however, the date was written in the blank left for it in the licence, since the date of issue was, of course, the date on which these signatures were affixed. The natural and proper thing for the clerk then and thereupon to do, was to affix the date to the entry in the Entry Book, to record the completion and valid issue of the licence. This is done regularly and faithfully through the first 170 pages of **E.**, with one curious exception—viz., the first two entries on **E.** (**150**), which are duplicates of the licences entered on **E.** (**128**) as granted to Dr. Francis Cross [for him to preach in Thomas Ford's house in Pensford, and for Thomas Ford's house to be an 'allowed' meeting-place]; and are defective as not having Thomas Ford's name in them as well as by bearing no date.

Near the bottom of **E.** (**170**) the charm is broken, and for the rest of the book—about 120 pages—the addition of dates is most irregular. The last batch of dated entries is that which extends from the middle of **E.** (**149**) to near the bottom of **E.** (**170**) all bearing the date June 10.

Reflecting on the curious irregularity which succeeds this faithful and continuous dating of all entries up to that point, it seemed reasonable to infer that where the date was not appended to an entry, the Licence, though the 'corpus' of it was filled in, had not been signed by the King and his Secretary of State, and so was not really *issued*. Nor am I sure that this does not represent the facts in many cases.

That it does not in *all*, and so *may* not in *any*, I am compelled freely to admit, since cases have been brought to my knowledge of the existence of licences which were duly issued and are preserved as sacred treasures by those who possess them, the entries of which were *not dated* in **E.**

Two were mentioned by the late Rev. Bryan Dale (in the course of a correspondence I had with him on this question in 1905-1906)—viz., the licences of Thomas Johnson for his own house in Sandall Magna, entered on **E.** (**253**), and that for a meeting-house of Joshua Horton at Quarrell Hill, Sowerby, entered on **E.** (**288**). The first, we learn on the authority of Joshua Wilson, was (at some time subsequent to 1821) in possession of Thomas Johnson's kinsman and namesake of Holbeck, Leeds; and the second, Oliver Heywood's biographer, Hunter, distinctly states was obtained by Joshua Horton 'by Mr. Heywood's assistance.'

A third has only just been brought to my notice—first, indirectly in a letter from Rev. T. G. Crippen; and secondly, in a letter addressed to me by the lady who possesses the licence, and has kindly transcribed the particulars written in the blanks of the licence-form.

It is the licence granted to Elizabeth Hopden, widow, of Goudhurst in Kent, for a Presbyterian Meeting-House. Of this licence the entry in **E.** is defective in *two* ways. Not only is it undated, but the denomination whose interests it was meant to serve is not given.* But, of course, both particulars are given in the licence itself. The owner—Mrs. Dunn of Redleaf, Tunbridge Wells—has kindly furnished me with them. The denomination was 'Presbyterian,' and the date when it was issued was November 9, 1672.

Here, then, is a third indisputable instance of a licence being actually issued, the entry of which is undated, and my suggestion is finally disposed of, and positively disproved, that the absence of a date after a licence-entry is a safe sign that the licence was never completed by signature and so never actually issued. Still, of course, it does not prove that in every instance the entry of a licence in either **B.** or **E.** is evidence that the licence was issued whether the entry were dated or not. It simply shows that the licence may have been issued spite of the fact that its entry is undated.

The extreme irregularity of many of the licence entries in the last 100 pages of **E.** still keeps my doubt alive. Why else do we find on one and the same page some entries dated and some undated, as on **E.** (**181**), where two entries are dated '15 June,' and all the rest are undated, or on **E.** (**175**), six pages back, where only one entry is dated —viz., '13 June'? All the other entries on pp. 171—189 inclusive have no date appended at all. [The examples might be multiplied from the later pages of the book.]

The real significance of this 'absence' of date, at any rate, is so far from clear that my decision is still justified to print a 'note of question' (?) before the letters '**L. I.**' in all such cases.

If that doubt remains, however, one thing has been made quite clear to me, partly by facts verifiable by the actual entries in **E.** and partly by the testimony of Mrs. Dunn's licence: and that is, that it is *not* safe to take for granted that the real date of any licence whose entry is not dated is that of the last dated entry.

By that rule we should be landed in a strange anomaly by the last dated entry on **E.** (**170**) as compared with single dated entry on **E.** (**175**). The last dated entry on **E.** (**170**) is '15 June,' which immediately follows one dated '10 June'; so that we ought to take every undated entry which follows as that of a licence issued on the 15*th of June* till we come to another entry with a date, and that, of course, ought to be one later than June 15. Unfortunately, however, the next dated entry —viz., that on **E.** (**175**)—is earlier—viz., June 13. And then the rule would have us conclude that all the licences entered without dates on pages subsequent to that were issued June 13, though all preceding it were issued June 15, until we reach that date on **E. (181)**. [Why are *two* dated, when one would serve the purpose ?]

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* It is entered on **E.** (**280**) the second line from the top, and reads: 'The house of Elizabeth Hopden of Goudhurst in Kent.'

We are not left to natural inference, however, from such anomalies as these. The case of the licence of 'Elizabeth Hopden' directly contradicts the rule, and so 'rules it out of court.' The licence is entered on **E. (280)**. The last dated entry is on the last line of the previous page [**E. (279)**], and that is dated 'December 9th, 72.' The rule would impose that date on this licence as well as on all the undated entries which follow. Instead of 'Dec. 9' we find that, as a matter of fact, it was issued 'the 9th day of *November*.' So the rule will not work, and is proved to be unsafe. Whatever the probabilities may be, there is no certainty in such 'a guide,' and the 'wise' man will not venture to assign any date to a licence whose entry is undated, even if he be hardy enough to risk the assertion that the licence having been entered was actually issued.

The facts about the licences belonging to the last two months of the year are curious. The only *date* in November which appears in the entries is 'November 18,' the first instance of which [on **E. (268)**] has the date 'November 18th' written in the margin in a line with it. This date is repeated irregularly in the pages which follow till we reach the middle of **E. (275)**, when the margin has 'Decemr ye 9th 72.' In the midst of these we have a notable licence entered—viz., that of 'Richard Baxter a Nonconforming Minister to teach in any licensed or allowed Place'; and to this is appended a date not belonging to November at all, but to *October*, and, stranger still, to a date earlier than the few October entries. All these scattered through **E. (261)** to **E. (268)** are dated 'Octo: 28th,' but Richard Baxter's, on **E. (272)** is dated 'Oct. 27. 1672'!

Verily the vagaries of the date-entries in this latter part of **E.** are mysteries past finding out!

The only suggestion I can make to account for them at all is a personal one. Up to June 10 the entries are all dated, and up to that date the entries are all duplicated [with the singular exception of those pertaining to London!] in Sir Joseph Williamson's Index (**I.**). Beyond that date irregularities commence in **E.** and all entries in **I.** cease.* In **E.** not only have we the spasmodic and anomalous dating of some entries and a wholesale omission of the date from others, but the handwritings vary. Up to June 10 the majority of the entries in **E.** and the whole of the entries in **I.** are in the handwriting of Francis Benson, Sir Joseph's head-clerk, but beyond that date Francis Benson's entries are irregular [*e.g.*, the first eleven entries on **E. (194)** are in another hand, as is the first in **E. (196)**, and Nathaniel Robinson's on **E. (201)**, the last two on **E. (207)**, and Richard Sapper's and William Clarke's on **E. (214)**, [the same as that on **E. (196)**]. From the seventh line on **E. (216)** to the first on **E. (217)** are in the same hand as the first eleven on **E.** (**194**), and so on. . . . [The differences are noted in the text]. All this surely suggests that up to June 10 the whole Indulgence matter had Sir Joseph Williamson's close and continuous personal attention, and that he made the clerical part of the work Francis Benson's special task; but that after that date Sir Joseph's direct superintendence ceased, and matters were left in the hand of Francis Benson, who was not so impressed with the importance of dating or indexing the entries, and so let that part of his work slip, and was glad to delegate some of the purely clerical work to his subordinates.

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* The memoranda of application and receipt in **321**, also, practically cease with that date. There are two dated June 12 [**321 (358)** and **321 (359)**]; the next three are dated June 13; **321 (363)** is dated June 14. Beyond that there are only fifteen documents, only one with a June date [**321 (373)**].

Was it, then, that in June Sir Joseph left town for his holiday, and that on his return he found things so neglected that he did not care to preserve the memoranda, and grew careless himself in the details of the whole License-business?

CHAPTER III

THEIR HISTORICAL ORIGIN: AS 'OF EARLY NONCONFORMITY'

THEY are the Records of Nonconformity. The original documents presented have been selected and published because they record the doings and the sufferings of Nonconformists.

The Episcopal Returns are Returns of Nonconformists; of Nonconformist Ministers and Schoolmasters in 1665; of Nonconformist Conventicles in 1669; and of Nonconformists generally—'all and sundry,' as the pests which plague the parishes and spoil their quietude and peace—in 1676. The Indulgence Documents deal with the licences granted to Nonconformists in 1672.

But, further, they are Records of 'Early Nonconformity'; because Nonconformity proper was made in 1662, and documents belonging to the fifteen years which immediately succeed it perforce deal with the very earliest Nonconformity of all.

Does any ask: Why not call it Puritanism, since the Nonconformists of these fifteen years were the Puritans of the later Stuart days? The answer is simple: Nonconformity is Puritanism excommunicated from the Church and proscribed by the State.

Puritanism had always had to struggle and to suffer, because Puritanism is essentially a protest against the impurities of the Protestantism of the day. In England, Protestantism was more political in its origin than religious; a throwing off the secular yoke of the Pope far more than rejection of the religious degeneracies of Rome. It was rather a compromise than an insurrection; one object of the formularies it framed in the Book of Common Prayer being to retain as many Roman Catholics as possible within the Reformed National Church.

Puritanism was the strenuous effort of the more spiritual section of a Protestant people to recover a purer faith and a simpler ritual, by accepting more ingenuously the Word of God as the standard of both faith and worship.

Inevitably this inner protest and revolt received no encouragement, but only censure and repression, at the hands of the authorities alike in Church and State. From its very birth, then, Puritanism has had to breathe the air and feel the rod of resentment and of persecution.

Under Elizabeth it suffered because she could not brook divergences in the outward observances of religion, and the standard form which she approved and would impose on all was practically that of Edward VI.'s second Book of Common Prayer (1552). Divergence from this was disregard of her royal will, and such disregard entailed serious consequences. In matters ecclesiastical she insisted on her supremacy, and she was willing to bear the responsibility of even the extremest measures which were taken to enforce her will.

Under the first two Stuarts, however, it was the Church prelates who were the active persecutors, since both James and Charles were quite willing to leave all cases of Church discipline to the ecclesiastical hierarchy ; Charles especially, in things religious, handing over everything to Archbishop Laud.

Throughout these reigns the Puritans were still reckoned members of the Church of England as by law established ; eccentric and wayward members who had to suffer for their waywardness and eccentricity, but still members of the State Church. When any were condemned to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, it was because their eccentricity was judged to amount to intolerable contumacy and their persistent waywardness to rebellion.

With the successful revolt of the Commons against the arbitrary measures of Charles, their status was soon entirely changed. It was now the turn of the persecutors to suffer, and of those who had been persecuted to hold places of influence and power. The Episcopal Church was allowed to continue, but only in a sadly mutilated form. The Bishops were first banished from the House of Lords, and then their very office and authority were abolished. To use the Book of Common Prayer was made a penal offence (£5 was the fine incurred upon conviction), and extemporaneous prayer became a central element of public worship in every parish church and in all the cathedrals of the land. For a time, with the intrusion and alliance of the Scots, the tyranny of an Established Episcopal Church was in danger of being replaced by the tyranny, more dour and bigoted, of an Established Presbyterianism. When, espousing the Stuart cause under young Charles II., the Scots broke away into opposition to the Parliament, that danger lessened, and with their final defeat at Dunbar it soon altogether ceased. Presbyterianism was a plant which never found congenial soil in England, and with the ascendancy of Oliver, church government and religious observance assumed a greater variety, and were accorded larger liberty.

It was in part Presbyterian and in part Congregational ; only spasmodically and by stealth was it in any measure still Episcopal. Those clergy of the old régime who were Puritan in doctrine were allowed to retain their livings and to exercise their ministry, provided they were willing to dispense with the Prayer Book in their conduct of public worship and were able honestly to profess loyalty to the civil authorities under the Lord Protector. Those who could not vacated their livings, many of them crossing to France, there to await the chances of a change; and all those who were condemned by the Parliamentary Commissioners, or by Oliver's 'triers,' as either malignant, inefficient, negligent, or of scandalous life, were sequestered, but with the merciful reservation of 'the fifth' of their recent incomes for the relief of their widows and children, their places being filled by those who satisfied the strict requirements of the new authorities as likely to prove able and 'painful' ministers of the Gospel. The steadfast aim of the Protectorate was to provide a ministry scholarly in training, pure in private character, sober in their mode of life, wholesome and spiritual in their personal influence and in their pastoral care of the parishioners, and powerful preachers of the word of God. These were the Puritans among the older clergy, and, naturally, all were Puritan among the new. If, in seeking to attain this end, some of the worthier clergy were displaced who belonged to the old régime, the candid historian will not hesitate to call it persecution; a persecution as real as that which the Puritans had suffered in the olden days. All persecution is to be condemned as alike a folly and a crime, whether in Puritan or Anglican, in Royalist or Parliamentarian.

After the death of Oliver, the Commonwealth rapidly fell to pieces, and within six months the vast majority of the nation were ready, under the leadership of Monck, to recall Charles Stuart and to reinstate a monarchy alike in State and Church.

With the Restoration it was inevitable that the Puritans should again begin to suffer. With the restoration of the Monarchy in civil government, came, by natural sequence, the re-establishment of Episcopacy as the one authorized form of government and the re-instatement of the Book of Common Prayer as the one authorized formula for public worship. The re-establishment of Episcopacy *ipso facto* restored the Bishops within the Church, with the Archbishops at their head, in almost all their old authority and power, and installed Charles II. the anointed King as the titular head of the Church of England, with power to present or appoint to certain livings which had of old been within the royal gift. But the re-establishment of Episcopacy made a Bishop the sole source alike of ecclesiastical discipline and deprivation, and of valid ordination; and therefore cancelled most of the sequestrations made by the Commonwealth authorities, and invalidated the appointments of most of those who had been 'intruded' into the sequestered livings. Wherever sequestered clergy, therefore, survived the Restoration they (naturally enough) claimed reinstatement in the incumbencies of which they had been deprived, and by a special Act of the Convention Parliament they were so restored, without a question asked as to their personal fitness and past record.

The 'intruded' Puritans, too, who had replaced them were summarily ejected, also without a question asked as to their ministerial fitness or the quality of the work they had done, and, be it specially noted, with no 'fifths' retained from their stipends for their relief in their sudden distress. In places where the sequestered clergy had died before the Restoration, however, Puritan ministers were allowed to retain their livings if they loyally accepted the new régime in Church and State, and were able to satisfy the conditions laid down by Episcopal authority. In some cases, it must be admitted, those conditions were very rigid. If the ordination of the ministers in question had been only presbyteral, some Bishops insisted on their re-ordination by the hand of a Bishop; and if in the 'Interregnum' they had been pronounced in their anti-monarchical and anti-prelatic views, they were required publicly to recant them. And there were not a few—to their honour be it said—who would not stoop to such humiliations, and these were cast forth as effectively and as pitilessly in 1660 and 1661 as those who were afterwards ejected on Bartholomew's Day in 1662.

The revival of royal patronage, again, put the occupants of *quondam* royal livings, who during the Commonwealth had been appointed to them either by Parliament or by the Protector, entirely at the mercy of the King. In some cases, where they were known to have welcomed the King's return, Charles confirmed their appointment, or if the places had been promised others, either by him or his ministers, they were transferred to some other living. Otherwise they were ejected almost automatically from their benefices.

Numerous as were these ejectments, however, there was no general movement connected with them vitally affecting the religious condition of the people. The individual clergy suffered; but there was no widespread effort made to retain their public services in irregular ways. Great men like Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. John Owen, Richard Baxter, and others, were removed from the public ministry—to the great loss of the nation; but they were content to accept positions in the families of the Puritan nobility, or betake themselves to the advocacy of Gospel truth by writing.

A large proportion of the clergy who remained in the Established Church were still Puritan, and continued to do a noble work within her borders.

This was not to the liking of the restored Episcopals of the pre-Commonwealth period. To Royalist statesmen like Clarendon, with High Church predilections, and to prelates like Sheldon, who were anxious to restore the Laudian régime, the continued presence in the Church of these Puritans was irksome and vexatious; and they soon moved Parliament to adopt measures which should purge the Church of this (to them) alien element. To 'save the face' of Charles, who had taken quite another line in his Declaration of Breda, they consented to the Savoy Conference, the overt object of which was to devise some scheme of comprehension by which the Presbyterians might find as legitimate a home in the Establishment as the High Episcopals. From the first it was clear that the Bishops were determined that it should turn out a failure. They insisted on all the points to which they knew these Puritan Presbyterians had a deep-rooted—nay, an ineradicable—

conscientious objection: the necessity of Episcopal ordination for every minister, the bowing at the name of Jesus in the repetition of the Creed, the placing the Communion Table against the eastern wall of the chancel as an Altar, and the reception of the elements kneeling at the Altar-rail; the wearing of a surplice and other vestments, which to the Puritans were relics of Popery, with the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, and the retention of the phrases—to which so many objected as involving the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration—in the Baptismal Service; with the result, fully anticipated and intended, that the Conference broke up without effecting anything.

Now the way was clear: by legislation to secure a unity which was thought to be impossible without uniformity. Without delay was framed an Act which made the public declaration in the parish church of 'unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer' by every Rector and Vicar in the land, the absolute condition of his retention of his living.

Driven with ease through the House of Commons, it received rougher treatment in the House of Lords.

To their honour, be it remembered, the Lords would have dropped the clause about Episcopal ordination in the case of those already in the ministry, and they were eager to insert a clause to reserve 'a fifth' for the relief of those who were ejected. The strong wills of Clarendon and Sheldon overbore these amendments. They fixed on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, August the 24th, as the Sunday on which the public declaration was to be made; although, on the one hand, the new edition of the Prayer Book (to the contents of which they were to declare their unfeigned assent and consent), could not be possibly be placed in the hands of all the clergy by that day, and although, on the other—was it not rather because?—the tithes (which constituted so large a proportion of their stipends), would not become due till a month later, on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels.

With the immediate result we are all fairly familiar. A host of over two thousand five hundred could not make the declaration, and so *ipso facto* were 'deprived,' 'ejected' from the livings in which they had so honourably and efficiently discharged the high work of the Christian ministry. In many cases the parishioners had become so attached to their minister, that to have him thus forcibly driven from them, struck multitudes in the country with amazement and despair. Inevitably, therefore, this wholesale exile had results both on the Church and on the nation so serious, so lasting, and so growing that it created a new situation, and called into being a new thing. These 'ejected' were, from the spiritual standpoint, the Church's choicest and best; so that the 'Church of England as by law established' was seriously impoverished, most of the men who took the places of the ejected being universally acknowledged to be inferior to the ejected in culture, grace, and power.

By the personal magnetism they exercised, moreover, the ejected drew out with them many of their parishioners, who refused to be deprived of a ministry they so highly valued. So that 'churches' as well as 'pulpits' were largely emptied by the operation of this Act.

A great body of ministers and people came into being who were drawn together by their common loss, and had this one characteristic in common, that they could not 'conform' in all things to the Church of England by law established. Ministers and people alike were made 'Nonconformists'—extruded from the State Church—by the action of this law, and by this Act were precluded from returning to its fold as long as they remained faithful to the conscientious scruples which had made it impossible for them to remain.

It is quite true it was their essential Puritanism which compelled them to act as they did; but it was this legal Statute which made that action inevitable.

Before the Act of Uniformity many Puritans, though with inconvenience and occasional sufferings, remained within the Church. From the moment when it became law, and so long as it remains unrepealed, a growing host of Puritans and their spiritual descendants were and are excluded from its borders. By the Act of Uniformity the State Church ceased to be the Church of the nation. It created Nonconformity, and the hosts of Nonconformity have grown with the growth of years, till —as successive acts of ecclesiastical bigotry have driven forth fresh bands of exiles—the Nonconformists of England form more than half the nation.

It is the fortunes of these first Nonconformists, in the fifteen years which followed the Act which brought them into being, on which these documents cast much interesting and hitherto unpublished light. So that it can scarcely be gainsaid that they are rightly described as 'Original Records of Early Nonconformity.'

CHAPTER IV

THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

In the first chapter we have already seen that these documents have great intrinsic value merely as fragments of literary antiquity. As materials for history their interest and value are greater still. True, the period with which they deal is very brief. It covers only fifteen years. The persons whom they principally concern, moreover, as judged by ordinary standards, were comparatively uninfluential and unimportant. They do not figure in affairs of State, nor do they hold high office in Church or Court, in army or navy. They are men and women who by the great reaction of the Restoration had been thrust out of all places of influence and power, and forced into a background of temporary helplessness, neglect, and even contempt. Thus it has come to pass that the general historian of the English people has ever had but little thought to give to them and little space to spare for them. Yet they are men and women who in the period immediately preceding it, had been in places of eminence and power. That period, I know, it has been the fashion for historians of both State and Church to treat with haughty insolence or to pass over in contempt. The classic historian of the Civil War, when between 1642-1647 the nation was divided in the great struggle of People against Prerogative, Parliament against King, called it the Great Rebellion, and the verdict of Earl Clarendon was long accepted as the verdict of history. Indeed, for the last two centuries men were content to call the great period that followed its tragic issue in the execution of Charles Stuart, 'the Interregnum'—speaking as little as they dare of its great achievements, and drawing a veil as far as possible over its inward purity and sober strength, as though England were no real nation, and had no real history so long as she had no King. Of the historians of the Church, too, all this is truer still. In the great county histories the ecclesiastical section for those twenty years from 1642-1662 is almost an utter blank; parochial records are interrupted. The splendid spiritual achievements of ministers who replaced sequestered parsons are utterly ignored, and even in local church records this illustrious succession—more truly apostolic than that of many who preceded and who followed them—is unrecorded, and has long run the risk of being quite unknown.

With the growing demand in recent years for truth, however, in history as well as science, and for more thorough historical research, all this has changed. The men and the events of the Commonwealth are taking their true place in the history of the English people. Carlyle's 'Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell' have finally disposed of the prejudiced distortions which held him up to contempt as a cruel tyrant and ambitious hypocrite, and have established beyond controversy the greatness of his soul, the loftiness of his ideals, the absolute sincerity of his character, and the magnificence of his achievements, both in the government of the people at home and in the uplifting of the nation's reputation abroad. Gardiner's 'History,' too, has made quite clear to any candid student that those days of stress and struggle, upheaval and revolution, were days—not to be consigned to oblivion as only blurring and blotting England's fair escutcheon—but days to be held in everlasting remembrance as 'great' days, which brought into prominence and power 'great' men; men great in the strength of their character, in the keenness of their spiritual vision, in the breadth of their purpose, and in the genuineness and energy, with which they wrought for the abiding welfare of the people. It must be remembered that in the period of which we treat most of these men were still alive. Cromwell was gone; and with him that strange but mighty fabric which centred in him, and which, it would seem, only his colossal character and his resistless will could keep together.

Milton still lived on—no longer, it is true, to command the respect of the Continental nations by his great dispatches, as the Foreign Secretary of England's great Protector; but in his blindness and seclusion to wield an influence still wider, and to be felt by generations then unborn, by his still greater poems, 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained.'

The Universities had slipped back into the older hands, which had allowed them to become more the playgrounds of the leisured aristocracy and the hot-beds of high Anglicanism than true schools of learning. Yet Oxford's Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Owen, and Oxford's Don, Dr. Thomas Goodwin,* were still living.

The brilliant cluster of court-preachers whom Oliver had gathered round him, in whom the prophet-fires blazed out in rebuke and warning rather than in praise and adulations, no longer held high place in the City, in Whitehall, and in Westminster; but John Howe, John Goodwin, and Philip Nye, Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, and Dr. Jacomb were all still in London. Richard Baxter with his matured wisdom, and John Bunyan with his budding powers, were still alive and active.

Indeed, a great host of the best and strongest men in the Church, whose teaching had moulded the characters, and whose ministry had enlightened and uplifted the masses in those strenuous Commonwealth days, were scattered through the community, ejected from their livings, extruded from their pulpits, but still the salt of the earth and secret saviours of the people. Such are the men and women on whom these 'Original Documents' cast so much fresh light, and of whom they yield so much fresh information.

In these days of their repression and obscuration, they were yet an integral and influential factor of the nation. To the historian of the nation, therefore, they ought to be a subject of great concernment.

To the historian of Nonconformity—and of all free movements in mind and spirit—they are of priceless value. These men and women were the pioneers of all the movements which have taken their rise in successive outbursts of Anglican intolerance and bigotry, have driven from 'the Church of England as by law established' so many of the most earnest, devout, and energetic of her sons and daughters. Their names, even the least of them, deserved to be held in everlasting remembrance. Of the very earliest of them, the names, activities, and spheres are (directly or indirectly) recorded here.

As material for gauging the strength and distribution of these early Nonconformists, these documents have value; but as contributions towards the formation of a bede-roll of early confessors in this mighty movement, they are of greater value still.

In the Episcopal Returns of 1669 and 1676 we get most help in estimating numbers. In the former we have enumerated alike the Conventicles held, and the numbers of men and women that frequented them; and in the latter, the purely statistical tables of a Religious Census, whose single purpose is to give directly the number of Nonconformists in each parish. The Episcopal Returns of 1665 and the Indulgence Documents directly deal only with individuals, so that only indirectly and by collation can we gather anything as to collective numbers; but both cast most interesting light on their location and activities.

Both the Episcopal Returns of 1669 and the Indulgence Documents of 1672, disclose the differences which distributed these early Nonconformists into separate sects or denominations; and on the numbers and distribution of these different sects—the several regiments of the one great Nonconformist army—these documents have much to say.

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* He was President, for a time, of Magdalen College.

In forming our estimates and in drawing our conclusions, however, there is need of care and discrimination. For this purpose the value of the two sets of documents is by no means equal. The Episcopal Returns are founded on the reports of the avowed and generally contemptuous enemies of the Nonconformists. The Indulgence Documents, on the other hand, are many of them written by Nonconformists themselves, and in all cases record their freely chosen conduct. In other words, we have to bear in mind that (as is implied in the title of this work) the Episcopal Returns are Records of Nonconformity under Persecution, while the Licence Documents are Records of Nonconformity under Indulgence.

Now, under persecution, Nonconformists naturally concealed themselves as much as possible from the observation of their persecutors. They hid their convictions as far as conscience would allow them; they met by stealth, and they dispersed swiftly and silently on the first approach of danger. So that what their persecutors were able to gather about them and report, from the very nature of the case, was only a fragment of the actual facts, and we must always regard what we gather from the Episcopal Returns as an irreducible minimum in regard to the strength and extent of the Nonconformity of any given district at that time. Moreover, in most cases it would be natural for those making returns to shut their eyes to much that they might have seen, and shut their ears to much which they might have heard, in order to make good their contention that the Nonconformists were a thoroughly contemptible set—both in numbers, and station, and character, and so to commend their ministerial activities to their superiors, as having largely stamped out this accursed pest.

Under the Indulgence of Charles, on the other hand, the Nonconformists were free. They were free to show themselves without fear of consequences. They were free to claim authority to preach and worship in whatever way they chose. We might expect, therefore, to find larger proof of the strength of Nonconformity in the Licence Documents than in the Episcopal Returns.

Yet, from the very nature of the case, the demand for licences under the Indulgence affords a very limited means of judging the strength of Nonconformity in 1672. In many particulars, indeed, it furnishes a more limited means than the Conventicle Returns of 1669. The numbers given are only of two sets of individuals—the men who sought liberty to teach, and the men and women who sought the Royal authority to hold Nonconformist worship in their houses. These Licence Documents give no information whatever as to the numbers of the congregations. More than that. Of both teachers and householders, there were many who refused to 'desire' or seek a licence from such a sovereign as Charles II., who could grant it only by what was really the despotic exercise of an illegal, even though it were a benevolent, autocracy. Rather than obtain relief by means so unconstitutional as this, many preferred a perpetuation of their disability and suffering under Penal Statutes which, at any rate, were passed by a freely elected Parliament. Hence, any estimate of the numbers and strength of Nonconformity gathered from these Licence Documents is even more undeniably an 'irreducible minimum' than one which may be gathered from the Episcopal Returns.

Of the numbers of the extremer Baptists, for example, and the sturdier of the Independents, these documents perforce can give us no fair conception; while of the strength of the Quakers they give us no idea at all, simply because on principle they refused to ask of a fellow-man (even though he sat upon a throne), a liberty which they claimed as the native right of every child of man as a true child of God.

Of 'Organized Dissent,' again—or rather of Nonconformist church organization—the student will look in vain for materials toward building up any connected history. For two obvious reasons. In a period of such incessant harassment and persecution the communities which formed each conventicle, meeting as they did by stealth and in fear of momentary disturbance, could use these stolen opportunities only for the practical object of the direct culture of their spiritual life. They had no leisure to develop any very definite, much less any elaborate, forms of church organization. They might maintain such loose connection with other churches of their own faith and order, whether Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, or Quaker, as had arisen in the previous period of the Commonwealth; but the natural tendency was rather to loosen such bonds than to cement and elaborate them. That was palpably the case with the Presbyterians of the Metropolis and the Eastern Counties. The classical presbyteries which had been formulated in theoretical schemes during the Commonwealth to a very limited extent had been put into practical working; while the Baxterian Associations (consisting exclusively of ministers, without reference to denominational standing) which were formed in that period, and were moulded far more after the model of our modern Congregational Unions than of Synodal Presbyterianism, under the pressure of the repressive legislation of 1662, 1664, 1665, and 1670 weakened, relaxed, dissolved, and almost disappeared.* Throughout these fifteen years, then, Nonconformist communities, whatever their special name or denomination—in consequence of their isolation—practically became Independent churches.

Of the elementary material out of which the varied Nonconformist churches in due time developed, we may gain abundant and most fascinating information.

In the Episcopal Returns we have the fulfilment of Burns's humorous prayer—

> 'Oh, wad some power the giftie gie us
> To see oursels as others see us.'

Nonconformists are here treated to vivid pictures—drawn by the hand of clerical reporters, in colours largely tinted by the coloured glasses of Anglican prejudice and contempt—of the unlawful assemblies reported, both as to their numbers, quality, and 'personnel,' whether in their hosts, their abettors, or their teachers; and in some, as to the character and furniture of the buildings in which they meet.

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* *Cf.* B. Nightingale's 'The Ejected of 1662,' vol. i., pp. 22-33.

In the Indulgence Documents, however, we have none of these. In their application for licences the Nonconformists unfortunately give us scarcely any information on these points. Else we might have the other side of the question, and see what estimate they made themselves of their numbers, strength, and social position.

All we have in most cases is the barest description of the building for which they desire a licence as a meeting-place, and of the preacher whose ministry in it they desire to secure.

Sometimes the meeting-place is described as an 'outhousing,' or a 'barn,' and sometimes even as 'a building erected for the purpose,' but in the majority of cases it is simply 'the house' or 'a roome or roomes in the house' of the would-be licensee. In the case of some more formal petitions addressed directly to the King, the form or location of the building may be more exactly described; and, in all, the signatures affixed of the principal people in the church or congregation, give us incidentally the names of those whom the Episcopal Returns would call the 'Principals' or 'Abettors' of the conventicle concerned.

On two points, however, these petitions do sometimes give us explicit information which is always absent from the Episcopal Returns.

1. The petitioners describe the people assembling for worship as 'a Church of Christ'—a proof that in all such cases 'a Church' has been 'gathered,' embodied, or properly constituted, as distinct from the general congregation or fortuitous concourse of people, assembling in the building at the time of public worship to join in the 'devotions' or to listen to the preacher. In the Episcopal Returns, of course, no such information is ever given. The Bishops deliberately ignore the fact—if indeed they have any knowledge of it—that in these Nonconformist assemblies there was almost invariably a Church within the Church, composed of those who 'professed and called themselves Christians,' as men and women spiritually renewed and consciously redeemed by their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and not 'christened' or 'made Christ's' unconsciously by the sacramental rite of baptism, or kept in union with Christ by consciously partaking of a rite not less mystical and sacramental (the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper), in which the consecration of a duly ordained priest makes the bread and wine convey to the communicant the Body and Blood of the Lord. The Bishops and their clergy simply note the illegal assembly of a number of men, women, and children, who meet on 'the pretence of worship' in buildings other than the parish church, and share a service which has in their eyes no spiritual virtue or significance, because its forms are irregular and spontaneous, instead of following the rubrics and ritual of the Book of Common Prayer.* To them their gathering is only 'a conventicle,' made penal by the Act of Uniformity and the Conventicle Acts.

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* Indeed, the Bishop of Bristol in 1665 brings himself to confess that when the Nonconformist ministers in the county of Dorset meet together in private habitations, 'about what' they meet 'noe man knowes' [R. 315].

2. In these petitions, too, the teacher is sometimes described as 'a minister of the Gospel,' 'our late minister,' and as one who has solemn, sacred, ordered functions to discharge. In the Episcopal Returns, however, the men who conduct these conventicles are merely 'Heads,' 'Teachers,' or 'Preachers,' never Ministers or Pastors. For that title Episcopal ordination, according to the ritual prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, is the absolutely necessary qualification. By a singular lapse, however, the acceptance of such petitions, and the grant by the royal head of the Church of their request, was a virtual acknowledgment of the validity of their claim; although it must be admitted that in the licences as actually issued, those authorized to conduct the services are described as only 'teachers,' as they were in the Episcopal Returns.

Thus the information that we gather of the assemblies which met under the ægis of the Indulgence, is of the very meagrest character. We learn simply that there were as many congregations who met as there were licensed meeting-places, and that they belonged to a certain sect or denomination therein named.

Indirectly, however, we learn a great deal about individual Nonconformists, some ministers, others laymen, from the applications, letters, and receipts presented in Vols. **320** and **321** of the State Papers. In the first we have clear testimony to the zeal and the means of those who are able to journey to London from their place of residence, sometimes distant parts of the provinces, to make personal application for licences at Whitehall, and to call at Whitehall to take them away. In many cases we gain interesting information about Nonconformist residents in London, who have position and influence with the Court, and are willing to go to Lord Arlington's office to obtain licences for their friends in the provinces; and this often tells us much of the friendships and connections of the would-be licensee, as well as of the character and energy of the actual applicant.

Nor ought we to omit from this general estimate of their value and significance to the historical student, the light cast in many cases on the topography of London and other cities, towns, and villages in the country. The implications contained in many of these documents are of distinct archæological value.

In fine, one great element of value in these Records is the fresh original information they contain touching the personal history, activities, and character of the pioneers of this great Nonconformist movement. Indeed, in these documents there lies implicit a great bede-roll of Nonconformist worthies.

To elicit that great bede-roll out of the chaos of names these documents contain, and to draw it up in the indexes which close Vol. II. as well as in the Classified Summary which forms the body of it, was no easy task. But it was a labour of love which kept the Editor in touch with a company of saints who were also heroes, confessors, and martyrs. These men and women were those 'of whom' by its arrogance and intolerance the Church of England of that day declared itself 'not worthy.' They were men and women of the spirit, who so firmly believed that 'where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,' that they could not consent to be tied and bound in their worship by the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer. So we find among them not alone the clergy who were ejected rather than be unfaithful to conscience on that Black Bartholomew, but that noble host of their hearers and parishioners who went out with them, exiled themselves from the churches and the assemblies which they loved, that they might still listen to their leaders, and still enjoy the pastoral care of those whom they had found to be true shepherds and bishops of their souls under Him, in whose name and spirit they had long ministered.

These are the true 'peerage' of English Nonconformity. In testing the claims of those claiming to belong to the English gentry, and to use a crest or coat of arms, heraldic authorities acknowledge validity only in the case of those who can establish an unbroken descent from soldiers whose names, and arms, and crests are found in one or other of the authentic lists of chivalry, who attended the King on some great military expedition, were known to be with him on some noted battlefield, or jousted in his presence at some historic tournament. Their claims are assured, for instance, if they are in the direct descent from any who figure in the roll of those with Edward I., on the battlefield of Falkirk, in 1298; in the roll of Karlaveroc, among the 1,300 who attended Edward I. on his third expedition to Scotland; in the list of those who took part at the tournaments at Dunstable, in the second year of his son's reign, in 1309; in the roll of those who were in the retinue of Henry V., at the Battle of Agincourt, in 1415; or of those who attended Henry VIII., in the meadows between Guisnes and Ardres, at his meeting with Francis I. and the chivalry of France, on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, on June 4, 1520. In spiritual matters and for Free Churchmen, the day of Black Bartholomew and the years of persecution that followed it, as well as the brief twelve months in which Nonconformists obtained the ægis of Royal favour, are as critical as are battles and tourneys for the chivalry of the English kingdom. The clergy ejected in 1662, and the laity who, in the fifteen years of persecution which followed, either conventicled with them or joined their ranks, are the genuine chivalry of Nonconformity. The documents printed in Vol. I. name a vast number of them, and in Vol. II. the Editor claims that he has done something towards forming a great roll of Free Church nobility.

PART II

DETAILED AND EXPOSITORY

THIS Second Part naturally falls into two sections: Section I. dealing with the Episcopal Returns, and Section II. with the Indulgence Documents.

SECTION I

THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS

Of these Returns there are three sets: those made in 1665, those made in 1669, and those made in 1676.

All of them were made during the period in which the aim of the authorities in both Church and State was to repress, and, if possible, to stamp out Nonconformity by penal legislation. That gives to them all certain elements in common. Each set has characteristic features, due to the phase of this legislation with which it is specially connected. Each of these calls for separate treatment, so that Section I. will be naturally divided into four chapters. Chapter I. will deal with the Episcopal Returns as records of 'Nonconformity under Persecution,' Chapter II. with the Returns of 1665, Chapter III. with those of 1669, and Chapter IV. with those of 1676, in detail.

PART II

DETAILED AND EXPOSITORY

SECTION I

THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS

CHAPTER I

THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS AS RECORDS OF NONCONFORMITY UNDER PERSECUTION

In Chapter III. of Part I. we have seen how the Act of Uniformity created Nonconformity. Its object was to purge the State Church of Puritanism. We have seen, too, how terribly efficacious it was. At one stroke it drove out of the parish pulpits over two thousand five hundred ministers, and out of the parish churches a vast multitude of their devoted adherents.

Its authors doubtless hoped that by ejectment, and its bitter consequences, the ejected would be cured of their Puritanism; that, silenced from any further public ministry, their power to spread it or maintain it would be stopped, and that Puritanism would die with them. They found instead that the Act made not only many thousand Nonconformist ministers, but many myriads of Nonconformist laymen as well.

This they soon discovered was a more serious state of things than that which had annoyed and vexed them at the outset of their task. Instead of being silenced by ejectment, the ministers found their Nonconformist flocks gathering round them, pleading with them to continue outside the churches the ministry which they were debarred by law from continuing within; and so the State Church was weakened and disturbed instead of being pacified and strengthened. They had raised a ghost that was no mere shadow or phantom. How were they to *lay* it? They could imagine only one way. They must repress, stifle, and stamp it out by force—by Penal Statute.

Although one penal statute (the Act of Uniformity) had created it, it was to be starved and killed by others. Only enact penal statutes numerous and severe enough, and execute them with sufficient constancy and firmness, and Nonconformity would be put down, starved out, and disappear.

What are penal statutes, directed against one type of religious life and worship, but 'persecution'? The editor has been warned by one kind critic of the two volumes which have been already published, that he will do well to drop all such phrases as 'pitiless persecutors.' Perhaps the critic will supply him with a more fitting epithet for those who devised this legislation, and for those who did their utmost to execute it, in the hunting out, the cunning surprise, the sudden arrest, the heavy fining, and the close imprisonment of those whose only crime was their Nonconformity.

Suppose we grant that the Act of Uniformity—as the Act that created the offence—cannot strictly be called an Act of persecution of the offenders, we submit that even according to the most accurate, even etymological, meaning of the term, the Penal Statutes of 1664, 1665, and 1670 were 'persecuting' edicts, and Acts of bitter persecution in its fullest and most literal sense. They were framed purposely to *pursue*, to harry, to hunt down, to worry, and to penalise Nonconformists out of their Nonconformity.

If this is not 'persecution,' perhaps my kind critic may tell me what is.

The Episcopal Returns were ordered and were made in continuous connection with the successive stages of this attempted repression of Nonconformity by penal statute. Are they not, then, justly described as the Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution?

So far I have said nothing of the authors of this policy, the instigators of this scheme. The facts are clear enough. Throughout this period, with the exception of eleven months, the Nonconformists, lay and ministerial alike, were under continuous persecution, which, *pace* my critic, became more and more 'pitiless' as the years went on. Who were their 'persecutors'?

The answers have been various.

1. Many without hesitation say 'Charles.' The persecution took place in his reign. The penal statutes, which were the engine of persecution, all received the Royal sanction before they could be placed upon the Statute Book of England. Therefore Charles II. was the persecutor, the first and only persecutor Nonconformists have ever had.

2. Others accept the implication contained in the historic phrase which classes the whole series of penal statutes, from the Act of Uniformity in 1662 to the Second Conventicle Act of 1670, as the 'Clarendon code.' Without any close sifting of the evidence, the Earl of Clarendon is held to be the 'head and front of the offending,' and Clarendon is spoken of as the arch-persecutor of Nonconformity.

3. Yet a third answer may be given. Seeing that from beginning to end it is the supposed interests of the Church of England which it was the object of all this legislation to conserve, it is most natural to suppose that the Anglican hierarchy—with Sheldon at their head—were at its heart, and were its real inspirers.

The easiest course, to avoid hostile criticism, would doubtless be to say that the responsibility must rest upon all three. In one sense, no doubt, that is the truth. Still I do not shrink from the attempt to distribute it more carefully, and cannot avoid the conclusion that the responsibility is heaviest in the case of Sheldon and his associates, scarcely slighter, if at all, with Clarendon, but that it cannot fairly be fathered on the King.

This was undoubtedly the case even with the Act of Uniformity. That was a penal statute introduced into a Parliament which was predominantly Royalist and Anglican—as contrasted with the Convention Parliament, which had been almost equally Royalist, but also strongly Puritan—but (to use a modern phrase) one which 'had no mandate' in this matter. It had been framed by the legal ability of Clarendon to embody the decisions of Convocation under the lead of Sheldon, and it was carried through in spite first of the intentional delays, and then of the merciful amendments of the Lords, by the strong will of both. Charles did not like it. Rather he was annoyed by it, as a measure which he shrewdly judged would delay the pacification of the country.

Charles was by temperament no persecutor. Such religion as he had, touched him so lightly that he had no wish to impose it on others. He seems rather to have regarded the religious sense as an awkward weakness or caprice of human nature, and as it could not be eradicated should be good-humouredly tolerated, and be allowed in everyone to take its own form of expression so long as it was not politically dangerous. There is no reason, therefore, to question his sincerity when in the Declaration he issued from Breda he promised toleration in religious matters to all and sundry. If he had any prejudice or preference in favour of one form of religion rather than another, he doubtless inherited some real reverence for Christianity from his 'martyred' father, along with some 'sneaking fondness' or some half-instinctive preference for the Roman Catholic form of it from his exiled mother. Yet he held any preference so lightly that he was quite willing that everyone of his subjects should be free to practise whatever form of the Christian religion they personally preferred or which a 'tender conscience' compelled them to adopt, whether it were Romanist or Protestant, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, Independent or Baptist, Arminian or Calvinist, Sacramentarian or Quaker, providing that by that toleration he could secure the personal loyalty of each to himself, and thereby insure a lasting security from having 'to take to his travels' again.

It is true that he dropped his first Indulgence as easily and more readily than he afterwards withdrew his second. Yet these acts more really expressed the 'bonhomie' and toleration natural to an easy, good-humoured, sensual nature than the penal statutes which his tutor Clarendon, under the instigation of Sheldon, with firm pressure compelled him to sign. Charles repeatedly gave the Nonconformists to understand—in interviews granted to their leaders (most of them ejected clergy resident in London)—that these persecuting edicts would not be pressed, that the administration and execution of them would be mitigated as far as possible, and that personally he was disposed for measures of Toleration if Comprehension of the Nonconformist ministers within the pale of the State Church were found to be impracticable. As early as the Christmas after the Act of Uniformity had been passed, Richard Baxter tells us: 'The King sent forth a Declaration, expressing 'his purpose to grant some Indulgence or Liberty in Religion. . . . 'When this came out, the ejected ministers began to think more confi'dently of some Indulgence to themselves: Mr Nye also, and some others 'of the Independents were encouraged to go to the King, and when they 'came back, told us: That he was now resolved to give them Liberty.'*

Indeed, it is a significant fact that the whole of these penal statutes were effective almost in the inverse proportion to the nearness to the seat of Government of the places where it was sought to enforce them. In London, at any rate, there was greater security from the operation of these penal statutes than in any town in the kingdom. Conventicles continued to be held in the city, and in parts of the Liberties of Westminster, close to St. James's and Whitehall, 'under the nose of the 'King,' without disturbance from him, and almost with his connivance.

The only exception to this state of things was the year following the passing of the Second Conventicle Act, when a strong Anglican was Lord Mayor, and specially during the absence of the King at Dover, where he was entertaining his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, and settling the terms of that disgraceful treaty with Louis of France, which is known to history as the Treaty of Dover.

For one brief period of eleven months, it is true, the Nonconformists had 'rest' from their persecution; but this we shall see was due to the personal initiative and action of the King, when, with the concurrence of his Council (the Cabal), he published his Declaration of Indulgence. When persecution was resumed, moreover, in 1673, resumed, too, with greater energy and bitterness than in the whole decade succeeding the Act of Uniformity, it was more clearly than before not with Charles's approval, still less through his initiative, but simply because his hand was forced by the stronger hand that held the purse-strings of the nation. When Parliament met in February, 1672-73, Charles readily and cheerfully informed them of his grace and favour to the Nonconformists, shown in his Indulgence to the tender consciences of those of his loyal subjects who could not in all things conform to the Church of England; roundly told the Parliament that he would take it ill if they presumed to interfere with what he had done, and strongly advised them to endorse and confirm his timely toleration. Parliament was in no mood to meet him in that spirit. Charles sorely wanted money to carry on the war with Holland, which he had undertaken in pursuance of the plan sketched in agreement with the King of France by the Treaty of Dover; but Parliament was resolved not to part with a penny until he had cancelled that Declaration, in which he had flouted their authority by acting on his own, and until he had reinstated in full force the penal statutes, which had been passed deliberately in full assembly of both Houses. And so, though he had boasted bravely that in this matter he would 'stick to his guns,' they swiftly turned his flank and compelled his abject surrender. He broke the seal from the Declaration of Indulgence with his own hand, and the penal statutes were put in force with more relentless energy than before.

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* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,' Lib. I., Part II., p. 430.

Many held that licences granted in the eleven months of the Royal Indulgence were still valid after the Declaration was withdrawn, and that the penal statutes could only be applied to those who had not secured a Royal licence. Conventicles, not a few, were therefore continued, in spite alike of justices and informers. The point was disputed, and not clearly settled in the courts of law; though the preponderant opinion was that in the act of withdrawing the Indulgence the King *ipso facto* had withdrawn his licences as well. For two years no clear understanding was reached. There can be little doubt, indeed, that Charles was rather pleased than not with those who clung to his Royal licence as an ægis against the shafts of persecution when the penal statutes were reinstated; and, again, his hand had to be forced, this time by the Bishops. He had referred the disputed point to them, and they urged him publicly to declare that the licences he had issued had been recalled. Accordingly, on February 3, 1675, he issued such an order in Council; and, a week later, a Royal declaration was published, for enforcing the order made in Council, and 'commanding the order to be observed in all its points' (Frank Bates, 'Declaration of Indulgence,' pp. 140-41).

Thus the hand of the persecutor was strengthened and all shelter removed from the persecuted, so that for the rest of Charles's reign and through James II.'s, till the Declaration of 1687, Nonconformists had no *locus standi* whatever, and they preached or worshipped in Nonconformist fashion at their peril, subject, on conviction, to the extremest penalties of all the penal laws which had been passed against them.

It is abundantly clear, therefore, that throughout the quarter of a century through which the Nonconformists had to suffer, it was not from the pressure of the hand of the King. The Persecution was Parliamentary and Ecclesiastical, not Royal.

That the part which Clarendon played, though so prominent as to appear principal, was only secondary, is proved beyond doubt by one simple fact. When Clarendon fell from his high position as the chief adviser of the King (deposed as effectually by Charles as was Bismarck by the young Kaiser in our own day), and fled to France, henceforth to live in the isolation of an exile, the persecuting policy which he had framed and formulated was not relaxed. It grew not feebler, but more relentless.

Clarendon fled in 1667, the year when the first Conventicle Act ran out. A second Conventicle Act was passed in 1670, and with its more ingenious, though apparently less severe methods, persecution became more severe and searching than ever.

For Sheldon was still in power, and his insistent influence was never relaxed; . . . and we shall not be far wrong if throughout this section we speak of 'Sheldon and his associates' as the active spirits in every stage of these first years of 'Nonconformity under Persecution.'

Sheldon's religious ideal for the nation was Unity of Church Organization and Uniformity in Public Ritual, or (as he loved to phrase it), 'Unity and Uniformity in God's service.' Any breach of the first by separation from the Episcopal Church he looked on as the deadly sin of schism; and any marring of the second by the slightest departure from the order of service in the Book of Common Prayer he loathed as discordance, and was determined to stifle with all the energy of an imperious bigot. Indeed, he fondly thought that he could put an end to both by making them offences punishable by the law of the land.

It is just possible that if the punishment had been made severe enough, and if the whole executive power of the State, military as well as civil, had been employed instantly and constantly to convict offenders and execute the penalties upon them to the full, he might have effected his purpose. If the penalty exacted had been the death penalty—as in many periods it was when the Papacy set to work to stamp out the heresy of Protestantism—and execution had promptly followed conviction, Nonconformity might have been stamped out.

The history of persecution seems to show that only its severest forms have any real efficiency. Wholesale massacres may effect their diabolical purpose. Yet even capital punishment—unless inflicted wholesale—does little more than winnow the chaff from the wheat. 'The blood of the martyrs' even proves the seed of the Church. The Inquisition, by incessant watchfulness and fiendish cruelty, did extirpate Protestantism from Spain and the Spanish Colonies. And the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, followed a century later by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, wellnigh destroyed the Reformed Religion in France. The persecution of the more stalwart Protestants in England by Mary and Elizabeth went far to drive out English Puritanism. Yet anything less than the extremest measures universally applied is invariably worse than useless.

Penalties less than capital, such as imprisonment, fine, and social or ecclesiastical excommunication, usually multiply the numbers, and serve only to purify and intensify the religious zeal of those who have to suffer 'for conscience' sake.'

It was so with Sheldon's campaign against Nonconformity. As with so many persecutors, he greatly underestimated the strength of the convictions which brought it into being—the force and vitality of a 'tender conscience.' Each fresh stage of this evil policy only proved more clearly its inefficiency, though at each stage he still clung to the idea that a little more severity would crown it with success.

The Returns which he asked for, and which are presented in Vol. I., were (we now proceed to show) closely connected with the several stages in Sheldon's persecuting campaign.

The Act of Uniformity, strictly speaking, is not one of the series—seeing that until it had produced its fatal effects the 'Nonconformists' had no separate being—outside the State Church. Still it would naturally have called forth a set of Episcopal Returns, anterior and introductory to the other three. Unfortunately for the historical student, Gilbert Sheldon did not obtain the Primacy till 1663. Had he been elevated to the See of Canterbury at the Restoration instead of Juxon, there is little doubt that the series of Archiepiscopal Enquiries and Episcopal Returns which are so striking a feature of his tenure of the Primacy, would have been prefaced by another in 1663. To a prelate of such a systematic order of mind, the advantage of a complete and authentic list of those who resigned their livings, or were ejected from them on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, would have been obvious.

With such a list before him, it would have been comparatively easy for him to keep his eye, and (if need were) to lay his hand upon them.

Of necessity it took him some time to adjust himself to the new position, so that though from the beginning he was at the heart of the movement against the Puritans, and the Act of Uniformity which turned them into Nonconformists was largely his work, he was not at leisure enough to take steps to obtain any systematic information about them till 1665.

Had he obtained such a list and lodged it, like the Returns we here reproduce, in the Archiepiscopal archives, they would have been invaluable, as giving first-hand information by which the historical student might have tested the completeness of Calamy's list. Not that it would have rendered Calamy's researches unnecessary, for Calamy would have had no access to them (any more than he had to those now published), such as any accredited research student may now readily secure.

Here we are glad to take a natural opportunity of making the fullest and most grateful acknowledgment of the larger liberality shown by the most recent occupants of the See of Canterbury, and of the ready courtesy shown to all historical students by the librarians at Lambeth Palace. All the documents bearing upon the history of Nonconformity which are there preserved, whether printed or in manuscript, are freely accessible to the historical student. Every facility is given for their thorough examination, and the freest permission given for their transcription.

No Return of the ejected ministers was made by the aged Primate Juxon, and no such list was made in 1662 or 1663. We are dependent therefore upon the labours of Calamy and Neal as the great martyrologists of Puritanism and Nonconformity; save that, in some cases, the parish registers supply first-hand information. Still, in many of these the facts are only implied, not stated explicitly; and, in many more the parish records are defective or entirely lacking just at this critical period.

The first Returns that were demanded by Gilbert Sheldon were asked for in 1665, the year following the First Conventicle Act, the first of the penal statutes designed to extinguish the Nonconformists created by the Act of Uniformity.

He had fancied, no doubt, that the ejected ministers would not dare to continue a ministry outside the establishment which by that Act had been made impossible to them within it. Hard facts proved the futility of this fancy. The people were as eager for the ministry of their pastors after ejectment as they were before, and so the Conventicle Act of 1664 was passed 'To prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles.'

According to the preamble, it is but a revival of the Act of

Uniformity passed in the thirty-fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. That Act, entitled 'an Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in 'their due obedience' (the preamble to the Conventicle Act alleged), 'hath not been put in due execution by reason of some doubt of late 'made, whether the said Act be still in force, although it be very 'clear and evident; and it is hereby declared that the said Act is still in 'force, and ought to be put in due execution.'

And this Conventicle Act was ostensibly devised 'for providing of 'further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous 'practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who, under 'the pretence of tender consciences, do at their meetings contrive insur'rections, as late experience has showed.' [I presume that this reference was mainly to the abortive Rising in the North, which 'fizzled out' with disastrous consequences to the handful of old officers in Oliver's army who engineered it, in the autumn of 1663 and the beginning of this year 1664. The attempt on Dublin Castle in 1663 could scarcely be pressed into the range of this disingenuous argument.]

Sheldon and his associates knew well enough that 'contriving insur'rections' or even suggesting the need of political changes, was no integral part of the proceedings in these assemblies for worship, which were held in private houses only because the parish churches were closed against them. They knew that very rarely, and then only among the Fifth Monarchy men—or it might be, most occasionally among a few zealots of the Baptists and Independents—had these meetings for religious worship betrayed the slightest trace of political animus or conspiracy. It is only too clear that it was part of Sheldon's policy to 'confuse the issue,' and to fasten on Nonconformists, as such, 'seditious 'designs,' of which he knew perfectly well the vast majority were as innocent as 'babes unborn.' By such means political prudence was enlisted in a service to which it would have been strongly averse had it appeared in its true guise simply as 'persecution,' prompted by prelatical bigotry.

The preamble was received, and accepted as genuine and as proved, the scheme of repression embodied in this First Conventicle Act was endorsed, and the Act itself promptly passed. Aimed at 'Con'venticling' as such, it treated all alike—preachers or hearers—who gathered together for worship other than that prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, and in places other than the parish church, in numbers greater than four—'over and above those of the same household.' The penalty for everyone present above the age of sixteen, for the first offence, was imprisonment for any period up to three months, or the payment of such sum of money as the justices or chief magistrate shall fine the offender at, up to £5, in lieu thereof (a money payment so exorbitant that only those in good circumstances could possibly pay it).

On a second offence, the period of imprisonment and the amount of fine were doubled. These penalties were severe enough, most would think. Yet it is clear that Sheldon was not over-confident as to the effects of even such severity. The penalty for a third offence was transportation for seven years (though be it observed the Act itself was to 'continue in force for three years' [only] 'after the end of this 'present session of Parliament, and from thenceforward to the end of the 'next session of Parliament after the said three years and no longer'), or the payment of £100.

For twelve months this cruel Act had full play. Yet the spirit of the Nonconformists was unbroken. Ministers and people still gathered, and that in numbers greater than before. The authorities became alarmed and angry; and in 1665 Sheldon determined to issue enquiries, which would give him authentic information as to the doings of these Nonconformists, specially the ejected ministers. True, in issuing 'Orders and Instructions' for this first set of Returns his ostensible object was the spiritual welfare of his Church and the efficiency of his clergy, yet each separate line of his enquiry shows that his eye was keener still on the Nonconformist wanderers from his flock, both clerical and lay.

Even so strong a Churchman as Edward Cardwell, Professor of Ancient History and Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, is compelled to admit it. In annotating these Orders and Instructions, reprinted verbatim in Vol. II., pp. 270-71 of his 'Documentary Annals,' he says:

'The orders and instructions which accompanied this letter' (Sheldon's letter to the Bishop of London) 'had evidently two distinct 'objects in view, the improvement of the orthodox clergy, and the suppression of Nonconformity. The discipline of the Church appears at 'this time, as indeed might be expected from the recent disorders, to 'have been in a worse condition than at any other period. However 'eminent may have been some of the prelates at the time of the Restoration, the Church had to contend with these cumulative difficulties, that 'its opponents among the laity were for the most part men of moral 'character and religious profession, and its friends were the members and 'adherents of a dissolute and irreligious Court. A pamphlet, printed at 'Cambridge in 1663, and entitled, "Ichabod, or Five Groans of the '"Church," complains heavily of undue ordination, loose profaneness, unconscionable simony, careless non-residence, and encroaching pluralities.

'It is at this period that the word "curate" obtained its modern meaning; and it is now introduced by the Archbishop into his instructions, 'as a title of a distinct and subordinate office, having previously been 'applied generally to all pastors and ministers. But though the improvement of the regular clergy is made the prominent object of these 'instructions, it was a point of no little importance to obtain accurate 'knowledge of the numbers and the residence of the Nonconformists.'

So of the six points of his inquiry, we find the fourth, fifth, and sixth required a Return of the Schoolmasters, Practisers of Physick, and Nonconformist ejected Ministers.

This information would be of great value to the persecutor, by enabling him more readily to apply both of the penal statutes already passed. Having now a 'directory' of the ejected ministers and of the nonconformable lecturers, teachers of youth and practisers of physic, he would know where the conventicles were likely to be held, and would be able to set his spies and informers to work to far greater effect.

It cannot be doubted that Sheldon looked to the future as keenly as he did on the past. In concert with Clarendon, he had already drafted that third penal statute, the Corporation, or Five Mile Act, which was designed to restrict the area of the influence of the ejected ministers, by driving them out of all the large centres of population and from their old spheres of ministerial activity, as the Act of Uniformity had already driven them out of their pulpits. Indeed it was only successive adjournments (dictated by fear of the Plague in King and Court and prelacy alike) which had prevented Parliament from passing it before the issue of Sheldon's letter. Parliament had assembled in March, and Sheldon's letter was not sent till July, so that continuous sessions would have enabled them to push through this Corporation Act before the issue of the Primate's 'Orders.' Continuous sessions they dared not hold when the dread Plague was holding high revel in the City of London, and even in the Liberties of Westminster. So Sheldon could not wait, and from the seclusion of Lambeth he sent out the Instructions, which on their face might be thought to concern the state of the Church in general only, or at most, to aid 'officials' to carry out more efficiently the spirit of the Act of Uniformity and the detailed provisions of the Conventicle Act.

Had these '65 Returns been complete, and all of them preserved, we should have a list of all the Nonconforming ministers who had survived the first three years of their exile from the ministry. Of those who had died in the interval we should still have no official information. As we shall see later, however (Part II., Section I., Chap. I.), what has been preserved is unfortunately the merest fragment of the whole.

Made in 1665, what we do possess gives us also incidental information as to the working of the First Conventicle Act (1664); since the ejected ministers were held to have committed a breach of 'the 'peace as regards Church and State' if they held 'unlawful assemblies 'for public worship,' or, in other words, if they conducted conventicles as defined in this First Conventicle Act. In fact, the inference is so natural as to be almost irresistible, that Sheldon ordered these Returns very largely that he might gather and tabulate authentic information as to the working of these two penal statutes (the Act of Uniformity, and the First Conventicle Act). Surely, however, that is not the whole truth about them.

There is scarcely any room for doubt that his eye was quite as much on the provisions of the Corporation Act, whose passage through Parliament he knew well enough was only delayed. That Act was to make it illegal for any minister, not strictly 'conformable,' who would not take the Oxford oath, to live in any 'city, or town corporate, or 'borough that sends burgesses to the Parliament,' or even 'to come or 'to be' within five miles of any such city, town, or borough—'unless 'only in passing upon the road.' There is no doubt that the information furnished in return to these enquiries of Sheldon would be of great value to officials in carrying out this ingeniously contrived and most oppressive measure. In the preamble to the Act, the description of the persons to whom the Act was to apply was so comprehensive as to include all those who would be reported in the '65 Episcopal Returns.

Every 'parson, vicar, curate, lecturer, and other person in holy 'orders' who had 'not declared their unfeigned assent and consent to the 'use of all things contained and prescribed in "The Book of Common '"Prayer," etc., and had not subscribed the declaration or acknowledg-'ment prescribed by the Act of Uniformity; and every person or persons 'not ordained according to the form of the Church of England who had 'taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or 'meetings under colour or pretence of exercise of religion, contrary to 'the laws and statutes of this kingdom,' came under the ban of this Act; and to obtain lists of these people (ministers not properly ordained, unsatisfactory curates, Nonconforming teachers and physicians as well as ejected Nonconformist clergy), was the precise object of Sheldon's Orders and Instructions. So unquestionable was this forward look in the enquiries, that the candour of Cardwell cannot but acknowledge it.*

So clear is it that the *first* of this series of Returns had regard to the persecution of Nonconformists, though of course the persecutors would have used the euphemism, 'their restraint and suppression,' in place of the plainer word 'persecution.'

It becomes as clear, also, on the slightest investigation, that it was the same with the Returns which Sheldon ordered in 1669.

By a singular coincidence the Conventicle Act lapsed the very year of Clarendon's downfall. As we have seen, it was to continue in force for three years after the end of the Session of Parliament in which it was passed, and thereafter to the end of the next ensuing session of Parliament. It was passed May 17, 1664, and the Session was terminated by a Proclamation of Prorogation on July 15. 'Three years 'thereafter' ran out, therefore, on July 15, 1667, not a month after the Dutch War was ended by the Peace of Breda. Parliament met on the 25th, but was prorogued to October 10, and then they particularly thanked the King for displacing the Lord Chancellor Clarendon;† and, after passing an Act for the banishment of the Earl of Clarendon, they adjourned on December 19. This was scarcely necessary as Clarendon had absconded on November 30, going into an exile in France, which ended only with his death in 1674.

By the letter of the law, therefore, the Conventicle Act lapsed only a few weeks after the same Parliament which passed it had pronounced the sentence of banishment on the man who, next to Sheldon and the Bishops, had had most to do with its passing into law, viz., in mid-December of 1667.

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* The same note, which I have already cited, goes on to observe—about the Nonconformist ministers:

'They had given offence to the Government by opposing the war which was then 'carried on against the Dutch, and it was determined to subject them to new and 'effectual restraints. The Parliament had assembled in the month of March; but, 'owing to the breaking out of the Plague, had been several times prorogued, and 'met eventually for the dispatch of business at Oxford in the month of October. On 'the 4th of that month was brought in the bill "for suppressing unconforming '"ministers and schoolmasters" which imposed a strict oath upon them, and such 'limitations respecting residence, as have since given it the name of "the Five Mile '"Act." The Archbishop's instructions as to non-conformists, bearing date the 7th of 'July, would seem to have been given in anticipation of this memorable act, and for 'the purpose of making it effectual as soon as it was passed.'

† This he had done on the 31st of August.

When Sheldon issued his next set of enquiries, therefore (in June, 1669)—enquiries which concerned Conventicles—the Conventicle Act had been out of active operation for a year and a half, but the Corporation, or Five Mile Act, had been in active operation little short of four years.

The Conventicle Act had done little to suppress Conventicles, though in many parts of the country both the ministers who had conducted them, and the brave laity who had frequented them, had suffered much at the hands of persecuting Anglicans, and the hardships of ministers had been much increased by the Five Mile Act in districts where it was made an effective statute. Though there is no denying the fact, whatever may be the explanation of it, that neither of these penal statutes had much effect in the precincts of the City of London, in the Borough of Southwark, or the Liberties of Westminster.

In the State Papers (Domestic Series) there is proof that the Court and City officials kept watch upon the Conventiclers. Reports given in by spies and informers are preserved, which show that the authorities had knowledge of a number of Conventicles held in the years 1664 and 1665 in the precincts of the City; but there is no proof that any number of those reported were arrested and penalised, either by fine or imprisonment. And it is certain that the two terrible calamities which overtook the Metropolis in the years 1665 and 1666—the Great Plague and the Great Fire—operated, as though by Divine appointment, to shield the Nonconformists in it from their persecutors, by diverting their thoughts from the congenial work of persecution to the more absorbing anxieties and fears for their own personal safety. Indeed, the Plague and Fire did more than that. The heroism of the ejected ministers in ministering to the victims of the Plague in 1665, and to homeless thousands amidst the ashes and ruins of the Great Fire in 1666, so impressed the public in their favour to the deserved disparagement of the Established clergy, that neither the Conventicle Act nor the Five Mile Act could find men sufficiently at leisure from their personal anxieties and fears to set these Acts in motion, either in the Ecclesiastical Courts or the Courts of Law (whether at the Petty Sessions or Assizes).

One of the most startling facts in connection with the Episcopal Returns of 1665 is that for London, where the number of ejected ministers who had fled from persecution in the provinces was so great, there are no Returns at all; and there is no proof whatever that, in more than two or three instances, the Five Mile Act was put into operation in London or its suburbs.

Had Humphrey Henchman only made his Returns for the Diocese of London as complete as Seth Ward's is for Devon and Cornwall, we should have had a volume of information exceeding in interest and historic value the whole of the Returns for the rest of England. In the two years over which his enquiries would have been extended, the parochial clergy had deserted their posts, and had made no attempt to send in any reports at all. So that instead of finding in Vol. 639 of the Lambeth MSS. the most suggestive and illuminating information about the Nonconformist ejected ministers in and about the City of

London, the Liberties of Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark, and that circle of suburban hamlets and villages which clustered so thickly even in 1665 within a radius of five miles of London, the historical student finds an absolute blank; and that for reasons which would certainly favour the further growth of conventicles in number and influence, and multiply the number of ejected ministers who would find refuge in the Metropolitan area. There can be no doubt that the Great Plague and the Great Fire, Clarendon's fall, and the lapse of the great persecuting Act, conduced considerably to the growth of Nonconformity in the London area in the years that followed 1667.

The policy of persecution was manifestly failing once more all over the country. Conventicles and Nonconformist ministers were increasing in numbers. Their meetings were more open and more frequent. Despite the promises of the false and fickle King, the persecutors got little encouragement; whereas the persecuted, being practically unmolested, waxed stronger.

We need not wonder, then, that in 1669 Sheldon had come to realize that unless something further were done, he would have to confess himself baffled and defeated.

Palpably, again, Sheldon's own action in asking for Returns of Conventicles was intimately connected with the more stringent courses which he was now urging only too successfully both upon Parliament and the King. He issued his Orders or Enquiries to the Bishops in June. A fresh Declaration was published by the King in July; and by April of the following year, 1670, the Second Conventicle Act became the law of the land.

There is no need at this point to give the text of Sheldon's circular letter, as it will be found in the chapter specially dealing with the Episcopal Returns of 1669 (Chap. III.); but it should be noted that in its preamble he frankly confesses alarm at 'the continual reports' which reach him 'on all hands of the frequency of conventicles and 'unlawful meetings,' many of them 'open,' to say nothing of the still greater number which met by stealth and in secret.

No less significant is the exaggerated emphasis which he lays upon the King's disavowal of sympathy with the Conventiclers. We feel inclined to say: 'Sir, thou dost protest too much.' The conversation cited by him was evidently engineered quite in the fashion of a modern press interview, so as to lead up to a denial much more definite and distinct than Charles ever intended his words to convey. The prelates, however, were bent on working the Royal words to the uttermost, and the leading question which Sheldon inserts in his Enquiries: 'From 'whom, and upon what hopes, they look for impunity?' is evidently intended to elicit answers which will test the value of the King's disavowal.

How closely the King was pressed by Sheldon is palpable enough from the following facts:

1. Bishop Kennett notes in June, 1669 (the very month in which Sheldon issued his Enquiries): 'An Order of the King in Council to 'the Bishops, to take a strict Account within their respective Dioceses

'what Conventicles are held contrary to Law, and who are the 'Teachers'—showing how the Primate had succeeded in fathering his own little project on the King in Council.

2. The month of July saw other measures taken, which forced the King to make a public proclamation.

On the 6th, the Judges attended the Lord Keeper to consider 'what Statutes are now in force for the suppressing of unlawful Conventicles'; and three days later (July 9) 'the Judges gave in their opinion in writing to the Council concerning unlawful meetings and what Laws were now in force against them'—evidently calling the attention of the authorities to the lapse of the Conventicle Act of 1664. Exactly a week after this judicial Report, the King issues a Proclamation 'to put the Laws 'in Execution for the suppression of Conventicles, and particularly to 'proceed against the Preachers, according to the Statute made the 17th 'of his Majesty's reign, entitled "An Act for restraining Noncon-'"formists from inhabiting Corporations";'—and Kennett's descriptive notice of it runs: 'Issued upon several Informations given in to his 'Majesty that Those who separate themselves from the establisht 'Worship, do meet in greater Numbers than formerly to such a degree 'as may endanger the Public Peace, by which his Majesty could not 'but take notice how far his known and still avowed Easinesse to 'Indulge tender Consciences is abused thereby.

'Given at Whitehall 16 July Anno regni 21o 1669.'

The full text of the Proclamation, as given by Wilkins in his 'Concilia' (Vol. IV., 588), makes clearer than any partial description can do the alarm of the Prelates, and the astute way in which they managed to put their views and aims into the King's mouth.

'A Proclamation against numerous Conventicles,

'CHARLES R.:

'Forasmuch as information hath been given us from several parts of the Kingdom that those who separate themselves from the established worship, do meet in greater numbers than formerly, to such a degree as may endanger the public peace, with which we cannot but take notice also how far our known and still avowed easiness to indulge tender consciences is abused thereby; wherefore, by the advice of our privy council, we have thought fit to issue this our proclamation straitly charging and commanding all our justices of the peace within the limits of their several jurisdictions, where they shall find any such meetings to be held that they put the laws in execution for suppression thereof, and particularly proceed against the preachers, according to the Statute made in the seventeenth year of our reign, entituled, "An "Act for restraining nonconformists from inhabiting in corporations."

'Given at our court of Whitehall this 16th day of July in the one & twentieth year of our reign, MDCLXIX' (1669).

Nor is it long before they persuade the Parliamentary leaders to take the further step of passing a second Conventicle Act, an Act which was not simply to reinstate the Act which had lapsed, but in several points, go further. They began the process in February, still according to the old style in the year 1669, though we should call it 1670.

The simple chronological notes of Bishop Kennett (Landsdowne MSS., 1023), tell their own tale. [They are largely extracts from the contemporary notes of Seth Ward, Bishop of Sarum]:

'*February* 17.—Order in the House of Commons to bring in a Bill for Suppressing Conventicles.

'*March* 9.—The Commons pass'd the Bill for Suppressing Conventicles and sent it to the Lords.

'*March* 10.—Mr Treasurer acquainted the House of Commons that upon attending his Majesty with their Votes and Desires for Suppressing Conventicles and putting the Laws in Execution against the Papists, his Majesty was pleased to declare that effectual Course should be taken wth Both.

'*March* 25.—Pro tempore the Bill against Conventicles passed the Grand Committee of the whole House of Lords, before the passing of the Proviso concerning the King's Supremacy.

'The King called to me' (the Bishop of Sarum) 'and told me that he desired that the Proviso might pass, for this reason; that the Bishops and all his friends might see that he would take care of them and of the Nation in the strict execution of that Act with which he would not dispense.' [A singular statement in face of the fact that within two years from that date he had published his Declaration of Indulgence, by which he dispensed with all the penal statutes by suspending them]. Ward adds in Latin: 'He said the same to the Bishop of London, to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and others,' and continues: 'He commanded me to let the Bishops understand so much; which I did: and the Proviso passed without opposition, His Royal Highness' (*i.e.*, James, Duke of York) 'having declared the same things publickly in a speech in the King's presence.'

'*March* 28.—The Proviso was rectified in the House of Commons, and all dangerous passages left out.'

Kennett's notes put the last fact rather more fully than Bishop Ward:

'*March* 28.—The Bill for Suppressing Conventicles was sent back to the House of Commons, who agreed to several Amendments of the Lords, but adher'd to their Paragraph of making above five an Unlawful Assembly.'

The last note in the series is:

'*March* 30.—The Commons had a Conference with the Lords—managed by Sir Heneage Finch, who gave the Reasons for their Adherence and Amendments in the Bill to suppress Conventicles.'

The connection between these Episcopal Returns and both the Royal Proclamation and the Second Conventicle Act is obvious. As to the Royal Proclamation, the Returns would give information as to where and when Conventicles might be discovered, and the Conventiclers arrested; and—giving the names (and often the usual residence) of the Teachers or Preachers—would give facilities for their apprehension and penalizing.

A careful consideration of the new features of this Second Conventicle Act, leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that these Episcopal Returns were deliberately designed to furnish an instrument for the facile execution of this fresh Edict of Persecution.

The points in which it differed from the First were six :

1. The definition of the term 'Conventicle' (or 'unlawful assembly') was extended so as to apply to meetings 'out of doors.'

In the First Conventicle Act its phraseology seemed to contemplate, and directly to recognize, only meetings held in private houses, within the closed doors of an inhabited house ; as a Conventicle was constituted only when there were present at the worship five persons or more, above sixteen years of age, 'over and above the members of the household.' So that if the persons assembled within the house were warned of the approach of the legal officers in time to leave the premises, and meet in the woods, in a glen, or on the open moors near the house, it might be argued, as it was (on more than one occasion), that there was no 'Conventicle' according to the letter of the law—however many were gathered together—in these other places. In this Second Act, however, this possibility is expressly foreseen and provided for, as the alternative is added : 'Or if it be in a house, field or place, where there is no family 'inhabiting,' there is still a Conventicle, wherever 'any five persons or 'more are assembled for worship in other manner than according to the 'liturgy and practice of the Church of England'; in other words, except in a house, only four persons were allowed to meet ; *i.e.*, one preacher and three hearers.

2. The penalties for breach of the Act are altered in their amount and in their incidence.

(1) In the First Act, the penalty is imprisonment for the first offence, up to three months ; and for a second, or any further offence, up to six months ; the only alternative being the payment of a fine up to the amount of £5 for the first offence and up to the amount of £10 for a second ; and that for any offender whatever, whether preacher or hearer.

In the Second, the penalty is *a fine*—imprisonment being only the alternative where the money-fine cannot be got.

(2) Further, there is a great difference made between the preacher and the hearers.

(*a*) In the case of the hearers, it is very much less : only five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second for each person ; and, in case of non-payment, distraint of goods up to the value of the fine.

(*b*) For the preacher, however, the fine is made much higher. Instead of the £5 per offender (levied on all equally), for the first offence it is £20 ; and for the second, and any subsequent offence, the enormous sum of £40, to be followed by distraint of goods in case of non-payment.

In addition to this discrimination, there was inserted an ingenious device for securing the money, by working upon the cupidity of possible informers. In case of poverty making the payment of the fine impossible either directly, in cash, or by distraint upon the goods of the offender—which, of course, would be the case in the greater majority of offenders (both hearers and teachers), the justice of the peace (before whom the cases were brought), was empowered to select anyone of those present at the Conventicle of sufficient means and substance, and call upon him or her to pay for his or her poorer fellow-worshippers, and in case of refusal, to distrain his or her goods and chattels for fines which could not otherwise be obtained—up to the sum of £10.

(*c*) And a third distinction is made amongst those who infringe the Act. The owner of the house in which the Conventicle is held is to be dealt with by the same rule, and fines imposed on the same scale as the teacher. £20 is exacted for the first offence, and £40 for any subsequent one. The money was leviable—either directly or indirectly—from the offender personally, or from some well-to-do person who was worshipping as guest.

3. The agents employed for the discovery of the offenders.

(1) By provision for their reward, a new and particularly odious class of men was brought into existence—viz., spies, disguised as adherents, and 'informers.'

4. The 'powers' employed for the suppressing and dispersion of the Conventicles, and their arrest and punishment in case of surprise.

In the First Conventicle Act the only persons looked to were the civil magistrates of the district, with their subordinates, and the churchwardens and clergy of the parish where the Conventicle was held. In this Second Act, however, express provision is made for calling in the armed forces of the Kingdom, in case the Conventicles cannot be suppressed by ordinary civil and ecclesiastical authority. Any one justice of peace could compel the assistance of the militia or any other of His Majesty's forces.

5. In the disposal of the fines, too, a difference is made, with the clear design of enlisting the interest of King and commoner alike in an active prosecution of the Act.

In the earlier Act the fines (where paid to avoid imprisonment—and the cases would be very few indeed) were to be paid to the churchwardens of the parish where the offender did last inhabit, for *the relief of the poor.*

In this later Act the fines levied—whether from rich or poor—were to be pooled and divided into three equal parts:

One-third was, as before, for the relief of the poor.

One-third was paid into the King's exchequer.

One-third was the spoil of the informer, through whose 'diligence 'and industry' the Conventicle was discovered and the Conventiclers arrested.*

* The sums secured were brought to the Assize Courts by the constables or churchwardens who had levied the fines and handed over to the presiding magistrate. The Court then 'ordered' the several 'third parts' to be paid to these several officials according to the terms of the Act.

The Sessions Books of all municipal corporations must contain a vast amount of matter which would be of great historic value to the historian of Nonconformity. By the courtesy of the Town Clerk of Bristol I was able to verify the truth of this statement as to that city. Under date '16 October, 1670' (just six months after the passing of the Second Conventicle Act), I came upon several entries like the three following:

'Paid into Courte—
By Jno. Clarke, Chiefe Con^{ble} of the parish of Christchurch:
five & twenty shillings for the offence of Nathaniell Day,
whereof 8s. 4d. due to his Ma^{ty} (was) delivered to M^{r} Sher(iff) Day,
and 8s. 4d. . . . to Sir Rob^{t} Yeoman for the Informer,
the other third part to the poor.'

6. The conduct of officials in carrying out the Act. Under the terms of the First Conventicle Act their zeal was taken for granted. As representatives of the law of the land, it was presumed that they would do everything in their power to make the Act effective, by inviting and gathering information of these 'illegal assemblies' with eagerness and alertness.

In the six years since its enactment, however, so many of the justices and magistrates were found to be in league with the Con-

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'By Chiefe Con^{ble} of St. Stephens:
5s. for the offence of Ezekiell Fogg.[1]
5s. for the offence of the wife of Francis Baily,
5s. for the offence of Mary Baldwin,
5s. for the offence of Edw. Byfeild,
whereof 15s. was delivered to M^{r} Sher. Day,
15s. . . . .to S^{r} Ro: Yeomans for the Informer,
& another ⅓ [15s.] for the poore of St. James.'

'Received of the Constables of St. James:
lv^{s} (55s.) for the offence of Jo^{n} Cumberland.
15s. for the offence of Will. Rogers.
5s. for the offence of Rich^{d} Christmas.
5s. for the offence of his wife.
5s. for the offence of Thomas Ellis.'

These last amounts make a total of 85s., and a third part of this would amount to 28s. 3d.; but to make the division come out in even figures they dock the poor of 3s. 3d., and give 1s. 9d. to the King and the Informer above their due; for we read:

'Whereupon—
30s. [was] delivered to M^{r} Sher. Day [for the King],
30s. was delivered to Sir Rob^{t} Yeomans for the Informer,
and 25s. to the poore of St. James.'

Turning the pages of these Session Books ten years after the withdrawal of the Indulgence, I came upon this:

'6 *Aug.*, 1683.—Whereas mony levied on sev^{r}all ꝑsons on conviction for Conventicles was brought into Court by S^{r} Thomas Earle and delivered to the Town Clerk.

'Ordered that these 2 bags be delivered to the Sheriffs, and that they issue out
20^{lb} to M^{r} Ralph Oliffe,
M^{r} Thomas Lugge,
M^{r} John Tilly & others,
the said ꝑsons claiming a third part of that money as Informers.'

And a year later, upon this:

'11 *July*, 1684.—It was reported that £42 was ready to be delivered pursuant to the Conventicle Act.

'Brought into Court a bag sealed supposed to contain 42^{lb} 1^{s}, being the mony levyed on sev^{r}all persons for being at a Conventicle 4th May last in Tuckey's house: viz: on the goods & chattels of
D. Tucker, Tho. Pope & ux., Ald^{n} Dolman & ux.
on which were Informers
Tho: Lugg & Tho: Hynor, Jn° Hoare & W. Watkins.
'It is Ordered—
That the mony be taken againe to the Mayor, and disposed of according to the Act.'

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[1] This Ezekiel Fogg must soon after have left Bristol for London, for in 1672 he secured a licence as a Congregational teacher—as of St. Pulker's, London—that is, as a parishioner of St. Sepulchre's, Snow Hill. The licence entry [on **E. (278)**] is undated, but belongs to the month of December.

venticlers (by connivance, if not actual encouragement), that in this Second Conventicle Act a special clause was inserted, which was intended to create a zeal where it did not exist and quicken it where it was lukewarm. Any justice or magistrate who was reported as slack in the discharge of these duties was liable to a penalty of £100, and any subordinate to a fine of £5.

Now of these six points, the first, fourth, and last, are concerned mainly with a more vigorous and effective prosecution of the Act.

For the application of the other three, the Episcopal Returns are clearly designed to give the special information the Act required. It was the three classes of offenders specially selected for fleecing under the New Act, of whom these Episcopal Returns gave the names in three out of the five columns in which the précis of the Returns were arranged —viz., the owners of the houses where the conventicles were held, the well-to-do persons who frequented them, reported as 'Abettors,' as those out of whose pockets or property the fines imposed were in the last resort to be obtained, and the Heads, or Teachers, who conducted the worship and preached the sermons.*

Nor could anything more faithfully reflect the whole spirit of the new Act than the fourth column in its cynically 'financial' meaning. Headed 'Quality,' in many instances, it frankly adopted as its standard nothing touching life or conduct or character, but simply and purely the £ s. d., which it was the object of the Act to extort from those who still dared to obey their consciences rather than a Parliamentary Statute. Thus intimately were these '69 Returns, then, connected with the persecution of Nonconformists. So clearly were they intended to prove the disastrous effects of the lapse of the First Conventicle Act, to prepare for the Second, and to aid its application.

Nor could we have a clearer proof of Sheldon's sense of triumph when the Act was passed than the letter he sent out in May, 1670. It is printed verbatim in Wilkins's 'Concilia' (Vol. IV., 589):

'The archbishop of Cant. letter with the King's directions.

'ARCHIEPISC. CANT.	ANNO CHRISTI	REG. ANGLIÆ
Gilb. Sheldon, 8	1670	Carol. II. 22

'The archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the commissary, the dean, and archdeacon of Canterbury concerning the King's directions to the clergy—Ex autographo penes Thom. episc. Assaven.

'RIGHT WORSHIPFUL M^{R} COMMISSARY, AND RIGHT REVEREND M^{R} DEAN AND M^{R} ARCHDEACON,

'It having pleased his majesty and the two houses of parliament, out of their pious care for the welfare of this church and Kingdom, by making and publishing the late Act for preventing and suppressing conventicles, to lay a hopeful way for the peace and settlement of the church and the uniformity of God's service in the same; it becomes us bishops, ecclesiastical judges, and clergy, as most particularly sensible of the good providence of God, to endeavour as much as in us lies, the promoting of so blessed a work. And therefore having well considered what will be proper for me in my place to do, I have thought fit, and do hereby recommend unto you as my commissioners jointly and severally, these counsels and methods which I desire that, in my stead, throughout my particular diocese of Cant., as well in places exempt as not exempt, you will pursue; and which I have also, by my letters, given in charge to all the rest of my brethren the bishops of my province, being thereunto encouraged by his majesty's approbation and express direction in this affair.

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* But see more fully cap. iii.

'In the first place, therefore, I advise and require you, that you will call before you not only all officials, registers, and other ecclesiastical officers within my diocese; but that also, by such means, and at such places as you shall judge most convenient, you assemble before you or some one or more of you the several parsons, vicars, and curates of my diocese and jurisdiction within their several deanries; and that you impart unto them respectively, as they shall come before you, the tenor of these my letters, requiring them in my name that, in their several capacities and stations, they all perform their duty towards God, the King, and the Church, by an exemplary conformity in their own persons and practice to his majesty's laws, and the rules of the church in this behalf.

'Secondly, I advise, that you admonish and recommend to all and every of the parsons, vicars, and curates within my said diocese and jurisdiction, strictness and sobriety of life and conversation, checking and punishing such as transgress, and encouraging such as live orderly; that so, by their virtue and religious deportment they may show themselves patterns of good living to the people under their charge. And next, that you require of them, as they will answer the contrary, that in their own persons, in their churches they do decently and solemnly perform the divine service by reading the prayers of the church as they are appointed and ordered in and by the book of Common Prayer, without addition to, or diminishing from the same, or varying, either in substance or ceremony, from the order and method which, by the said book is set down, wherein I hear and am afraid, too many do offend; and that in the time of such their officiating, they ever make use of and wear their priestly habit, the surplice and hood; that so by their due and reverent performance of so holy a worship, they may give honour to God, and by their own example instruct the people of their parishes what they ought to teach them in their doctrine.

'Thirdly, having thus counselled the ecclesiastical officers and clergy of my diocese in their own particular duties, you are further desired to recommend unto them the care of their respective jurisdictions and charges, that in their several places they do their best to win all Nonconformists and Dissenters to obedience to his majesty's laws, and unity with the church; and such as shall be refractory, to endeavour to reduce by the censures of the church, or such other good means and ways as shall be most conducing thereunto.

'To which end I advise that all and every of the said ecclesiastical judges and officers, and all and every of the clergy of my diocese, and the churchwardens of every parish, by their respective ministers be desired in their respective stations and places, that they take notice of all Nonconformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors of conventicles and unlawful assemblies, under pretence of religious worship, especially of the preachers and teachers in them, and of the place wherein the same are held, ever keeping a most watchful eye over the cities and greater towns, from whence is the mischief for the most part derived into the lesser villages and hamlets.

'And wherever they find such wilful offenders, that then, with a hearty affection to the worship of God, the honour of the King, and his laws, and the peace of the Church and Kingdom, they do address themselves to the civil magistrates, justices, and others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for the prevention or suppression of the same, according to the said late act made and set forth in that behalf.

'Lastly, for the better direction to all those that shall be concerned in the advices given in this letter, I desire you will give out amongst ecclesiastical officers and clergy as many copies of the same as you shall think most conducible to the ends for which it is designed.

'And now, what the success will be, we must leave to God almighty. Yet I have this confidence, under God, that if we do our parts now at first diligently, by God's help and the assistance of the civil power (considering the abundant care and provisions this Act contains for our advantages), we shall within a few months see so great an alteration in the distractions of these times, as that the seduced people, returning from their seditious and self-serving teachers, to the unity of the Church and uniformity in God's service, it will be the glory of God, the welfare of the Church, the praise of his majesty's government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom.

'And so I bid you heartily farewell, and am

'Your most affectionate friend,
'GILB. CANT.

'LAMBETH HOUSE,
'*May* 7, 1670.'

It is true from the first half of the letter we can see that the Primate made the passage of the Act the occasion for an earnest effort to bring his clergy and prelatical hierarchy more thoroughly into line with his avowed objects of Ecclesiastical Unity and Ritual Uniformity, both in their private lives and in their parochial duties. Yet the real point of the letter lies in its second half; from which we see how he enlists the whole of his ecclesiastical staff, from the Bishop, Deans, and Archdeacon of each diocese to the clergy (rectors, vicars, or curates), and churchwardens of every parish in the work of inquisition for Nonconformist ministers and Dissenting parishioners—with note-book in hand—so as to ply the double work of reclaiming them for the Church, if by any means they can win them back, and to bring them before the ecclesiastical courts, if they remain obdurate or obstinate; and if ecclesiastical penalties are not enough to deter them from this irregular worship in unlawful Conventicles, then they are to set to work the hounds of the law and the military forces of the Kingdom to harry them into obedience or silence.

Nor were these instructions in vain. There is abundant evidence in the Domestic State Papers and in the Visitation Act Books in all the Dioceses of the Kingdom, that in 1670 there was a great revival of persecuting activity. The provision in the Act, which reserved one-third of the spoil for informers, without doubt largely multiplied their numbers and inflamed their malicious zeal, so that the two years for which the Second Conventicle Act was in active operation—before the Declaration of Indulgence suspended all Penal Statutes—were signalized by a more bitter and persistent persecution of Nonconformists than had been seen since the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

Two most striking testimonies to this—in the provinces—are two small books which were published, the one for the Midlands, the other for the South-Western Counties.

The former, entitled 'A True and Impartial Narrative of some '*Illegal* and *Arbitrary* Proceedings by certain Justices of the Peace and 'others, against several innocent and peaceable *Nonconformists* in and 'near the Town of *Bedford*, upon pretence of putting in execution the 'late Act against Conventicles, Published for general information,' was 'printed in the year 1670.' Dr. John Brown (in his 'John Bunyan: 'his Life, Times, and Work,' p. 222), judges from its general appearance that 'it was issued from the press of Francis Smith at Temple Bar.'

The latter—with very similar title—gives particulars of the like Illegal and Arbitrary proceedings in the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge, in South Devon, in which the persecution centred in the person of John Hickes, who had been ejected from Saltash, on the borders of Cornwall, and had fled to this neighbourhood with several others because to it the Five Mile Act did not apply. Though it was published anonymously, there is little room for doubt that it came from the pen of John Hickes himself.

Even in London, for twelve months at least, the new Act was made a reality in a way no penal statute against Nonconformists had been for the whole of this decade. There was a beginning made in the month of March, and in the person of one of the most influential of the Nonconformist ministers of London, Dr. Thomas Manton, of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. In the Episcopal Returns of '69: (**R. 219**) he is reported as holding a Conventicle of 100 in number 'At his owne house 'in Covent garden'; and (under date March 24, 1670), Bishop Kennett notes 'An Account of the Appearance of D^{r} Manton before the Jus-'tices in discharge of his Security and his Commitment to the Gate 'House' (Westminster), 'there to remain wthout Bail or Mainprise.' The election of a reactionary Lord Mayor, Sir Samuel Stirling, as well as the activity of some of the distinctly Episcopalian Aldermen, and of Sir John Robinson, Governor of the Tower, brought about a brief period of very energetic persecution—in which the Trained Bands and the Horse Guards were enlisted in the dastardly work of breaking open Meeting-House doors, wrecking their furniture (pulpits and seats), and then closing them against the would-be worshippers; and in other cases, by force of arms opening them for Episcopal services in parishes where the parish churches had not yet been rebuilt, though four years had elapsed since the Great Fire. Curiously enough, however, it coincided with the absence of the King from Westminster, and his stay at Dover with his sister from France, signalized by the Secret Treaty which made the English Crown a pensioner on the bounty of France, and went far to sell the Protestantism of England to the Pope. With the King's return difficulties arise, the persecution slackens, and for the year 1671 London resumes its former condition, as the one place in the whole kingdom where the Nonconformists are most secure from molestation and persecution.

With the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, we know all persecution ceased; and eleven months of Royal protection no doubt served to favour and increase the spread of Nonconformity.

Nor was the situation changed so thoroughly as might hastily be imagined by the enforced withdrawal of the Indulgence in March, 1673. In many quarters, no doubt, persecution was renewed with redoubled energy and bitterness. All the cruelties of 1670 and 1671 were resumed in 1673-4. Still, many who had received licences in 1672-3 maintained that their licences still retained their validity, even after the King had broken the Great Seal on the Declaration of Indulgence. The licences were unqualified. No period was stated, no time-limit was named in them, beyond which they needed renewal. And it was a point so arguable in a court of law, that in many instances these outstanding licences constituted a very real barrier against the persecuting fury of their enemies. Such a condition of affairs very naturally was far from satisfactory to such men as Sheldon and Ward. Nor did they rest until, in 1675, they had obtained a public withdrawal of all the licences by the King in Council.

Again, then, we see that the call for Returns from all the Bishops of both Provinces, is closely connected with a fresh stage in this Campaign of Persecution. The Returns of 1676 are synchronous with a recrudescence of these barbarous measures, and are clearly intended to encourage and facilitate them. The object of these Returns was to reassure the persecutors, by convincing them that the opposition they had to encounter was not so widespread or so influential as it was often made out to be. They were thus encouraged to continue their cruel work, in the confidence that a little more persistence and a little more severity would stamp out the pest, and bring Nonconformity to a perpetual end.

The circular letters which Sheldon directed to the Bishops of both Provinces, in 1676, enjoined them to give directions to their archdeacons and commissaries to procure particular information from the churchwardens of their several parishes on the following enquiries, and transmit the information to Lambeth after the next visitation:

'1. What number of persons are there, by common estimation, inhabiting within each parish subject to your jurisdiction?

'2. What number of Popish recusants, or persons suspected of recusancy, are resident among the inhabitants aforesaid?

'3. What number of other dissenters are there in each parish, of what sect soever, which either obstinately refuse or wholly absent themselves from the communion of the church of England at such times as by law they are required?' [Neal, 'History of the Puritans,' Vol. III., pp. 195-96].

Cardwell's note upon this letter is so significant ('Documentary Annals,' II., 288-89) as to deserve quotation:

'From the time of the removal of Lord Clarendon, in the year 1667, various attempts had been made to comprehend dissenters, more especially the presbyterians, within the pale of the church of England. In the year 1673, a bill for their relief passed through the House of Commons, and was read a third time with amendments in the upper house, but was not finally adopted by both houses before parliament was prorogued. In the year 1675, several divines of the church of England, with Tillotson and Stillingfleet at their head, had private conferences with Baxter, Manton, and other non-conformists, for the purpose of arranging terms of accommodation; but meeting afterwards with great opposition from the bishops, they abandoned their plan, and Tillotson expressed their reason for doing so in the following manner: "It cannot pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the bishops, and the countenance of his majesty, which at present I see little reason to expect." Nevertheless the non-conformists had very powerful arguments on their side, and were supported by able advocates. The duke of Buckingham proposed a bill for their relief in November, 1675, urging the importance of the measure for promoting the wealth, strength, and greatness of the nation. Bishop Wilkins, who died in 1672, had been indefatigable in their favour, having spoken against the Conventicle Act in 1670, although the King had endeavoured to prevent him; and bishop Croft published anonymously (in 1675) an address to the lords and commons, under the title of "The Naked Truth," which recommended that "peace should be made with lesser enemies, in order to resist more successfully the encroachments of the greater." Among the topics urged at that period in favour of comprehension great use was doubtless made of the supposed number and influence of the dissenters, and this letter was issued by the archbishop for the purpose of ascertaining what was the degree of credit to which it was entitled. We learn from a pamphlet, written by bishop Sherlock, in vindication of the Test Act, what was the result. "The non-conformists of all sorts (including papists as well as the others) were computed to be in proportion to the numbers of the church of England in the year 1676, as one to twenty; a number in proportion, too small to have any natural strength to hurt the constitution" (p. 44, edit. 1790). It is evident, however, that such a proportion of discontent was too great to continue stationary. In the copy of this letter preserved in the Tanner MSS. (Vol. 282, p. 104) is the following note on the words "What number of persons?" "The Bishop of Norwich doubts whether the word was to be restrained to such as were only of fit years to communicate; sc. above the age of 16."'

All that need be said here is that statistics obtained with such a clearly defined object can scarcely be looked upon as reliable. When the avowed hope of the ecclesiastics who instituted the census was that the numbers of Nonconformists would be found to be much smaller than the Nonconformists themselves claimed that they were, we may be quite sure that the clergy and churchwardens would not overestimate their numbers; and can hardly avoid the suspicion that they would take care that the Returns would confirm the hopes of the authorities. Thus clearly was each set of Episcopal Returns made by order of Archbishop Sheldon connected with a distinct stage in the campaign of Persecution of Nonconformists.

CHAPTER II

THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS OF 1665

THE Episcopal Returns of 1665, preserved at Lambeth, are extremely meagre. Whether or not they were the only returns made is a matter of pure speculation.

It is scarce reasonable to suppose, however, that so distinct a demand on the part of the Primate should have been utterly ignored by twenty Bishops out of the twenty-six.

Yet the fact remains that in Vol. 639 (of the MS. Department of the Lambeth Palace Library), we have preserved Returns from only six Dioceses of England and Wales; four out of the twenty-two English Dioceses; and two out of the Welsh four. Two of English Returns, moreover, are of no value for our purpose. The Returns from Lincoln and Norwich contain nothing whatever about Nonconformists. And one of the two from Wales—viz., that from St. Asaph's—is as useless as theirs, because of the Bishop's wilful silence when he might have told us much. He has the audacity to certify that there are no Nonconformists in his Diocese, when he must have known (as we shall see presently) that there were many. So that we have only three Returns of any value for our purpose.

Before proceeding to any detailed examination of them, however, a word or two of explanation may not be out of place:

1. To begin with, it so happened that the King had demanded a Return from the Bishops in this same year 1665, only a few days before the Archbishop had decided to ask for Returns on certain points on which he desired both information and satisfaction. The King's enquiry concerned one subject only—viz., the Hospitals or Charitable Institutions of England and Wales. The Archbishop's concerned six several items touching the condition of the Church of England, Ordinations, Pluralities, Lectures, Free Schools, Medical Practitioners, and Nonconformist Ministers.

It was the King's pleasure to get the information he wanted through Sheldon. Hence the Bishops received two Orders or Instructions from the Primate within eleven days of each other.

Little wonder, then, if some of the Bishops should mix up the Royal

Enquiry with the Special Enquiries of the Primate; and, as all the Returns had to be sent to Sheldon, should fail to keep them distinct. This was the case apparently with even so clear-headed a prelate as Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter. At any rate in the Title Page of the 'Bishop of Exon's Certificate of the things above written' (**R. 396**), the first of the six items enumerated of which 'An Account' is given 'in the Diœcesse of Exeter' is 'Hospitals & Almeshouses' (instead of 'Ordinations'), the others being (1) 'Clergymen holding Pluralities; (2) Schole Masters; (3) Lecturers; (4) Physicians; (5) Ejected Non Conformist Ministers.'

That may have been the error of the Editor of his Reports, as Ward did also faithfully report on Ordinations as well. For while his account of Hospitals is given on pages 384-389, his list of persons ordained at Exeter from September 2, 1662, to September 24, 1665, is given on pp. 390-395, and what follows, the Title Page or Summary, on p. 396, is his detailed Returns on the five other points. That Summary applies therefore to what precedes as well as to what follows it [*vide* Note to Part I., Cap. I. (p. 7 of this volume)]. It is, of course, from what follows it that I have made the extracts printed on pp. 184-191 of Vol. I. of this work.

What is somewhat confusing to the student of Vol. **639** (Lambeth) is that the Returns of Seth Ward (splendidly detailed and complete) both in answer to the King's Enquiry and all six points of the Primate's 'Orders and Instructions,' are inserted in the midst of a series of Returns of 'Hospitals in England and Wales.' [I imagine, because his Returns of Hospitals were sent in with Returns on the other six points.]

The series as a whole covers pages 355-438 in Vol. **639**.

Those that precede Seth Ward's are: (1) St. Asaph's (pp. 356-57); (2) Bangor's (pp. 358-362); (3) Carlisle's (pp. 363-367); (4) St. David's, and (5) St. Asaph's (p. 368); (6) Durham's (pp. 370-377); and (7) Ely's (pp. 378-383); and those which follow are (8) Lincoln's (pp. 419-425); (9) Norwich's (pp. 425-26); (10) Peterborough's (pp. 427-28), with a separate sheet for Rutland (p. 429); (11) Worcester's (pp. 430-436); and (12) (a detached supplement at the very end of the Volume) the Report of St. Magdalen Hospital by Bawtree in the County of Nottingham, which, of course, is a fragment of the Report from the Diocese of York (p. 446). For the archæologist, and historian of the Public Charities of England, this is a most valuable series of documents. Full as it is, however, it is far from complete. We miss the Returns from fifteen Dioceses—viz. (1) York (save the fragment about Bawtree); (2) Chester; (3) Lichfield and Coventry; (4) Hereford; (5) Gloucester; and (6) Oxford, are all lacking from the Northern half of the Kingdom; and what is more remarkable, since the depository is Lambeth: (1) Canterbury, (2) Rochester, (3) London, (4) Chichester, (5) Winchester, (6) Sarum, (7) Bath and Wells, (8) Bristol, and (9) Llandaff, are all wanting from the South.

In Vol. **975** we have authentic extracts 'ex REGISTRO GILBERT SHELDON'; and amongst them the original correspondence of the Archbishop with reference to these 1665 Returns.

It seems that he did not address himself directly to each of the Bishops of his Diocese; but wrote personally only to Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, requiring him to communicate the Archbishop's wishes to all his Brother Bishops, enclosing a Draft of the 'Orders and Instructions,' copies of which the Bishop of London was to send to all his Episcopal Brethren.

The Archbishop's Letter read as follows:—

'His Grace's Letter to the Ld. Bp. of London.

'Right Reverend and my very good Lord. After my hearty Commendations. Having heard frequent complaints from many parts of my province, not only of great disorders and disturbances caused by y^{e} crafty insinuations and turbulent practices of factious Inconformist ministers and others disaffected to y^{e} Governm^{t} of y^{e} Church, but also of divers unworthy persons y^{t} even of late years have crept into y^{e} Ministry, to y^{e} Scandal of y^{e} Church & dissatisfaction of good men, a great part of which miscarriages are imputed to y^{e} easiness or inadvertency (at least) of y^{e} Bps who ought to have a watchful eye against such growing mischiefs. I have therefore thought good, as in like cases hath often been done by my p^{r}decessors, to recommend to yo^{r} Ldships & y^{e} rest of my Brethren y^{e} Bps of my Province y^{e} orders & Instructions here wth all sent, desireing & requiring your Ldp & y^{m} duly to observe y^{e} same & to give unto me such account & certificates as are thereby required, w^{ch}, y^{t} it may be ꝑformed, I desire yo^{r} Ldp y^{u} will impart y^{e} ten^{r} of these my L^{rs} together wth a true Copie of y^{e} s^{d} Ord^{rs} & Instructions to every one of my Brethren y^{e} Bps of my Province wth all convenient Speed and so I bid y^{r} Ldp heartily farewell.

'Yo^{r} Ldps very affectionate Friend and Brother,

'GILB. CANT.

'LAMBETH,
'*July* 7, 1665.

'P.S.—I desire y^{t} yo^{r} Ldp, in yo^{r} Lrs to my Brethren y^{e} Bps, will quicken y^{m} to make a speedy return to his Maty's Instructions for enquiries concerning Hospitals by me lately sent & recommended to yo^{r} Ldp and y^{m}, by his Maty's Command.'

It will be noted that in his P.S. he requests the Bishops of his Province to expedite the Returns concerning Hospitals, which he had asked for a few days before on behalf of the King. To be exact, it was eleven days; as the letter containing 'His Majesties Instructions concerning the present condition of all Hospitals in England and Wales' was dated June 26, 1665 (a Monday), and as we have seen the Archbishop's Letter to the Lord Bishop of London was dated July 7 (a Friday).

Further, the first part of the letter (it should be observed), quite in the fashion of the Preamble to a Petition, Royal Declaration, or Act of Parliament, gives Sheldon's own reasons for the course he is taking.

Naturally enough, an Archbishop would desire, on entering his office, to ascertain the condition of affairs in his Province, that he might realize the exact nature of the task he had undertaken, the faults in the body ecclesiastic which needed correction, the defects which needed supplying, and the irregularities which called for remedy, as well as the quality and efficiency of his ecclesiastical staff as constituting the means at his disposal for the achievement of his task. Yet, in view of this preamble, it cannot be denied that Sheldon's outlook is coloured, and his review is biassed from the first by the presence in his jurisdiction of the recalcitrant clergy who had been duly extruded from their benefices, but unfortunately had not been banished the realm. He cannot forget these ejected ministers whose continued presence in the Province was (and, from his point of view, could not but be) the source of constant irritation, discontent, and disorder. It is interesting to observe that he describes them as 'Inconformist' (not here 'Nonconformist') Ministers, that he particularly singles out such as are 'factious,' calling their utterances, public and private, 'crafty insinuations,' and their continued meetings for worship and preaching 'turbulent practices.' And though he complains in a general way that sufficient care has not been exercised by the Bishops in the selection of candidates for Ordination, so that ill-educated and unworthy men had been admitted (who should have been sternly rejected), it is clear that even here he is insinuating that some with Nonconformist sympathies and Puritan inclinations were still infesting the Ministry of his Church.

'The Orders and Instructions'—otherwise often referred to as Sheldon's 'Enquiries'—are as follows (pp. 178 *et seq.* of **975**):

'Orders and Instructions by the most Reverend father in God, Gilbert Ld. ArchBp of Cant. his Grace Primate of all England and Metropolitan to all the Bishops of his province, and required to be observed and certified as followeth, viz.:

'1. Concerning Ordinations.

'1. That all and every y^{e} said Bps wthin their severall Dioceses and Jurisdictions be very carefull what persons they receive into the Ministry, & y^{t} none be admitted into holy orders unless he bring with him L^{rs} Dimissory according to y^{e} 34th Canon; and y^{t} no Bp being not within his own proper Diocese do at any time hereafter conferr Orders upon any person without Licence first from us obtain'd, and y^{t} in all things y^{e} Canons concerning Ordination be duly and punctually observed, and y^{t} once every year—viz., within thirty days after y^{e} Feast of y^{e} Annunciation of our blessed Lady S^{t}. Mary the Virgin, every Bishop do certify unto us y^{e} names, Degrees, Titles & Orders of every person by him ordained within y^{e} year before ending at Xmas then last past.

'2. Concerning Pluralists & Their Curates.

'2. That before y^{e} Feast of y^{e} Annunciation of our blessed Lady S^{t}. Mary y^{e} Virgin next coming they and every of them certify to me particularly y^{e} names, Sirnames, & Degrees of all Clergymen that together with any Benefice with Cure do hold also any Prebend or Ecclesiastical Dignity or promoc̃on or Sine Cura, wth y^{e} names and places of y^{e} said Benefices, prebends, Dignities promoc̃ons & Sine Curas, and also the names, Sirnames & Degrees of all Clergymen yt hold two & more Eccl̃icall Benefices with or wthout Cure, whether within y^{e} same Diocese or in several Dioceses, and y^{e} Names and Places wherein y^{e} s^{d} Benefices are ; and within what distance or com̃only reputed Distance of miles, and whether they hold y^{e} same by lawfull Qualification & Dispensac̃on, and upon w^{ch} of their Benefices, Prebends, Dignities, or promoc̃ons they do reside, and whether they keep and maintain able Orthodox and Conformable Curates upon y^{e} s^{d} Benefices where they do not reside ; and whether any of y^{m} keep any Curate where they themselves do usually reside, and what are y^{e} Names, Sirnames & Degrees of y^{e} said Curates ; and whether they be Licensed and approved by the Bp as they ought.

'3. Concerning Lectures and Lecturers.

'3. That before y^{e} said Feast day of our Blessed Lady St. Mary y^{e} Virgin They and every of them particularly certify unto me what Lectures are set up & Lecturers maintained within their respective Dioceses. In what Towns, Places, and Churches y^{e} same are set up; what allowances are made and established for any such Lectures What are y^{e} Names, Sirnames, Degrees and Qualities of all and every such Lecturers, and whether such Lectures be set up by & wth y^{e} Consent of y^{e} Bp of y^{e} Diocese, and whether y^{e} s^{d} Lecturers be lawfully Licensed preachers & by whom, and how they appear affected to y^{e} Governm^{t} of his Mat̃y & y^{e} Doctrine and Discipline of y^{e} Church of England.

'4. Concerning Schoolmasters & Instruct^{rs} of Youth.

'4. That before y^{e} s^{d} Feast Day of our blessed Lady St. Mary y^{e} Virgin. They and every of them particularly certify me how many and what Free Schools are within their respective Dioceses ; and where and by whom founded, aud how endowed, and y^{e} Names, Sirnames and Degrees of y^{e} Schoolmasters and Ushers in y^{e} s^{d} Free Schools ; and also y^{e} Names, Sirnames & Degrees of all other publique Schoolm^{rs} & Ushers or Instructers and Teachers of Youth, in reading Writing Grammar or other Literature, and whether they be licensed and by whom, as also of all publick Mistresses of Schools and Instructers and Teachers of young Maids or women, & of all others, men or women, y^{t} keep schollars in their Houses to board or sojourn, & privately teach them or others wthin their Houses and whether y^{e} said Schoolmasters Ushers Schoolmistresses and Instructures or Teachers of Youth, publickly or privately, do themselves frequent the publick Prayers of y^{e} Church and cause their Schollars to do y^{e} same ; and whether they appear well affected to y^{e} Governm^{t} of his Majesty & y^{e} Doctrine and Discipline of y^{e} Church of England.

‘5. Concerning Practisers of Physicke.

‘5. That before y^{e} said Feast Day of our blessed Lady St. Mary the Virgin, they and every of y^{m} particularly certify me the Names, Sirnames & Degrees and Qualities, of all practisers of Physick within their respective Dioceses. In what Towns, Villages, or Places they live; whether Licensed and by whom, & how they appear affected to his Mat̃y’s Governm^{t} and y^{e} Doctrine & Discipline of y^{e} Church of England.

‘6. Concerning Non-Conformist Ministers.

‘6. That before y^{e} Feast of   they and every of them particularly certify me y^{e} Names Sirnames and Degrees of all Non Conformist ministers y^{t} wthin their respective Dioceses have been ejected out of any Eccl̄icall Benefice, promoc̄on or Charge for Non Subscription or Inconformity, & where & how and in what profession of Life they now do live; and how they behave themselves in relac̄on to y^{e} Peace and quiet as well of y^{e} Church as of y^{e} State and further if any such like Non-conformists shall have removed from any other Diocese into any of their respective Dioceses y^{t} they certify y^{e} same things concerning them as well as of y^{e} others in this Instruction menc̄oned.

‘Given at my Mannor House at Lambeth in y^{e} County of
Surrey July 7th, 1665.’

A careful scrutiny of this document makes it sufficiently evident that throughout it Sheldon had a jealous eye upon the ‘Inconformist’ Ministers, and a scarcely less suspicious one upon any of the minor clergy, who, though they had subscribed and conformed, were still strongly Puritan in their sympathies, and were prepared to evade many of the Canons, which they would not directly disobey. He phrased his ‘Orders and Instructions’ so as to reach any who did not *ex animo* accept his High Church régime.

The first two points (concerning Ordinations and Pluralists), for example, might (at first glance) be said to concern only the strictly internal affairs of the Church; but the phraseology of the Instructions evidently contemplated the possibility that some of those who had been ordained had not been strictly enough examined as to their attitude towards Puritanism and Nonconformity; and that others who were not thoroughly ‘conformable’ or ecclesiastically satisfactory, had been received and retained by Rectors and Vicars who were thoroughly conformable and satisfactory themselves.

All the other items have a clear bearing, direct or indirect, upon this matter of ‘Nonconformity.’

Lectures, as functions which were more or less irregular and uncanonical, might still be delivered by Nonconformists through the connivance or permission of incumbents of parishes other than those from which Nonconformists had been ejected: and the policy of the Bishops was to discourage, and by degrees to end the system altogether. It was Puritan in origin, and was too much a matter of popular election, and therefore too evangelical, to please the High Church party.

The education of the young, again, by a direct provision of the Act of Uniformity (and of the Corporation Act of 1665, to which these Instructions were meant to be ancillary) had been denied to any ejected minister or to anyone who could not take the oath prescribed by the Act. Cardwell's note on this 'particular,' is so illuminating that I cite it entire (Documentary Annals, II. 274). 'The power of the ordinary 'in granting license to Schoolmasters had been declared in the 'Injunctions of Elizabeth (No. XLIII.), in the Canons of 1603; and 'in the Statutes 23 Eliz., c. 1, and 1 James I., c. 4; but the further 'power of requiring such Schoolmasters to subscribe a declaration of 'conformity to the liturgy of the Church of England was given for the 'first time in the Act of Uniformity (13 and 14 Charles II. c. 4). The 'House of Lords remonstrated against this clause, but was overcome by 'the pertinacity of the Commons.'

Sheldon required information about Schoolmasters, because he was anxious to punish any ejected minister who had evaded the Acts, and to extrude from the Teaching profession any layman who had Nonconformist sympathies.

Similarly with regard to 'those who practise Physick.' The Return of Physicians was asked for by Sheldon for two reasons. It was illegal to 'practise Physick' without a licence: and both the issue of licences and the licence-fees were the prerogative and the perquisite of the Church. [As Cardwell puts it in his note on this point. By Statute 3 Henry VIII. c. 11, . . . 'bishops and their Vicars general had 'the right of licensing physicians and surgeons in their respective dioceses.'] Sheldon's object was therefore twofold: first, to prevent the episcopal clergy from being defrauded of their dues by unlicensed practitioners; and second, to prevent Nonconformists, whether ejected ministers, retired ministers not episcopally ordained, or specially trained laymen with Puritan sympathies, from gaining influence, or earning a livelihood in this way.

In examining these Returns, therefore, I have carefully scrutinized the answers to Enquiries Nos. 3, 4, and 5, as well as to No. 6. No. 3, however, much to my surprise, contained nothing concerning the ejected. Evidently in the four Dioceses which alone are represented in these Documents, they had neither retained, nor secured, any Lectureships; but I have made considerable extracts from the Returns of Schoolmasters and Physicians, as well as transcribed the whole of them on the sixth and last point.

The information concerning Schoolmasters and Physicians, of course, mainly touches 'laymen.' It is worth preserving, as many a Nonconformist of the twentieth century may be proud to find in his lineal ancestry one of these threatened Nonconformists of the seventeenth.

The chief value of these Returns, however, for the Student of Nonconformist history, naturally centres in the sixth item 'Concerning Nonconformists.' Here we have the names of the ejected Nonconformist ministers resident in the Diocese of the Bishop who sends in the report, the place of their residence in 1665, and their attitude towards Church and State.

If the Returns had been preserved from all the Dioceses, and this part of them had been complete, we should—as already hinted in Chapter I.—have possessed an Official List of the ejected ministers of England and Wales which would have been of great historical value. To judge by the small fraction of these Returns which have been preserved, it cannot be said that subsequent research, such as that of Calamy and Palmer, would have been needless, because it is clear that some of the Church officials, either from contempt or from fear, shut their eyes to the signs of Nonconformity in their districts.*

In 1665, moreover, we should miss from such a list the names of all 'ejected ministers' who had died in the three years which had elapsed since their ejectment. Yet it would have given us a standard with which to compare Calamy's and Palmer's lists, and this official catalogue probably would have largely added to the numbers in theirs.

As we have already said, there are only three preserved in this Volume of any value for our special purpose: those of Gilbert Ironside of Bristol, Seth Ward of Exeter, and William Lucy of St. David's. The second and third are presented in two forms, the briefer in each instance being a concise summary of the other. They are inserted in Vol. **639** in a strange succession, rather confusing to the student first making acquaintance with their contents. First, comes a condensed summary of Seth Ward's Report (pp. 304-309); next we have Gilbert Ironside's full report (pp. 310-319) containing a careful account of the Nonconformist ministers resident in the County of Dorset, followed by a bare list of those 'now Inhabiting within the Cittie of Bristoll, 'contrary to the late Act of Parliament' (the 'Oxford' or 'Five Mile 'Act'); then we have William Lucy's in both forms (pp. 331-338), the fuller report coming first, and the summary on a single page (p. 338); and the last section, which also contains most interesting detail, consists of Seth Ward's full report, beginning with the Citty (and Suburbs of the Cittie) of Exeter, giving in order all the Deaneries of Devon; and finishing with those of Cornwall (pp. 396-419*b*). The whole of these 1665 Returns, therefore, as far as they concern Nonconformists, cover little more than thirty pages of Vol. **639**. Still, by careful study of them, particulars may be gathered on the following points:

(1) As to whether the ejected ministers remained in the parishes where they had exercised their ministry or had been driven into retirement elsewhere; (2) as to the distribution of the refugees in the three counties of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall; (3) as to the remarkable accuracy of Calamy's account of the ministers ejected in these counties, affording the clearest proof that Calamy underestimated their numbers rather than overstated them; and (4) of the valuable additions which they make to the information Calamy gives of the ejected ministers.

1. First, then, they show that about one-third of the ejected ministers remained in the parishes where they had exercised their ministry; while two-thirds were obliged to leave their parishes and

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* One signal instance we have already noted—viz., the Bishop of St. Asaph.

friends for places in which often they were personally strangers. The exact number of those who so remained is thirty; three of them were still in the city of Bristol, three in the county of Dorset, twenty-one in Devon (five of whom belonged to the city of Exeter, and two to the little town of Dartmouth), and three in the county of Cornwall.*

2. Further: the fugitives, whom persecution drove from their flocks and their friends, are shown to have settled (1) in Dorset generally, in groups of villages within touch of each other; and (2) in Gloucester, Devon, and Cornwall, in little colonies in towns.

(i.) In Dorset we may distinguish two groups; though in the first they are so scattered as rather to form a district, consisting of the six who settled nearest to Dorchester. The second was sprinkled along the high land, between the valleys of the Stour and Puddle.

(ii.) In Gloucester, four fugitives from adjacent counties had settled in Bristol, and four other Nonconformists whom Calamy does not help us to identify.

(iii.) In Devon, colonies of the ejected were to be found in (1) Thorncombe, in its easternmost corner (four of them); (2) Ottery St. Mary (other four); (3) Totnes, two; (4) Dartmouth, three; (5) Plymouth, four; (6) Exeter, eight, in addition to the seven who had been ejected from livings in the city; and (7) two in the western central portion of the county.

(iv.) Cornwall was distinguished by one remarkable colony of six Nonconformists in Saltash, a town on its south-eastern border; the magnetic centre of the colony being John Hickes, who, only a few years later, was the inspiring leader of another colony in the adjoining county of Devon, at Kingsbridge and its immediate neighbourhood.

3. Without question one of the most interesting things about these Returns is the remarkable testimony they furnish to the general accuracy and completeness of Calamy's lists.

In Dorset, of the seventeen mentioned in Gilbert Ironside's return, fourteen are given by Calamy as ejected from the places named by the Bishop.

In Bristol, of the eleven he reports as residing in the City, seven are mentioned by Calamy.

In Devon, the Bishop of Exeter (Seth Ward) reports sixty-four ejected ministers. Sixty-three of them are mentioned by Calamy; and of these sixty-two are alluded to by Calamy as ejected from the places named by Seth Ward.

In Cornwall, the same Bishop reports twenty, and of these nineteen are referred to by Calamy exactly as they are reported by the Bishop.

In Wales, the Bishop of St. David's (William Lucy) reports twelve.† Of these six only are given by Calamy, and one of the six is mentioned as ejected from a different place from that named by the Bishop.

Of the one hundred and fifteen ejected ministers, therefore, reported in these Returns, ninety-four or ninety-five are mentioned by Calamy; and in ninety of these cases the place of ejectment is the same according to both authorities: a remarkable proof of Calamy's accuracy. Further, in the four instances in which the names of the place differ, careful examination shows that the statements are mutually supplementary, and not contradictory. For in each case the unfortunate minister was ejected from two places in succession: from the first of them at the Restoration (in 1660), either to make way for the reinstatement of the former clergyman, who had been 'sequestered' by Parliament or by Oliver's Commissioners, or in the case of places in the Royal patronage, because his appointment was not allowed to be valid, having been made by the 'Usurping' Protector or Parliament; and, from the second place, 'for conscience' sake' in 1662. Two* of these belonged to Dorset, one to Devon, and one to Glamorgan.

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* For the details and names, on this point and those that follow, I would refer the reader to a paper published in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, vol. iv., No. 2, pp. 113-125; No. 3, pp. 148-158.

† He was the son of Shakespeare's Sir Thomas Lucy; and, as one might expect, a stormy prelate.—[A. G.]

Thus it appears that in regard to ninety-four out of the one hundred and fifteen ejected ministers reported in these Returns, the names and places of ejectment given by the Bishops are consistent with the statements of Calamy. It is true that, in all the counties here referred to, Calamy's list is much longer than that contained in the Bishop's Returns.

In Dorset it exceeds them by 47 (64 as compared with 17).
In Bristol city " " 6 (9 " " 3).
In Devon " " 83 (146 " " 63).
In Cornwall " " 28 (48 " " 20).

In the south-western corner of England, therefore, Calamy enrolls in his list of confessors two hundred and sixty-seven, as compared with only one hundred and three reported by the Bishops, that is, an excess of one hundred and sixty-four; and in Wales, the discrepancy is even greater. Calamy's list of ejected numbers fifty-five, and the Bishop's report only twelve.

This, however, need not cause surprise when we bear in mind the strong temptation there was, alike to the parsons of individual parishes, and to the Bishops of the several dioceses, to minimize the number of Nonconformists in them, in order to 'make a fair show' of their corporate loyalty and orthodoxy.

A signal proof of this is given in the Return of George Griffith, the Bishop of St. Asaph's, which has been excluded from our examination because he had the hardihood to report of the 'Nonconconformists and ejected ministers' in his see—'None such in this diocese.' We know, on the contrary, on the sure testimony of Calamy, that four were ejected in Flint, six in Denbigh, one at least in Merioneth, and nine in that part of Salop which was in his diocese: at the lowest estimate, twenty in all.

4. Then there is another set of facts revealed by these Returns, which makes our confidence the greater that Calamy has not exaggerated the number of his 'confessors.' It cannot be questioned that in no

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* In one of these two cases—viz., that of Weymouth or Melcomb Regis—local research has shown that the second place named—*i.e.*, Radipole—was still cited as the name of the single parish which included both Melcomb and itself, although Melcomb Regis Church had long been made the parish church.

single instance would a Bishop report as an 'ejected Nonconformist' a minister who did not suffer for his Nonconformity. Yet these Returns (restricted as they are), give us thirteen names which are not mentioned by Calamy, so that by that number, at the very least, Calamy has understated (and not exaggerated) the number of those ejected in the southern half of Wales and the south-western corner of England.* By these thirteen names, then, our roll of Nonconformist worthies is enriched, and our confidence in Calamy's sobriety and trustworthiness is confirmed.

5. Moreover, the Returns incidentally confirm the accuracy of Calamy in little details, and in some instances supply facts which Calamy was unable to furnish. As samples of confirmation, we may take the cases of Benjamin Way, and Samuel Austin, Thomas Finney, and Samuel Tapper. We find that in every instance the places to which Calamy says they retired are just those where the Bishops report they were resident in 1665. Again, we have examples of supplementary information furnished by the Returns. In the case of Mr. Martin, Calamy knew not the place of his ejectment. The Returns, of course, supply it. In that of Mr. John Jordan, on the other hand, Calamy knew nothing of his career subsequent to his ejectment, while the Returns show this at least, that he retired to his native city of Exeter. For others, I would refer the reader to the paper I have already named, though I have there been able to publish only a small portion of what I have been able to elicit, viz., what concerns the Congregationalists.

CHAPTER III

RETURNS FOR 1669

THE '69 Returns are much more complete than those of 1665. Yet even here much remains to be desired. Five out of the twenty-two English Dioceses are altogether unrepresented, Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford,† Rochester, and Bristol; while the Bishop of Peterborough sends in Returns from only half his Diocese, nothing being given concerning the large County of Northampton; and reports from parts of the large Diocese of Lincoln are missing, including, unfortunately, the whole of the County of Lincoln. The peccant Bishops were Herbert

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* At first, I had added five others to the list (making the addition eighteen instead of thirteen), as none of these appears in his Index. On closer scrutiny, however, I found all five mentioned in his work, but belonging to his 'black lists' of those who 'afterwards conformed.' On further consideration, I agree with Rev. Alexander Gordon these five should be included, as he most pertinently suggests that 'to ruin a man's conscience is a worse offence than to deprive him of a living.'

† This statement needs qualification, for Returns for part of the Diocese of Oxford have been discovered and transcribed by Rev. John Stanley, F.R.Hist.S., of Longhope, Gloucestershire. He found them in another of the manuscript volumes in the Lambeth Palace Library. Through his generous courtesy I am able to reproduce them.

Croft, of Hereford; William Nicholson, of Gloucester; Walter Blandford, of Oxford; Francis Dolben, of Rochester; and Gilbert Ironside, of Bristol. In Wales only one Diocese is unreported—viz., St. Davids, whose Bishop William Lucy had sent in so illuminating a Return in 1665. In that respect, he was only following the example of his neighbour, Gilbert Ironside, of Bristol. While that is true, however, it is also true that the Returns deal with only three of the twelve Welsh counties, viz., Montgomery, Glamorgan, and Monmouth.

Why these two prelates, who responded so loyally in 1665 to Sheldon's 'Orders and Instructions,' should have failed so completely in 1669, it would be interesting, perhaps instructive, to know. The third (Seth Ward), whose Returns were complete in 1665, contributes a report as careful and detailed as his earlier Return. Only in the interval he has been translated from Exeter to Sarum, so that we have the benefit of his zeal and exactitude with regard to a much smaller area—viz., the counties of Wilts and half of Dorset (instead of the whole of the large counties of Devon and Cornwall). To increase our sense of loss, we find that his successor in the see of Exeter, Anthony Sparrow, a learned ecclesiastic, who specialised, too, in all the details of the ritual and organization of the Church of England, and 'had suffered many 'things' at the hands of the Puritans in the Commonwealth days, showed the most extraordinary carelessness in his Returns, touching only the South-Eastern half of Devon; even of this giving the meagrest and most unsystematic account, and reporting nothing at all about Cornwall.

The fact is that the Returns are not nearly so complete as one might have expected from the number of Dioceses represented in them. Returns are wanting for seven entire counties: Lincoln, Rutland, Hereford, Northampton, Gloucester, Huntingdon, and Cornwall; and for many counties they are very perfunctory and incomplete. For the four Northernmost counties this is very noticeable. [John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, was responsible for these; and his strong antipathy to Popery may have made him less eager to 'spy out' Protestant Nonconformists. (He disinherited his only son when he became a Roman Catholic).]

Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, was not a bigot, and did not trouble himself in this matter; but, in parts, his Returns are fairly complete.

For Yorkshire the Returns are a little fuller; but the Archbishop (Richard Sterne), though he was one of the Revisors of the Book of Common Prayer, and had suffered 'in the time of Usurp^{n},' was not so keen to search out and report 'delinquents' as many others.

The 'instructions' or 'enquiries' which determined the form of the Returns, varied slightly as issued to the two Provinces of York and Canterbury. In those sent to York the reference to the King, as Supreme Governor of the Church, is more obtruded; Sheldon's authority as Archbishop of Canterbury being referred to as mediate or intermediate, rather than direct or ultimate; while in those sent out to the Southern Province, Sheldon's authority is used as direct and immediate, and the King's as collateral or even secondary.

In W. Horner Groves's 'History of Mansfield,' p. 336, the situation in the Northern Province is described as follows: 'On the 31st of 'July, 1669, an order was issued, under direction of his Majesty the 'King and his Privy Council, to Lord Arthur, Bishop of York, under 'the hand of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, "To '"enquire after all Conventicles, or unlawful meetings, under pretence of '"religion and the worship of God, by such as separate from the unitie '"and conformitie of the Church as by law established."' The return to be made by the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham (of which Mansfield was a part) was as follows—*i.e.*, was determined by the four following queries:

1. How many Conventicles, unlawful assemblies, or Church meetings are held in the various parishes in the county?
2. What number of persons usually frequent these meetings, and what sort and condition of people are they?
3. From whom and upon what grounds they look for indemnity?
4. At whose houses they usually meet, and who are their speakers?

In the Southern Province, on the other hand, the 'instructions' or 'enquiries' which determined the form of the Returns were contained in two letters of Sheldon, one addressed to his Commissary, together with the Dean of St. Paul's, and the other addressed to the Bishop of London. The former is preserved verbatim in Wilkins's Concilia iv. 588. It is headed:—

'The Archbp. of Canterbury's letter about Conventicles.

ARCHIEPISC. CANT. Gilb. Sheldon 6.	ANNO CHRISTI 1669.	REG. ANGLIÆ Carol. II. 21.'

It is described:—

'The Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the commissary of the 'diocese of Canterbury about Conventicles. Ex MS. Guil. Sancroft, arch. Cant. apud Thomam, episc. Assaven.'

We are thoroughly assured of the authenticity of the document, as (it will be noted) Dr. Wilkins reproduces it from the manuscript collection of the official whom Sheldon directly instructs to act with his Commissary in gathering the information required—viz., William Sancroft, who eight years later succeeded him in the Primate's chair, and who was then Archdeacon of Canterbury as well as Dean of St. Paul's.

The letter reads:

'Sir,—After my hearty commendations, &c. You cannot choose (as well as I) but be alarmed on all hands with continual reports of the frequency of Conventicles and unlawful meetings of those who, under a pretence of religion and the worship of God, separate from the unity and uniformity of God's service, to the great offence of all, and fear of many his majesty's most faithful subjects, who love and truly endeavour the peace and prosperity of the church and state.* His majesty in public lately speaking much against these disorderly meetings, and expressing an indignation against all reports of him, as if he favoured or connived at them, was pleased (after he had laid some blame upon the bishops for want of care in this affair) to declare that henceforward they should not want the assistance of the civil magistrate to suppress them; insomuch that if, hereafter, any bishop shall complain to any justice, and require his help, if such justice do not his duty herein, then let the bishop certify, that his majesty may know, who are that neglect his service.

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* It will be remembered (and should be kept well in mind) that these words were put into the lips of the King, in Council, in the Preamble to the Proclamation they induced him to publish in July of this year.

'Now, Sir, that I may discharge my duty in this particular diocese, I do hereby desire and require of you that having communicated this my letter to the reverend Dr. Sancroft, dean of St. Paul's, and archdeacon of Cant., you consult him for his advice thereupon, and that by the assistance of him and your officials and officers, and all and every the parochial ministers, parsons, vicars, and curates, and by all other persons and means which shall be thought best, *you will make speedy enquiry* throughout my diocese, as well in places exempt as not exempt.

'1. *What* and *how many Conventicles* and *unlawful assemblies*
'2. or *church meetings* are *held*, in *every town* and *parish?*
'3. *What* are the *numbers* that *usually meet* at them, and
'4. *of what condition* or *sort of people* they *consist*, and
'5. *From whom* and *upon what hopes* they *look for impunity?* *

'When any such Conventicles are found out, if by the ecclesiastical power and authority they cannot be restrained, you are to complain to the next justice or justices; and if they fail to assist, it will be your part to certify their neglect; which, if at any time there shall be cause to do, be sure your certificates be made on good and true grounds, such as may all be evidently proved, that there be no failing, when we expect redress. These things you are desired and required to put in speedy execution, and with all diligence to make your returns to me; whereupon you shall receive further advice and instruction.

'And so I bid you heartily farewel, and am,
'Sir, Your very loving friend,
'GILB. CANT.

'LAMBETH HOUSE,
June 8,
'MDC: LXIX.

'Postscript.

'Sir,—To the enquiries about Conventicles in the body of this letter set down, I think fit that these two following be added; and I desire that together with the rest they be enquir'd into—viz:

'6. Whether the same persons do not meet at several Conventicles, which may make them seem more numerous than indeed they are; and

'7. Whether you do not think they might easily be suppressed by the assistance of the civil magistrate, the greater part of them being (as I hear) women and children, and inconsiderable persons.

'GILB. CANT.'

* The italics are the Editor's, as well as the numerals indicating the several points on which enquiry was made.

It will be noted that Sheldon's postscript seems to express the fear that the questions in the body of the letter might be construed as expressing the desire that the very fullest information should be given; and that the fuller the return, the greater the number of Conventicles reported, and the larger the number of frequenters reported, the better would the authorities be pleased, and the more inclined would they be to praise their subordinates for the zeal shown in their inquisition, and the keenness and skill used in ferreting out those who were seeking to elude the notice of the authorities. The supplementary questions seem almost to suggest that it would be a mistake for the clergy to put the numbers of Nonconformists at their maximum, and that reporters would better please headquarters were they to show that figures, even when carefully given, might very easily exaggerate the facts, and make the Nonconformists appear more numerous and influential than they really were.

Indeed, such a conclusion is made to appear more than a sagacious suspicion by a sentence quoted by Bishop Kennett in his collections from the author of the 'Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists' (4to, 1681). On p. 36 of this work the author says: 'In the year '1669 we had several Articles sent down to the Clergy, with private 'orders to some, to make the Conventicles as few and small as might be. 'The eighth and last was this—"Whether you do think they" (the 'Dissenters) "might be easily suppresṭ by the assistance of the Civil '"Magistrates?" Some made bold to answer more than Ay or No.'

The second letter which I reproduce, enshrining these Instructions or Enquiries, is preserved in Bishop Kennett's 'Collections,' p. 83 (Lansdowne MSS., 1023). It is addressed by Sheldon to his brother and neighbour, Humfrey Henchman, Bishop of London.

Kennett entitles it: 'A circular letter from Gilbert, Lord Arch-'bishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London, concerning the more 'effectual Suppression of Conventicles,' dated June 8, 1669:

'RIGHT REV. AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

'After my hearty Commendations &c

'Your Ldship, I presume, as well as I, is on all hands alarmed with Continual Reports of the frequency of open Conventicles and unlawful Meetings of those who under a pretence of Religion and the worship of God, separate from the unity and uniformity of God's service to the great offence of all and fear of many of his Maties most faithfull subjects who love and truly endeavour the Peace and Prosperity of ye Church and State. Your Ldship (if I mistake not) was present when his Matie, lately speaking much against these disorderly meetings, and expressing Indignation against all Reports of him as if He either favoured or connived at them, was pleased (after he had layd some blame upon the Bishops for want of care in this Affair) to declare that henceforward they should not want the Assistance of the Civil Magistrate to suppress them.

'I have thought fit to desire and require of you to make speedy Enquiry. What and how many Conventicles or unlawful assemblies are held in every Town and Parish, What are the Numbers that usually meet at them, And of what condition, Who are their Ministers Heads or Governours? What authority they pretend for their Meetings and from whom and upon what hopes they look for Impunity? and to send Certificates hereof.

'Your Ldships very affect. friend and Brother,
'GILB. CANT.

'LAMBETH HOUSE,
'*June* 8, 1669.'

The verbal differences in the Queries of these two letters make it uncertain in what exact form they were issued to the Bishops throughout the country. The variations in the form and fulness of the Returns suggest that the Enquiries were not issued in identical terms to all; surely a great defect in so vehement a champion of 'Unity and Uni-'formity' in 'God's service' as Archbishop Sheldon!

From Sheldon's letter to his Commissary and Dr. Sancroft, we should gather that he required information on six distinct points at least:

1. What and how many Conventicles were still being held?
2. What were the numbers usually attending them?
3. Of what condition or sort of people they consisted?
4. From whom and upon what hopes they looked for impunity?
5. Whether the same persons do not meet in several Conventicles?
6. Whether they might not easily be suppressed by force?

Indeed, the first question was a complex one, involving two distinct questions: (1) In what parishes were Conventicles still held? and (2) how many Conventicles were held in each parish?

In his letter to Henchman, however, there is another particular mentioned almost more important than any of the six. 'Who are their 'Ministers, Heads or Governors?' And what is stranger still, one point which is very prominent in most of the Returns is omitted altogether from both of these drafts of Questions, viz.: 'To what Sect, 'Perswasion or Judgment do the Conventiclers belong?'

Strictly speaking, then, the Archbishop required information on no less than eight distinct points. Five of them are mentioned in both drafts.

1. What are the towns or parishes in which Conventicles were held?
2. The number of Conventicles held in each—this point involving an enumeration or description of the 'places' in each town or parish where such Conventicles were held.
3. The numbers usually attending them.
4. The 'sort or condition' of such Conventiclers; and
5. The authority they relied on for impunity for such conventicling.

The last of these points, however, does not seem to have been taken so seriously as the other four. It was one of the two points mentioned in the postcript to Sheldon's letter to the Commissary and Archdeacon. And it is noteworthy—perhaps quite natural—that the other postscript point was almost entirely neglected in the Returns (6) 'whether these 'Conventicles might easily be suppressed by force'—*i.e.*, by calling in the aid of the magistrates' officers and of the military.

Of the other two points on which information was most certainly *wanted*, curiously enough only one was mentioned, and that only in his letter to the Bishop of London, viz.: (7) The names of the Ministers, Heads, or Governors—and even that query was ambiguous—as meaning either Preachers and Teachers, or simply the most influential supporters, or 'Abettors.' While the 8th particular—as important as any—viz., the sect to which the Conventiclers belonged, was apparently forgotten by Sheldon altogether in both his drafts.

In drawing the attention of the Student to the variety of information which these 1669 Returns contain, I propose to deal: (1) With the points which are common to them all; and (2) with the characteristics of the several Returns.

I. THE POINTS COMMON TO ALL THE RETURNS.

These are five, given in the five columns under which most of them are drawn up.

(1) The Meeting-Places reported are generally private houses. But sometimes a barn or outhouse was employed; and in a few instances a court-house, a public hall, or even a parish church, when 'vacant,' 'deserted,' or 'desolate' (*i.e.*, unprovided with a minister).

(2) The Sects recognized and enumerated are chiefly four: (1) Presbyterians; (2) Congregationalists or Independents; (3) Baptists or Anabaptists; and (4) Quakers. But there are occasional references to: (5) Fifth Monarchists; (6) Sabbatarians (or Sabbatharians); and (7) Free Willers.

(3) The Numbers returned are very various, and we may be sure that in most cases they are understated. Round numbers are usually given: tens, and scores, and sometimes hundreds.

In some instances the numbers reported would scarcely bring the meeting within the statutable limit, which made it an 'unlawful assembly,' or 'Conventicle,' according to the terms of the Act of 1664, or of the Second Conventicle Act, so soon to be passed in March, 1670. The First Conventicle Act required that there should be more than four persons present, in addition to the members of the family (or household) resident in the house where it was held. And the Second required that five persons at least should be assembled wherever the Conventicle was held. Yet in two instances the Bishop of Chichester reports one at Yapton 'about 6' (**R. 171***b*), and one at Ditchling 'about 8' (**R. 172***b*). At Dilhorne George Morley reports '5 or 6' (**R. 196**), and W. Fuller (Lincolne) reports 'about 6' at Northill (**R. 204**), whilst at Hubenham (**R. 208**) and at Wymeswould (**R. 210***b*) the absurd number is returned 'about 4' (the legal maximum over and above the family or household).

(4) The Quality column (sometimes spelt 'Qualitie') contains the most cynical touches of the whole. These Bishops and clergy evidently regard moral character and spiritual life as of small moment as compared with wealth and social position, for it is almost wholly these on which they comment; and the exceptions they make are even more discredit-

able than their rule, as they consist almost exclusively of the vilest aspersions on the Quakers, describing the Conventiclers as 'of Evill fame, That live in Adultery and Fornication' [**R. 178**] (because, forsooth, the Episcopalian clergy do not admit the validity of the Friends' simple marriage rites). According to the Bishops, the Conventiclers are generally 'meane,' or 'very poore,' or at best 'of the middling sort.' A few are 'gentry' or 'gentlemen,' many are 'mere tradesmen,' their trades being mentioned with scorn; but in other cases, with equally cynical frankness, some are reported as 'of pretty good estates' (**R. 231***b*). On **R. 261***b* one Acton is admitted to be 'a rich fellow,' while the Bishop of Lichfield reports 'a yeoman worth 100^{lb} per ann' (**R. 193**); and the Bishop of Llandaff does not hesitate to report 'at Langum' [**R. 188***b*] of 'some 500^{lb} a year, some 200, some 100, some 60, & 'some 30,' showing greater familiarity with the phraseology of the Parable of the Sower than with St. Paul's confession, that 'not many 'wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called.'

The real explanation of this most unworthy characteristic is what has already been adverted to in Chapter I. of this Section, viz., that the Second Conventicle Act made fines the prime penalty of Conventicling, and ingeniously passed on to any well-to-do Conventiclers the responsibility of finding the money for their poorer brethren, from whom, owing to their poverty, it was hopeless to expect to extract the money, either directly or by distraint of goods.

Four-fifths of the information given in these 1669 Returns, we thus see, concern mainly the Nonconformist laity; as the 1665 Reports mainly concerned the Nonconformist Clergy. Indirectly, however, they convey much information about the clergy also. The fifth column —with its return of the 'Heads,' 'Teachers,' or 'Preachers,' gives abundant testimony to the continued activity of the ejected ministers, spite the penal statutes; and this column makes it abundantly evident that their ministerial activity was not confined to one parish or even to one neighbourhood, as it was perforce when they were ministers of the Established Church. These Returns show many of them to be exercising quite a missionary ministry, travelling far and wide in their preaching; and so, as in all cases of persecution, from the first great persecution after the martyrdom of Stephen onwards, 'being scattered 'abroad,' they helped 'to confirm their brethren' in the Nonconformist faith in many places, and to spread their protests against the episcopal régime.

What is more. They show also that a ministry is springing up amongst the Nonconformists, from the ranks of those who have never been in Episcopalian orders.

Many who had had no university training—and at this period it was specially so among the Anabaptists—proved their Divine calling to the ministry of the Gospel by their manifold and effective ministerial gifts; men who, like the Apostle Paul, maintained themselves by their own exertions whether of brain or hand; some by their professions, whether as teachers, schoolmasters, or physicians; and many more by their trades, as husbandmen, or farmers, silkmen, hatters, weavers, coopers, clothiers, labourers, or even domestic servants.

II. THE FEATURES WHICH ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE SEVERAL RETURNS.

The order in which the Diocesan Reports are given is alphabetical; so that geographically we are often carried as on a magic-carpet many a league, and in all sorts of erratic directions in passing from one to another.

For convenience sake, in this summary Review of their characteristics, we will follow the same irrational order.

1. ST. ASAPH'S.—The Bishop was now Dr. Henry Glemham, who held the see (according to Stubbs) from 1667 to 1670.* Pepys refers to him in his Diary in no very complimentary terms. Under date July 29, 1667, just after his elevation, he writes: 'Among other dis- 'course my cosen Roger told us a thing certain, that my Lady 'Castlemaine hath made a Bishop lately, namely, her uncle, Dr. 'Glenham, who, I think, they say is Bishop of Carlisle'—this, of course, may be correct, though it was to St. Asaph he was actually appointed more than two months after—'a drunken, swearing rascal, and a scandal 'to the Church; and do now pretend to be Bishop of Lincoln, in com- 'petition with Dr. Rainbow, who is reckoned as worthy a man as most 'in the Church for piety and learning.'

Was he a relative of Sir Thomas Glenham—who was very active in the service of Charles I., being Governor of York, when it had to be surrendered to Fairfax, and held the Garrison of Carlisle till they were starved into submission, and lastly was given the government of Oxford on the eve of the final collapse of the Royal cause?†

If he were, this may account for the military allusions in his brief Report, which notices only two ejected ministers (Henry Williams and Rowland Nevett); and knows far more of the laymen who are 'principals and abettors' of the Conventicles reported. 'Edward Price of Bettus, a Captaine in y^{e} late Rebellion'; and notes that the Quakers who gather at Myvod are 'well horsed.' [**R. 139.**]

2. BATH AND WELLS.—Dr. William Piers was Bishop ['Pierse' (Neal I. 587)], who had held the see from 1637, though (on his death) the very next year, 1670, he was to be succeeded by Robert Creighton. The diocese covered the County of Somerset. At the beginning of his office, thirty-two years before, 'he had shown his prelatical zeal by sup- 'pressing all lecturers in market towns and elsewhere throughout his 'diocess, alleging that he saw no such need of preaching now, as was in the Apostles' days,' and 'put down all afternoon sermons on Lord's 'days,' and all explanations of the Catechism, charging ministers 'to 'ask no questions, nor receive any answers but such as were in the Book of Common Prayer' (Neal I. 587). Evidently his was emphatically the religion of the Prayer Book, and the Act of Uniformity would suit him exactly. It is clear that in his old age he was as loyal to the Prayer Book as he had been in his youth. In his answers to the

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* He was Dean of Bristol, 1661.

† He was his younger brother. His father was Sir Henry Glemham, of Glemham Hall, Suffolk; and there the Bishop died, January 17, 1669-70.—[A. G.]

Archbishop's enquiries he takes his own course, and the form of his Report, which is very full and careful, is yet quite on a model of his own.* He gives no particulars of the Sect to which reported Conventicles belong; nor of their 'Quality' or 'Abettors.' The first column, which is usually headed 'Parishes, and Conventicles in them,' is divided into two: the first giving the name of the Parish only, and the second, the meeting-place. In most cases this is a private house; but he notes four in which the Conventicle is held in a 'Barne' (two in Bath Easton, one in Beckington, and one in Glaston, in which 'a 'Pulpitt and seats are built'); one in which they meet in a 'sheep-'house' (at Dunkerton); one in which it is held in 'a Publique Inn'—viz., at Bath; and one in which it is held in 'the Parish Church.' This last was in Cameley, a remarkable proof of the depth of the influence of the Puritan pastor, Richard Batchelaur, who had retired to his own private estate in the north-west corner of Hampshire, where three years later he took out licences for two houses he held in Ashmansworth and East Woodhay.

The numbers frequenting these Conventicles are reported as considerable, varying from 18 at Nether Stowey, and 20 at St. Mary, Axbridge, to hundreds, 1 to 700. Of the 80 instances in which the numbers are given, the total attendance reported is over 11,000 (all in the County of Somerset, be it remembered), so that the average comes out as nearly 115. In the Conventicles reported, therefore, there must have been regular Nonconformist worshippers in Somerset of over 13,000.

The special feature of these Returns is the number of teachers reported, nearly all of them ejected Nonconformist ministers. Two things appear with equal distinctness. Each of these preachers ministered to several congregations: and conversely each of these congregations was ministered to by several preachers.

A careful study of these Returns would enable the historian to trace the circuit activity of these thirty ejected Nonconformists with something like completeness. There were ten, who preached in a circuit of five places or over, deserving of special mention:

(1) To five: Richard Allen, ejected from Batcombe; Thomas Creese, from Combe Hay; John Turner, from North Cricket; Timothy Batt, from Riston; John Gardiner, from Staplegrove; and Henry Butler, from Yeovil.

(2) To six: Thomas Safford, from Bicknoller.

(3) To seven: John Bush, from Langport; Robert Drake, from West Monkton; and George Bindon, from Wilton.

(4) To nine: John Baker, from Currey Mallett; and,

(5) Most remarkable case of all, John Galpin, from Ashpriors, who preached to a round of no less than fifteen places.

3. CANTERBURY.—This small Diocese, extending only over half the County of Kent (*i.e.*, the part East of the Medway), was under the vigilant eye of Gilbert Sheldon himself, Archbishop of the Province, as well as Bishop of the Diocese.

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* Probably the work was actually done by his son and namesake the Archdeacon of Bath.—[A. G.]

Curiously enough, the form of his report differs somewhat from the model adopted for the 'generality' of the Dioceses. The third column is made to combine the two details of 'Numbers & Quality,' whereas the latter has generally the fourth column to itself (or in combination with 'Abettors'); and the fourth column, instead of 'Quality' gives 'Principalls & Abettors.'

In the City of Canterbury itself, a most careful and interesting account is given. It is clear that the Independents, under the leadership of John Durant and Francis Taylor, are the most influential and numerous.

Numbers of those attending the Conventicles are ventured on in only 8 instances. [In Canterbury, 500 Independents at least; in Ash, 200 or 300 of the same sect; in Wye, 50 or 60 Baptists; in Ashford, 200 or 300 Presbyterians and Independents; in Davington, 100 Presbyterians; and in Marden about 20; while in Chislett, the Baptists muster 80 or 100; and at Hearne, 40 or 50.] In all the rest he contents himself with the vaguest expressions: 'Numerous,' 'not so 'numerous,' 'very numerous,' 'a great number,' 'not so great,' 'some 'few,' 'not considerable for number,' 'inconsiderable.'

The Nonconformist ministers he specially mentions The Report would certainly give the impression that Nonconformity in Eastern Kent was not strong, save in Canterbury, Sandwich, and Ashford. It is only fair, however, to say that it sets the example to several other Dioceses—Chichester, Ely, Lincolne, Sarum, Worcester—in the punctiliousness with which the names of all the parishes are given, even where there are no Conventicles to report.

4. CHICHESTER.—This year saw the end of the bishopric of Henry King, who died October 1, 1669, and the beginning of that of Peter Gunning. Henry King received the Archbishop's instructions; but it was Peter Gunning who sent in the Returns, who was consecrated March 6, 1669-70.*

Of all the Bishops, Peter Gunning was perhaps the most bigoted, eager, and virulent against all Nonconformists. He had adhered to the Prayer Book despite Parliament's ordinance against its use, employing the Liturgy in his services at Exeter House, Strand, all through the Commonwealth period. Evelyn † and Pepys, ‡ we note from their Diaries, frequented his services, and thought most highly of his sermons. He had great confidence in his own position in point alike of theology and ritual; and had a great contempt for all who presumed to differ from him. After the Second Conventicle Act had been passed (1670), the year after the sending in of this Return, he demeaned himself to act the part of bailiff or constable, personally visiting places where Conventicles were being held, and if the doors were fastened using force to obtain admission to the building. Nay, he even challenged Nonconformists to public disputation on the points of difference between them and the Established Church; and then displayed great arrogance and violence in his conduct of the meetings.

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* In Bishop Kennett's 'Collections,' under date March 6, 1669-70, we have this entry (Landsdowne MSS., 1023): 'Die Dominico 6 Martis Peter Gunning S.T.P. in 'Episcopium Cicestr. consecratus ab Archbp Cant. in Capella Lambethiana.'

† *Vide* Evelyn's Diary, December 2 and 25, 1657.

‡ *Vide* Pepys's Diary, January 1, 1660, and note.

The Report for the County of Sussex is not satisfactory. Twenty-four Conventicles are reported without particularizing the sect: twelve are credited to the Baptists (always as Anabaptists), eight to the Quakers, four to the Presbyterians, and only three to the Independents (one each at East Grinstead and Lewes; and one, in association with the Presbyterians at Trotton cum Tuxlith).

One Conventicle is reported at Wartling, near Pevensey, the Sect, Quality, and Teachers of which are undesignated, but yet admittedly consisting of 'many persons of considerable estates' [**R. 174***b*]. He concedes, also, that 'Some of y^{e} gentry attended the Conventicle' at Stedham [**R. 171**]; and that at the Westmeston Conventicle 'many' of the Conventiclers were 'of good estate.' The greater number of those reported as 'Heads & Teach^{rs}' are ejected Nonconformist ministers—some score or so; and several of them are reported as ministering to several Conventicles in different places, so that interesting details of their activities at this time might be culled from these Returns.

This is the first instance, though (as we have already seen) not the only one in which we come across the tantalizing note: 'See the names in the Returne,' which reminds us how much information we have lost through the disappearance of these original Returns.

5. ELY.—Benjamin Laney was Bishop of this Diocese; the third see he had occupied since the Restoration, the first being Peterborough, which he held 1660 to 1662-63, and the second Lincoln, from 1662-63 to 1667. It was his third year of office in Ely, in succession to Matthew Wren, a man of very different spirit. Matthew Wren was a great Laudian and Royalist, and had suffered much for his devotion to King and Prelacy, vestments and Prayer Book, having lain eighteen years in the Tower without a trial, though restored to his see on the Restoration, and had he survived to respond to Sheldon's Instructions and Enquiries, we should doubtless have had a much more complete Return than we have from his successor.

For Laney was very averse to the persecution of Nonconformists, and so was purposely slack in getting and publishing information which would have brought it upon them. At any rate, of Oliver's Puritan County, Huntingdon, he sends in no report at all; and his Report of Cambridge is just such as we might expect from one who was said to look at these things 'through his fingers.' He sees hardly any Nonconformists in the County. Of the Sects in Ely Deanery, he sees only Quakers, Anabaptists, and Sabbatarians; in Chesterton Deanery, Independents and Quakers; in Shengay Deanery, only Baptists; in Barton and Bourne Deaneries, no sects are distinguished; in Castle Camps Deanery, only Baptists, and Quakers; and in Cambridge Deanery, Baptists, Quakers, and 'Fanaticks.' The only University-trained preachers whom he names in the Report are Francis Holcroft and his associates—Joseph Oddey, Samuel Corbyn, James Day, Thomas

Lock, and John Wayt. The other teachers are only 'Farmers, Tailors, 'Labourers, or Bricklayers.'*

The numbers he reports are generally few, from 10, 11, and 12 up to 100 (the highest). The two exceptions are a Quaker meeting of 200 at Over, and another Conventicle of 400 or 500 at Trumpington. His account of their Quality is very contemptuous. Only in the Ely Deanery does he admit there are 'some Rich.' In every other case he rings the changes on the following: 'Meane 'mechanicks,' 'most meane,' 'very meane,' 'Inconsiderable,' 'of Low 'Condition,' 'of y^e^ common, vulgar sort,' 'very poore condition, scarce 'a yeoman amongst them,' or 'most women,' 'more women than men.' To his disgrace, too, it is Benjamin Laney who puts in this description of the Conventiclers at Sutton (it is clear that they were Quakers†): 'Many of Evill Fame, That live in Adultery and Fornication'—simply because they had not been married according to the rites of the Church of England.

6. Exeter.—Here Anthony Sparrow was Bishop—a still greater contrast to his predecessor than Laney was to Wren. Like Laney at Ely, he had occupied the See only two years, for he succeeded Seth Ward on his translation to Sarum. Seth Ward was second only to the Archbishop himself in the vigour and ability with which he was pressing forward the policy of suppression and persecution of the Nonconforming clergy.

We have seen already the accuracy and completeness of his Returns in 1665 for both Devon and Cornwall. And, judging from the character of those he sent in this year from Sarum (for Berks and Wilts), we are sure that had he remained at Exeter those sent in for the much larger area of this Diocese would have been equally full, and of incomparable value from an historian's point of view. Anthony Sparrow, however, had neither the spirit nor the energy to take the trouble necessary to secure such a result; so that we have a very brief and fragmentary report for two counties, which, as we know, were saturated with Puritanism.

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* To Congregationalists it should be matter for satisfaction and a worthy sort of pride that that cultivated apostolic band, Holcroft and his comrades, were all of the 'Congregationall Perswasion.'

The Bishop, however, seemed puzzled by the phenomenon of well-educated, even learned men, like Holcroft, Corbyn, Oddey, Day, and Lock, scouring the country, and forming 'gathered' churches wherever they went. He scarcely knows how to describe them. 'Congregational' is a term he does not seem to know, though that is the denominational name by which they describe themselves when applying for licences three years later.

Conventicles which they had gathered and to which they ministered are reported as far north as Haddenham, within the Isle of Ely; and as far south as Meldreth, with Willingham and Over, Ockington, Milton and Histon, between Haddenham and Cambridge, and Stow cum Quoy, only five miles from it; and Orwell, south-west between Cambridge and Meldreth.

Only four of the ten does the Bishop designate. The Conventicles at Haddenham and Over, according to him or his informants, are of 'Fanatiques.' Those at Ockington and Histon are of Independents. The rest he cannot or will not describe. Was this waywardness in the manner of alluding to them indicative of the difficulty the Bishop felt as to the way he ought to treat them, or only of the varying attitude towards these educated Nonconformists of the local clergy from whom the Reports of their 'conventicling' were sent up?

† John Crooke, whom he reports as their Teacher, was a wealthy and learned Quaker, a Justice of the Peace, whose seat was Beckerings Park, near Ridgmont, Beds. ['Journal of George Fox' (Camb.) i. 428.]

He was most devoted to the ritual of the Prayer Book; but he showed it rather by books learnedly expounding it than by practical means for enforcing it, and his report for his large Diocese covers only two pages. Cornwall is untouched, and he returns Conventicles only in nine parishes in the whole of Devon; a county in which his predecessor had reported 56 Nonconformist ministers as resident only four years before (and another 16 in Cornwall), and in which only three years later no less than 233 licences were taken out for Presbyterians, 59 for Congregationalists, and 11 for Baptists—303 in all [and 61 licences were taken out in Cornwall].

He rarely seems to know the sect of the Conventicles which he does report. None are described as Baptists. He only mentions Independents, Presbyterians, and Quakers. The numbers reported are generally high: three are of 100 each, three of 200 or 300, and one—at Collumpton—of 'nigh 500.' The only exceptions are Mr. Mawditt's at Ottery St. Mary, where the numbers are 'few'; and the Quakers at Thorncombe, who are described as 'inconsiderable.' The 'Qualitie' of some is admitted to be high, 'gentry and tradesmen of good note' at Ottery St. Mary; but the common designations are contemptuous enough—'inconsiderable,' 'young persons of the meaner sort,' 'mean' or 'vulgar sort.'

One thing is noteworthy, that everyone of the eighteen reported as 'Heads and Teachers' are ejected Nonconformists [18, be it noted, as compared with Seth Ward's 56]. It is deplorable that the Returns are so meagre where they might have been so full.

7. Llandaff.—Of this important Diocese, including the whole of Monmouth and all Glamorgan, except Gower (which was in the Diocese of St. David's), Francis Lloyd was Bishop, who came to the See the same year (1667) in which Anthony Sparrow was installed at Exeter, and Benjamin Laney went to Ely. His report covers six pages, and shows equal attention paid to the various parts of the Diocese. As to the Sects, it is a remarkable fact that though three years later nearly all the licences taken out under the Indulgence were for Independents or Congregationalists, this Bishop only twice mentions them, and then he lumps them together with Anabaptists, Catabaptists, and Quakers. Such a circumstance bespeaks either great ignorance of the facts, or an intentional misrepresentation of them. It is difficult to believe that it was ignorance, as these Reports were the result of a special enquiry, so that the misrepresentation must have been caused by a special grudge against them or by a special desire to screen them. The numbers of Conventiclers vary from tens to hundreds, the largest number being 600 at Merthyr Tydfil.

As to Quality, though he reports 'Tradesmen' twice and 'old 'Militiamen,' as well as 'some Farmers' and others 'of meane Qualitie,' he admits that at Cavelion (Caerlion) 'there are many persons of good 'Estates, being Countrey Gent' (*i.e.*, 'County gentlemen') '& such as 'either were in Actuall Armes in the late Rebellion, or bred up under 'such'; at Newport, Monmouth, 'some Gent,' and at Llangibby 'some 'freeholders'; whilst at Langwm, Monmouth, there are amongst the Conventiclers 'some men of competent parts & breeding, & have bin in 'ye time of the Late Rebellion in Offices both military and Civill,' and then gives their value in £ s. d.—some of £500, some £200, some £60, and some £30 a year—quite after the model of the varying crops of the good seed in the Parable of the Sower.*

8. Lichfield and Coventry.—John Hacket was Bishop of this See, and there is no doubt of the strength of his attachment to the State Church. He had been appointed to a Diocese in which the Cathedral had been used as a fortress of the Royalists in the Civil Wars; it was from the tower of the central spire that Lord Brook had been shot (exactly as Nelson was shot from the shrouds of the *Redoubtable*). From such unspiritual uses it had naturally suffered much, so that it came into Hacket's hands in a state of ruin; but so real was his love for it, that he spent his personal fortune in its restoration. It was but human nature that he could not look with very much tenderness on those whose spiritual kinsmen had inflicted such ugly scars on the fair fabric of his Cathedral Church, and that he should be specially keen to note any trace of militarism lingering in the Nonconformists of his Diocese.

And so it is we find him reporting Colonel Saunders, Major Philip Prinn ['Philip Prinn, who was a souldier agt the King, all or most part 'of the late times of Rebellion'], Captain or Major Barton (twice), 'a souldier against the King, & a minister att the beginning of the 'warres, who purchased some of the King's lands which he hath lost, 'and is highly Discontented.' 'Mr Hennealse, formerly a Captaine,' a nameless 'person,' who is 'a Nonconformist minister out of Lincoln-'shire, formerly in Armes against the King', & 'Richard Clementson 'who was in armes against the King.' He reports one Conventicle, too, in Matlock, 'where they sound a trumpett to call them together'—a note absolutely unique in the whole of these Episcopal Returns. As natural a trace, too, of his political animus is the description of 'Mr Browne' of Milford, Salop, as 'a member of Oliver's Little Parliament.'

It is a picturesque touch he gives in reporting a meeting which the Quakers of Ashford intended holding in the house of Hugh Martin, that the Justices' Warrant being brought to hinder them, 'they went 'into a Moore & kept their Conventicle.'

In describing the Sects represented in the various Conventicles, he names most frequently Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers. Congregationalists and Independents he knows not, or wilfully ignores; only once mentioning the 'Brownists' at Shenster, and then with Quakers. The numbers reported as attending the Conventicles are generally small, from 20 to 30; in three places they reached 100 or over—at Barton Dassett, Mickleover, and Birmingham; at Stenson (though only a hamlet), there are about 160; and at Darlaston, from 100 to 200; at Sedgley, about 200; at Wednesbury and Matlock, from 200 to 300; at Little Ireton, from 200 to 400; and at Walsall, above 300. The highest number is at the Leather Hall, Coventry, where, to hear Mr. Samuel Bryan, they get almost 1,000. At Nuneaton, where Dr. Wild is (the Puritan lampoonist), the Bishop reports that the number attending his ministry have risen lately from 30 to 120 or more; and at Stoke-upon-Trent the parson had been very candid, for he admits: 'They have more company than y^{e} parish Church.' And in one case we are left to infer the number as 90 at least, because the informer reports that 'they of (have) gathered 15s. in fines for one meet-'ing, at 2d. per pole.'

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* It is a very singular fact that from 200 to 30, the figures also appear in the 'Numbers' column,—'sometimes 200, 100, 60, 30.' Was this a mistake of the editor in drawing up the précis? or were the figures of the Parable ringing in the ears of the Minister who made the original Return?

Hacket is no more complimentary than most of his brother Bishops in describing the 'Quality' of the Conventiclers. They are 'meane 'people,' 'people of meane Quality,' 'the meaner sort of common 'people,' 'inconsiderable fellows,' though in one case (viz., at Stenson), he has to admit that they are abetted by 'divers considerable persons,' naming no less than thirteen.

In reporting the Teachers he evidently keeps an eye upon the ejected Nonconformists, reporting some thirty-five as preaching at different Conventicles, showing a special antipathy for Presbyterians (noting one as 'Presbyterially ordained and a zealous Nonconformist'.)* He evidently relishes the absence of culture in many of the Baptist speakers. At Bakewell he reports 'a shoomaker, a husbandman and a 'tailor'; at Stoke the two speakers are 'illiterate persons,' and at Atherstone, the Teacher is 'a mercer.' He records the reasons alleged for holding these Conventicles, spite the penal statutes in the Archdeaconry of Derby: (1) The expiration of the Act of Parliament [the First Conventicle Act had really run out in 1667-68]; (2) the hope of its being dissolved; (3) the King's Allowance; (4) friends at Court: and those adduced by the Papists at Hathersage are—'All these hopes are 'from the Clemency of the King & Parliament.'

But a unique and very interesting feature of Hacket's Report is that he cites in three instances the contumacious words spoken at some of the Conventicles in his Diocese: (1) John Stone of Stenson says: 'he was 'not sorry for carrying on that Conventicle, saying: "The King gave '"them liberty"'; (2) at Mickleover, Edward Fleming said to 'a 'soldier of the trained band who was sent to suppress a meeting: "Draw '"thy sword, if thou Darest"'; and (3) at Lascoe, John Bredsall, who at the beginning of the wars 'had preached up the Rebellion against the 'King,' used these words: '"He that Despiseth the Covenant, I say, I '"say, shall surely goe to Hell."'

9. LINCOLN.—This Diocese was as yet uncurtailed, and included the Counties of Bedford, Leicester, Bucks, and parts of Herts and Hunts, besides the County of Lincoln.

The Bishop was William Fuller, who had come to the See (like Lloyd and Laney and Sparrow) in the year 1667, was devoted to the cause of the Church and Church-order, and sends in a very voluminous Return, covering nearly thirty pages. Though the general historians say little or nothing about him, we gather a vivid impression of him from the pages of Pepys. He and Fuller had been College friends together at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and William Fuller seems to have cherished the friendship with Pepys all through his life. From the time of his obscurity in the living at Twickenham through his successive elevations to the Deanery of St. Patrick's (1660),* the Bishopric of Limerick (1663) to the See of Lincoln (1667), he seems glad to have gone to Pepys' house and enjoyed free intercourse with him; and on his last elevation Pepys expresses his special delight because the Palace of the Bishops of Lincoln at Buckdon in Hunts (he calls it 'Bugden') is so near Brampton, the Pepys' ancestral home. William Fuller's love of Church-order and official dignity is shown by what Pepys tells us (under date June 9, 1661) of his indignation at the admission to holy orders, by the Bishop of Galway, of a certain Roundtree, 'a simple mechanique that was a person formerly of the fleet'; but Pepys dwells most upon his personal qualities. On July 18, 1666, he relates how on returning home he found 'by appointment, Dr. Fuller, 'now Bishop of Limericke, in Ireland,' going on to say, 'whom I knew 'in his low condition at Twittenham, and find the Bishop the same 'good man that ever, and in a word kind to us, and methinks, one of 'the comeliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I 'saw in my life.' And on January 23, 1667-8, he tells us: 'At noon I 'find the Bishop of Lincolne come to dine with us. . . . And there 'mighty good company. But the Bishop a very extraordinary good-'natured man, and one that is mightily pleased, as well as I am, that I 'live so near Bugden, the seat of his Bishopricke, where he is likely to 'reside; and indeed I am glad of it.' The curious thing is that though his Reports of Bedford, Leicester, Bucks, and part of Herts are very full, he sends nothing about *Lincoln* nor *Hunts*, in which personally one would suppose he would take the closest interest, since the Cathedral is in the one county, and the Episcopal Palace is in the other.

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* Though there were certainly many Independents in this Diocese, the Bishop observes the same curious silence concerning them which we have noted in the Sees of Ely and Llandaff.

(1) In the Return from Bedfordshire, there are several peculiarities:

The houses where the Conventicles are held in the several parishes are not particularized, nor the names of the householders given. The Sects reported are chiefly Quakers (17 Conventicles), and Anabaptists (11). The Independents have only 4, and the Presbyterians only 2.

The numbers attending them range in each Sect from 6 (the Quakers at Northall) to about 100 (Independents with Quakers at Keysoe); but the average is about 40 or 50. The Quality is reported with the greatest contempt (showing that this Bishop's good nature is reserved for 'good Church folks'). They are 'ordinary' or 'vulgar 'sort,' of 'meane condition,' of the 'meaner sort,' or 'meanest sort'; the highest encomium being 'middle sort' (of course referring wholly to their social standing or financial position).

In his reports of 'Heads & Teachers,' what is most noticeable is the scarcity of 'ejected Nonconformists,' 'men of university training.' There are only four such in the whole list—a palpable misrepresentation. They are nearly all tradesmen or farmers. But in the group connected with Bedford, while of course we miss John Bunyan himself (he was still in Bedford County Gaol), we recognize the associates of John Bunyan who, three years later, claim and share with their chief the liberty of the Royal Indulgence, securing licences under it; and in two interesting notes (**R. 202** and **203**), William Foster, Esq., is prominent (afterwards Dr. William Foster, J.P.), their chief persecutor (who is made memorable by Dr. John Brown's vivid narrative of his entrance to the spacious room at Harlington House, holding up a candle, and of his show of feigned affection, 'as he exclaimed,' seeing by the light of his uplifted candle who it was, 'What, John Bunyan !').

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* When in Ireland, Fuller was the poet who penned for the Irish consecrations, in 1661, the inspiring lines:

'Angels look down with joy to see
Like that above a Monarchie,
Angels look down with joy to see
Like that above an Hierarchie.' [A. G.]

(2) In the Return from Leicestershire, there is the same absence of description of the meeting-places, except in the very last item in his list, where we are told (in form which would have elsewhere made that first column so much more informing) 'a Quaker gathering of some 'fifty or sixty meet in Widow West's house,' at 'Gurfeild.'

The Sects here are very differently represented as compared with the adjoining county: for here the Anabaptists are most numerous (with 20 Conventicles); the Presbyterians rank next with 18; and the Quakers muster 13. But the Independents have only 9; and only one of these to themselves (viz., one of about 50 at Mount Sorrell). In all the other eight, they meet with Presbyterians. This unwonted harmony between two sects, which (in London and elsewhere) are mutually suspicious and keep aloof from each other, appears in a single district, the part of the county south of Leicester.

The 'Quality' reported is much the same as in Bedford, save that 4 Conventicles are admitted to be composed of 'the better sort'; 3 at Mount Sorrel (one each of Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers), and one (of 20) of an unknown Sect at Wanlip.

In the matter of Teachers, again, the contrast between the counties is very marked. While in Bedford the ejected ministers are the few, in Leicester they are the many; and the greater number those who had been ejected from livings in the county, though some have migrated from the neighbouring Counties of Nottingham, Shropshire, Northampton, Stafford, and Cambridge. In this case, as in the County of Wilts, the Nonconformist ministers seem to have formed themselves into circuits, preaching at several places in turn.

This is true at any rate of Matthew Clarke (who is reported at no less than 12 places), John Shuttlewood (at 7), and Richard Southwell (who is reported as 'Southall' at 3 places, and as 'Southam' at 2).

(3) In Bucks, he fortunately resumes the practice, adopted with such interesting results in other counties and Dioceses, of giving the householders' names where Conventicles were held. Amongst these the names of John Raunce and Isaac Pennington among the Quakers, and of Mrs. Fleetwood amongst the Presbyterians, are specially noteworthy.

Of the four Sects, the Quakers and Baptists vastly predominate: 24 Conventicles being reported of the former, and 17 of the latter, of which one is a small meeting styling themselves 'Antipædobaptists.' Only 6 Presbyterian Conventicles are returned, and 3 Independent; and 2 (in each of them) is a joint meeting.

The numbers reported in this county, in almost every case, are very small; but there are two exceptions to this. There is one Presbyterian Conventicle of two to three hundred at Wyrardsbury and Colebrooke; and one, of Presbyterians and Independents combined, at Wycombe Magna, designated in lofty irony 'a holy towne,' which is allowed to be 'very great and y^e persons very insolent.' In four cases the report as to numbers is unique, inasmuch as the numbers in attendance are declared to be 'decreasing'; all of them in the Ouse Valley—viz., one each at Shenley and Stony Stratford, and two at Olney (about two hundred).

In the 'Quality' column, there are some interesting features. The description of the first Conventicle named 'None of any Qualitie,' reminds us of the modern slang 'no class.' Besides the frequent designations of 'meane,' 'meaner sort,' and 'inconsiderable,' the Anabaptist Conventicle at Dinton is called 'very indigent.' A Quaker meeting at Horton is composed of 'silly women and excommunicate 'persons'; and another Conventicle at Bledlow, whose denomination is not given in these Returns, but which from the Licence documents referring to the place was evidently Presbyterian, shares the distinction as being 'most silly women.'

In many instances, however, the names of individual Conventiclers are given (I suppose, as belonging to the 'Quality'); two of them being worthy of special notice, even in this general review: Mr. William Guy, formerly a J.P. at Wycombe Magna, in whose house is 'a Pulpit'; and Mrs. Fleetwood, of Chalfont St. Giles, kinswoman of the Parliamentary general of that name, and hostess of a remarkable company of learned and cultured Nonconformist ministers, in which, for some six months in the Plague year 1665, John Milton had been a centre of attraction.

Amongst the Teachers, the ejected ministers and laymen about equally divide the honours; and the former in equal numbers come from neighbouring counties, and from different parts of Bucks. The arrogant animus which describes one so noble and so notable as Nathaniel Vincent,* who had been ejected from Langley, when he is reported as preaching to a Conventicle of two hundred or three hundred at Wyrardsbury and Colebrook (now known as Wraysbury and Colnbrook) as 'one Vincent' is very pitiable: the dishonesty which deliberately ignores the fact that Edward Bagshaw, M.A., was the ejected minister of Ambrosden, Oxfordshire, and simply calls him 'late 'student of Christ Church, Oxon,' as though he had never been in the ministry at all; and the carelessness which calls George Swinnock, ejected from Great Kymble as 'Mr. Swynnow,' when reporting him as Teacher; and 'Mr. Synnow,' when naming his house at Amersham as a meeting-place for above one hundred Presbyterians; and Richard Swinfen, ejected from Marston in Staffordshire as 'Mr. Swinfrow, an 'ejected minister,' is remarkable and inexcusable in one who could be exact enough when he chose. The triumvirate who were welcomed under Mrs. Fleetwood's hospitable roof at Chalfont St. Giles, and honoured the little Presbyterian Conventicle there by their frequent ministry, is certainly noteworthy for their culture and learning: Edward Terry from Greenford Magna (Middlesex), Dr. Edmund Staunton from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Samuel Cradock from Cadbury in Somerset. The obscure and confused connection with Waddesden or two ministers who are reported as preaching at Whitchurch demands explanation. Calamy gives Mr. Robert Bennett as ejected from Waddesden; but he is here reported as simply 'a Teacher formerly'; whereas Mr. Henry Eeling is referred to in this Report as 'ejected att 'Waddeden'; Calamy stating that a Mr. John Ellis also 'had another 'of the three rectories there.' Indeed, every one of the names mentioned in these Returns for Bucks would repay careful research into the facts. Nor should we fail specially to notice the two remarks the Bishop thinks it worth his while to report: (1) At Wraysbury 'they 'say they will uphold their Conventicle in spite of King or Bishop'; (2) at Newton Blostomville, the Conventiclers are such as say 'they 'value not his Majesty's Clemency a pin.'

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* He had covered himself with honour to all right-minded people by the zeal and self-denying devotion with which he had ministered to thousands in London City, rendered spiritually as well as physically homeless by the Great Fire, often preaching to crowds in the spaces within the city covered only by ashes and smoking ruins.

(4) For Herts, there is nothing except a Paper touching the Towne of Hertford; but that is so remarkable as to make amends for the absence of aught else. The description of the great Quaker, Captain Crooke (mentioned in the Bucks Report (**R. 213**) as 'John Crooke als 'Croote'), is most interesting; while the disgraceful case of the clergyman Austin has about it elements of high comedy enough to fit it for treatment by Dr. Wild, or Sam Butler, were it not that the Report honestly concludes: 'Tis wisht there were other Clergy men of better 'Fame and better qualifyed to deal with that Factious people'! (**R. 216**).

10. LONDON.—This Report touches each part of the Diocese, which included besides the City of London and its immediate suburbs north of the Thames, the whole of Middlesex, the County of Essex, that part of Herts which constituted the Archdeaconry of St. Albans, and Winslow in Bucks.

Considering the importance of the districts included, the Report is disappointingly meagre. In Middlesex, the Bishop sends Reports from only three places: Uxbridge, on its extreme western border, and Hackney and Edmonton on the extreme east. From Essex, which was so strongly Nonconformist that in 1672 (only three years later) no less than 157 licences were taken out under the Declaration of Indulgence, there come the briefest and most imperfect reports, covering barely two pages; only naming the towns and villages where Conventicles are held, and one or two Teachers at each, but giving no particulars as to the buildings used as Meeting-Places, as to the numbers frequenting the Conventicles, the Sects represented, or the Quality of the Conventiclers. From Herts we have two and a half pages, and just one about Winslow, in Berks. But what is most deplorable of all is that on London and the suburbs, the Metropolis of the country and the great stronghold of Nonconformity, as well as the asylum of scores of refugees from the Provinces, we have only five and a half pages.

Though we may be thankful even for such small mercies, seeing that in 1665 the Bishop sent up no Return whatever; though a Return complete and full, like Seth Ward's for the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, would have been priceless, for the materials it would have afforded the historical student in tracing the history of the ninety ministers (and over) who were ejected from the City proper, as well as the score or so just outside the City walls. The fact is, that Humfrey Henchman had little of the energy and organizing skill of his predecessor, now Primate, nor the conscientiousness or exactness of Seth Ward.

Baxter speaks well of him in his account of the Savoy Conference. After referring to Bishop Morley as the chiefest speaker and most frequent interrupter (of the Puritan party), and to Bishop Cosins, the great canonist of the Episcopalians, Baxter says of Henchman, at that time Bishop of Salisbury: He 'was of most grave, comely, reverend 'Aspect, of any of them. . . .' He 'spake calmly and slowly, and not very 'oft; but was as high in his Principles and Resolutions as any of them' ('Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,' Part II., p. 363). And Pepys seems to have been as favourably impressed as Baxter by Henchman's personal appearance, when in 1663-64, soon after his elevation to the See of London (February 28), he saw him in St. Paul's Cathedral. His words are: 'But 'what was extraordinary, the Bishop of London, who sat there in a pew 'made a' purpose for him by the pulpitt, do give the last blessing to the 'congregation; which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent 'thing, methought.' He was evidently an old man in 1664. His handwriting, too, in a letter preserved in the State Papers,* touching the preaching of Nonconformist ministers in the City churches in 1665 (the year of the Great Plague), bears evident traces of his age; so that his infirmity should be remembered in considering his Report (four years later still, 1669).†

(1) It is necessary to observe at the outset that it was only three years since the Great Fire had reduced the City to ashes, so that we must not be surprised to find that though (as just stated) there were over ninety ministers ejected from City churches in 1662, only six Conventicles are reported for the area destroyed by the Fire, and only one building reported as 'erected for the purpose' of public worship, viz., Thomas Doolittle's, in Mugwell Street (now Monkwell Street). Still, Mr. Calamy (the historian's father) is reported as preaching near the ashes of his father's church in Aldermanbury; Mr. John Wells, in Great Wood Street, preaches within bowshot of his old church, St. Olave's, Old Jewry; Mr. Thomas Gonge clings to the ruins of his old church, St. Sepulchre's, for he is reported as preaching 'next doore to the 'Windmill against St. Sepulchre's'; nor had Mr. Caryll gone far from St. Magnus', London Bridge, for he is preaching in Alderman Thomas Knight's, in Leadenhall Street. Outside the City walls, too, Gabriel Sangar and Dr. Manton still minister in their old parishes in the aristocratic quarter bordering on Charing Cross and Westminster; the former in the Strand (he had been ejected from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields); the latter in his own house in the piazza of Covent Garden, in the shadow of his old parish church, St. Paul's. Mr. Greenhill still preached in his

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* S. P. Dom. Car. II. 129, 63.

† He was then nearly 77; for he was baptized December 22, 1592.

house close to Stepney Parish Church (whence he and his assistant lecturer, Mr. Mead, had been ejected); and both he and Mr. Mead were holding a Conventicle in Meeting House Alley in Wapping, 'the 'old House' being reported as 'made as big again as in Cromwell's 'time'; while close by in Redmayd Lane (Wapping), Mr. Kentish, who had (like Zachary Crofton) been compelled to leave the Tower Church (St. Catharine's), was preaching 'at a New Brick House with 'Pulpit and Seates.'

But most of the London ministers had migrated, either north to Smithfield and Moorfields—Dr. Owen was preaching in White's Alley there, and Mr. Needler (of St. Margaret Moses, Friday Street), was preaching in Finsbury Field—or east to Bishopsgate and Spittlefields. Thus Thomas Vincent had moved from Milk Street to Hand Alley, in Bishopsgate (where he preached 'in a Spacious Roome built with 'Galleries'), and Dr. Samuel Annesley had left St. Giles's, Cripplegate (his old parish), for Spittlefields, where he was preaching at 'a New 'House built for the purpose with a Pulpitt & Seates.'

But the rest of those reported by Humphrey Henchman are refugees from the provinces (and one, Mr. Grimes, all the way from Ireland, and two Scotchmen).

Not only in the number of Nonconformist ejected ministers who are reported, however, is the Bishop's Report miserably defective and inadequate. In many cases the Sects are not distinguished. The columns for Abettors, Principals, etc. (which properly filled up would have been replete with interesting information), is left consistently a blank. But the numbers attending the Conventicles reported are admitted to be very large—all of them are counted by hundreds.

His notes at the close of his Return for the City, too, are strangely frank in their admissions. He does not appear to consider its incompleteness involves any reflection upon himself. He says (**R. 220***b*) : 'Others 'there are of less note, too long to Enumerate, And many not yet dis'covered doubtlesse : And the more of late, Because they having re'ceived some disturbance in the Countries' (*i.e.*, 'Counties,' or, as we should say, 'the Provinces'), 'have made flight to London.' The Bishop evidently does not think much of the strength of religious conviction behind this Nonconformity, for he says (**R. 221**) : 'Many of 'these Meeting People, especially Presbyterians & Independents, did till 'of late frequent the Church ; And will easily be reconciled again, if 'they see the Government resolute.'

(2) The skeleton report from Essex is remarkable for three things :

(i.) All the 'Preachers or Teachers' reported—with the exception of three (viz., Messrs. Billaway, Stockdale, and Done)—are ejected ministers. [N.B.—Mr. Robert Billio, ejected from Wickham St. Paul, appears under two curious variants : 'Billoe' and 'Billowes,' and I have a strong suspicion that 'Billaway' is a third.]

(ii.) Two of the eighteen Conventicles reported—viz., those at Coggeshall and Colchester, under the heading of 'Numbers and Quality' —are honoured with the comment, 'hard to be suppressed,' which shows the prophetic discrimination of the reporter, for they have not been suppressed yet. The Congregational Churches in Coggeshall and

Colchester are still 'going strong,' and are amongst the sturdiest and most influential in the county.

(iii.) The note (**R. 222**_b_) on the Conventicle at Dedham touching the service held there in connection with the funeral of their late pastor, Matthew Newcomen, M.A., is of special interest as confirming Palmer's note (Cal. ii. 196) about Mr. Fairfax's sermon on the occasion.

(3) The incomplete report from *Middlesex* is nevertheless very interesting as far as it goes.

(i.) Of the seven little Conventicles reported in Uxbridge, two are notable, as served by ejected ministers: (*a*) That at Hillingdon—about a mile from the town then—by 'one Butler,' who was doubtless Hugh Butler, who had been ejected from Beaconsfield, in Bucks (the next town to Uxbridge on the high road from London to High Wycombe), but who had on his ejectment retired to Amersham. (He is described in the Report as 'lately come from Amersham'), and (2) that at Uxbridge itself, frequented by the 'best in the Town,' and held at the house of Mr. Buscold, 'a Rich Tanner,' by Hezekiah Woodward, 'an old 'intruding minister of Bray, near Windsor.' [It is of special interest to the Editor, as Hezekiah Woodward was turned out at the Restoration to make way for Dr. Edward Fulham (a lineal ancestor of the Editor's), to whom the living was presented by the Bishop (George Morley). (Anthony Wood's remarks about the state of dilapidation into which Woodward had allowed the manse to fall are very caustic.)]

(ii.) The Report for Hackney is notable for its mention of a Lecture held here by a combination of eight of the ablest and most popular preachers of London, six of whom were Congregationalists—a veritable galaxy of the 'bright particular stars' of that denomination. They were: Philip Nye, the veteran Independent and anti-Royalist; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, ex-President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a great Congregationalist; John Griffith, another Independent, who had been minister at the Charterhouse, and Lecturer at St. Bartholomew, near the Exchange; Thomas Brooks, of St. Margaret's, Fish Street, also of the Congregational way; Dr. Owen, one of the ablest pioneers of Congregationalism as the Polity of the New Testament, and late Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; Thomas Watson, who had been ejected from St. Stephen's, Walbrook, Presbyterian. And, besides these, Peter Sterry, an able mystic; and Dr. William Bates, the silver-tongued preacher of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West (Fleet Street), a decided Presbyterian.

(4) The Report from Hertfordshire, omitting Hertford, the county town (of which we have seen there was a separate account, quite unique in its character, sent in by the Bishop of Lincoln), centres in the abbey town of St. Albans, where it returns four Conventicles (the Presbyterian of 100 attendants, by far the largest), served by three ejected ministers. This is the only instance in which the Presbyterians are mentioned, although the other six were without doubt of that denomination, which were served by ejected Nonconformists, viz., Watford, Idlestree (or Elstree), Codicote, Ridge, Chipping Barnet, and Theobalds (near Waltham Abbey). One of the three who preached at St. Albans was Dr. Staunton (Stanton), who had been ejected from Boveden, whom we have before met as one of the distinguished ministers who

enjoyed the hospitality of Mrs. Fleetwood at Chalfont St. Giles. He also preached at Watford, Codicote, and Ridge.

The other two were: Mr. Jenkins, ejected from Abbot's Langley; and Isaac Loeffs (called also Leaver and Leaves), who had been ejected from Shenley.

The Baptists are reported as having three Conventicles: one at St. Albans, one at Redbourne, and a third at Watford; and the Quakers, as having four (St. Albans, Redbourne, Shephall, and Norton). John Crooke is reported as speaker at two of them, the J.P. whom we have met before (in Cambridge and Bedford).*

The meagre reference to Theobalds brings us into touch with London, for both Thomas Wadsworth and Robert Bragge were London men; the former having been ejected from St. Lawrence Pountney, and the latter from All Hallowes the Great, in Thames Street.

The one place in Bucks reported as in the London Diocese is Winslow.

11. NORWICH.—Edward Reynolds was Bishop, having been elevated to the See in 1661. He had been an avowed Presbyterian in the Commonwealth times, and took the See when offered it, on the distinct understanding that great latitude should be given to Nonconformists. Still, when those conditions were not kept, but, on the contrary, the policy of pitiless persecution was adopted, he did not resign his bishopric, and worked in the interest of the policy he had protested against by sending in a full account of the Conventicles held in about half the area of his Diocese: the eastern half of Norfolk, and the western half of Suffolk.

(1) In Norfolk, Emneth and King's Lynn, on the north-west limits of the county, were the only exceptions to the above description of the area covered by Reynolds's Report. It covers about six pages, and (quite properly) begins with Norwich, the Cathedral City.

The denominations in the county are very unequally represented in his Report. The Independents are by far the strongest, for twenty Conventicles are credited to them. The Quakers, too, are strong, for they have twelve. But he mentions only four Presbyterians, and three of these are associated with the Independents. Further, he mentions only two Baptists; and one of these is a mixed meeting of Baptists and Independents. The numbers in many cases are not large, ranging between 20 and 50; but in 10 instances they amount to 'hundreds,' the largest number being of Independents. (1) At Besthorpe and Banwell there is one of 'from 500 to 800'; (2) in Yarmouth, one of about 400; while (3) in Norwich, they have 3 Conventicles of 200 or 300. The Quakers' Meeting at Wymundshoe varies in numbers between 200 and 500.

From his connection with the Presbyterians, Reynolds well knew the high character and culture of many of the Puritans, yet he reports the Quality of most of the Conventiclers as 'inconsiderable persons,' or as 'most women,' conceding in the case of Besthorpe and Bunwell alone, that 'some were Gentry,' though he must add, 'and some poore 'people.' Except in the north, where the speakers named are all tradesmen, and these 'of an inferior condition,' the 'Heads and Teachers' are generally ejected Nonconformist ministers, who, be it noted (as proof of their earnestness and spirit), far more than in other parts of England, despite the penal statutes, seemed to have remained in their own parishes, to minister to their devoted flocks.

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* See p. 81 *n.* †.

(2) The Report from Suffolk is distinctly disappointing. In the north-eastern corner of the county, Nonconformity, as we know, was peculiarly strong, for only three years later more than five-and-thirty different places were licensed in this area. Yet it is wholly ignored in Reynolds's Report, albeit Conventicles are reported, not nearly in the number or strength that the facts warranted, as distributed evenly over the rest of the county. Yet the Bishop's informants seemed to be utterly ignorant of detail, except at Rattlesden, Wattesfield, Bury St. Edmund's, and Ipswich.

12. SARUM.—Here the Bishop was that energetic ecclesiastic, Seth Ward, who had in 1665 sent in such a remarkably complete return of the Nonconformists in the Diocese of Exeter, and who had migrated to Sarum, in that year of Episcopal changes, 1667. He had been in his new Diocese therefore only two years, yet his Reports for Wilts (the Cathedral County), with Berks north-east of it, and Dorset south-west of it, and a fragment of Devon, are as complete as had been his Returns for Devon and Cornwall in 1665. He finds out the position (social and political) alike of the householders who owned the meeting-places and of the 'Teachers' who spoke at them, so that we have a fund of information in this score of pages and more, so valuable and so illuminating, that from the historical standpoint we cannot but wish that his brother Bishops throughout the country had been as zealous and careful as Seth Ward.

His Report covers over twenty-three pages, fourteen of which are occupied with Wilts, under the three headings of: (1) The Archdeaconry of Wilts; (2) the Archdeaconry of Sarum; and (3) the Peculiars of Sarum in the County of Wilts. Nearly seven pages concern Berks, and the rest touch the western half of Dorset and part of the north-eastern border of Devon.

(1) As regards the Sects, though in many cases he can apparently furnish no information, in seventy-eight instances the denomination is given. Thirty-two of them are Quaker meetings, the Baptists and Presbyterians have 20 each, the Independents 3, the Fanatiques 2, and the Fifth Monarchists 1. [It is a question whether in Seth Ward's vocabulary 'Fanatickes' is not an *alias* of Independents, giving them five Conventicles.*]

The Quaker 32 is made up of 17 in Wilts and 15 in Berks; the Baptist 20, of 13 in Wilts and 7 in Berks; and the 20 Presbyterian, of 12 in Wilts, 5 in Berks, and 3 in Dorset. The Independent 5 is made up of 4 in Wilts and 1 in Berks, and the single Fifth Monarchist Conventicle is in Wilts. His bias against the Quakers is sufficiently evident, for though it may not be the Bishop who is the author of these expressions (but the local clergyman), the Bishop endorses them by inserting them in his Report, where he is guilty of the brutality of calling two Quaker ladie—who had been probably married in Quaker meetings, according to the recognized Quaker forms—'the Company 'Keeper or pretended wife' of their devoted husbands (**R. 241**); and of saying of Adam Laurence, of West Chaloe, that 'he keepes a woman 'as his wife whom he was never married.'

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* Or were they the 'Ranters,' a sort of Pantheists?

The facts about East Knoyle need sifting. Calamy has as the clergyman ejected from that living Samuel Clifford (III., 365); but Seth Ward, under that local heading (**R. 242***b*) calls Mr. Gray, the 'late Rector there, ejected Nonconformist,' but it is significant that on the very next page (**R. 243**) both Mr. Clifford and Mr. Gray are reported—together with Mr. (Compton) South, Mr. (Peter) Ince, and Mr. (Joshua) Churchill—as preaching at a Conventicle of 100 or 200 at Donhead St. Andrews.

(2) As to Numbers. The Conventicles which in all three counties have the largest numbers attending them are undoubtedly the Presbyterians:

In Wilts, ten are reported as of over 100; and of these three were over 200, four over 300, one of over 400, and one is of 600 or 700.

In Berks, there were five over 100, equally distributed as to hundreds.

In Dorset, though so few Conventicles are reported and concerned, one is over 200, two are over 300, and one over 400.

The Quakers, too, have considerable gatherings. In Wilts they had three over 100, one over 200, and one over 400.

In Berks, they had five over 100, and one over 200; while in Dorset, four had over 100.

The Baptists, also, had one of over 200, and one of over 300, both in Wilts.

The Bishop's candour is proved, as well as the fulness of his information, by his admission that in several places where no Conventicle is reported they had 'frequenters' living there—*i.e.*, inhabitants who were Nonconformists both in principle and practice, who travelled into other parishes to 'frequent' the Conventicles held in them. Such were Hindon, Berwick St. John's, Odstock, Bulford, and Boyton.

The information given as to the chief supporters of many Conventicles (in the column headed 'Quality and Abettors'), is very interesting, and applies almost equally to all the different counties. It should be of great use to historians of local Nonconformity.

The case of Dr. John Pordage is singular, and would repay fuller investigation. The Bishop refers to him in connection with a Conventicle at Reading (**R. 240***b*), at which he is the one teacher. It is in the contemptuous phrase, 'one Pordage,' implying that he is too insignificant a person for a Bishop to know anything about, yet he is unquestionably the same person who is reported under the title of 'Dr John Pordage' with Mr. Bromley, 'as suspected to be Conventicle-'holders and Teachers also' at Bradfield (**R. 240**). Calamy knows nothing of him, except that in his literary note on Christopher Fowler, ejected from Reading (I., 294-95), he gives among his works 'Dæmonium 'Meridianum': a Relation of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of Berks against John Pordage, late Rector of Bradfield. But Neal

('Puritans,' II., 631), notes him as ejected from this living at Bradfield, not by the Royalist Episcopalians after the Restoration, but by Oliver's Commissioners in 1656—not for scandalous living, nor for inefficiency, but for heresy, 'denying the Deity of Christ and the merits of His 'precious blood, and several suchlike opinions.' The fact is that (like Peter Sterry at Hackney, near London) he was rather mystical in his views, using phraseology which puzzled and displeased the good Calvinist Puritans who examined him. But in 1661 he was reinstated by the Episcopalian authorities, his successor appointed by Parliament being ejected to make his restoration possible. This was the 'M^r^ John 'Smith' whom Calamy notices as ejected from Bradfield (Berks). We must suppose, therefore, that in 1662, though the Doctor was a good Royalist and Episcopalian, he found himself doctrinally unable to take the oath required by the Act of Uniformity, declaring his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. So that formally Calamy ought to have included him in his list of sufferers on Bartholomew's Day. Dr. Walker, too, ought to have included him in his list of the clergy who suffered at the hands of Oliver and the Parliament. But the curious fate befalls him of being ignored by both; by Calamy, because Pordage's predecessor was a good Puritan who was ejected to make room for him; and by Dr. Walker, because Pordage could not remain in the church after Bartholomew's Day.

The last column of Seth Ward's Report is as full of interest as any of the rest. The names of several Nonconformist ejected ministers appear in connection with so many different places, that it would be quite possible to construct a history of their itinerating circuits in these counties. It would be almost amusing, were it not so exasperating, to find him using the contemptuous formula, 'one So-and-So,' of men who before Black Bartholomew had been distinguished ornaments of the Established Church.

'One Bachel^{r} of Hampshire,' preaching at East Ilsley, is clearly the same as the 'M^{r} Rich. Bachiler' reported on the same page as preaching at Newbury—the Richard Batchelaur who had been ejected from Camely, in Somerset, and had retired to his own estates in Ashmansworth and East Woodhay, in the north-western corner of Hants. It is a strong testimony to the deep impression made by his ministry there, that the Bishop of Bath and Wells reports a Conventicle as meeting in the parish church. Lower down the same page (**R. 239***b*), 'one Dent 'of Ramsbury, a Pention Scholemaster' preaching at Lambourne, should hardly have been so ignored, seeing he is doubtless 'M^{r} Henry Dent,' who had been ejected from the Ramsbury living.

'One Stubs,' again, reported as preaching at Reading, 'his dwelling 'not knowne,' the Bishop must have known as the minister ejected from Longhope, Gloucester, who had retired to Bristol (Cal. II. 239-244), and whom he reports elsewhere as 'M^{r} Stubbs of Bristoll,' and as preaching at Leigh by Garsdon and Grittleton (**R. 237***b*), at Shereston and Charlton (**R. 238**), and at Hornington (**R. 244**). So, surely, it was a wilful ignorance which describes another of the refugees at Bristol, who had been ejected from Buckland Newton, in Dorset (Cal. II. 120), as 'Weekes of Bristoll'; and Thomas Rutty, who had been ejected from Milton, Wilts (Cal. III. 368), and had retired to Seene, or Seende, in Melksham as 'Mr Thomas Rutty of Sene,' preaching at Calne (**R. 239** and **R. 249**); and reports John Frayling, who had been ejected from Compton, Wilts, as one of the preachers at the Independent Conventicle at Devizes, under the guise of 'John Frawling of Hedington,' because he was a native of Hedington, and possibly had retired thither after his ejectment.

In one case Seth Ward slips into an error, not very excusable. In reporting the Presbyterian Conventicle at Turner's Puddle, he gives the teacher as 'Mr Westley, ejected from Preston' (**R. 247**). Now, so far from being ejected from Preston, Calamy shows (II., 164-175) that he was ejected from Winterbourn Whitchurch ('Mr Wesley of Whit-'church' he is called in his official examination). He withdrew to Melcomb, but was not allowed to settle there, and at last, by the kindness of a friend, settled in Preston. (For a time he was driven from Preston, too, by the operation of the Oxford Act in 1665, but must have returned thither in 1669.)

13. WINTON.—This Diocese included the Counties of Hants and Surrey; and George Morley was Bishop. He had been translated hither from Worcester in 1662, and remained at Winchester till his death in 1687. He was devoted to the House of Stuart, having attended Charles I. in his last incarceration in the Isle of Wight, and attached himself to the pseudo-court of young Charles II. in Paris (*vide* Evelyn's Diary *in loc.*), and he was correspondingly bitter to all anti-Royalists, and anti-Episcopalians. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that animus appear in parts of this Report.

(1) The Returns for Hampshire cover seven pages.

(i.) The names of the Householders who harboured Conventicles are given (except in the Andover Deanery). Those at Ellingham and Hursley are of exceptional interest, and naturally illustrate the remark just made. (1) At Ellingham, the meeting-place was Moyles Court, 'the house of Mrs. Lisle,' who, sixteen years later, was the first victim of Judge Jeffreys, on his Bloody Assize, and is here described, with partizan cruelty, 'the Regicide's wife.' (2) At Hursley, the meeting-place is the house of Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, 'wife to Richard 'Cromwell, the late Usurper.'

(ii.) Of the Sects reported, the Presbyterians and Quakers were the most numerous. The Presbyterians had 15 Conventicles, and the Quakers 13; to only 5 of Anabaptists and 3 of Independents.

At Milford and Hordle reference is made to a Sect called 'Free-'willers': a unique reference.

(iii.) The numbers reported, as a rule, were under 100; but the Presbyterians, in five places, were more numerous. At Moyles Court, they were 200; at Fordingbridge, they were more (sometimes above 300); at Gosport they numbered 'some hundreds.' At Crundall, they were 'very numerous'; and at Andover there were 'some 200.'

(iv.) The information given in the 'Quality' column is of great interest; the social position of many individuals being furnished at Basingstoke, Kingscleare, etc. At Baghurst, it is conceded that some of the Quakers have considerable Estates. At Crundall, the principal supporters of the Presbyterian Conventicle are 'of good Estates & 'Quality.' The Presbyterian Conventicle at Gosport is made up of 'Tradesmen in Portsmouth,' and 'seamen & workmen in His Majesty's 'Dockyard,' a very interesting proof that the Monarchy was glad to retain some of Oliver's grand men in the Navy, and the Naval Dockyards. (Pepys was quite frank in his acknowledgments of this.)

(v.) With regard to 'Heads & Teachers': in all the important Presbyterian Conventicles they are 'ejected ministers'; in the Northern border of Hants, from the adjacent counties of Berks and Wilts, as well as from other parts of the county; and in the South-Western Corner from Dorset.

Among the Quakers, the Bishop reports some notable speakers: Solomon Eagles (or Eccles) of London, and Joseph Cole of Reading. The Bishop shows his political and prelatical animus most unequivocally, by the opprobrious epithets he uses in designating some of the ejected ministers. Samuel Tutchin (ejected from Odiham) is 'a pestilent 'Fellow.' James Terry (ejected from Micklemarsh), and Walter Marshall (from Hursley) are each 'a violent Nonconformist'; Isaac Chauncy, ejected from Woodborough, Wilts, was 'presented at the Assizes as a Sedi-'tious person'; and John Tucker, ejected from Horton, Dorset, and so an intruder into his Diocese, is 'a Vagabond.' The story he reports of Mr. Avery, intended to cover him with contempt, attests the lofty conception he has of the calling of God to a man as contrasted with the mere ordination of man. He has been (**R. 263**) preaching at Hursley, and the Bishop's words about him are as follows: 'Mr. Avery, Mrs. 'Cromwell's Chaplaine, being demanded by what authority he held that 'unlawfull Assembly, Answered that he was Authorized thereto by 'Jesus Christ'—adding, as showing that his trust was in part at any rate in social influence—'That his Lady (Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell) 'would beare them out in all their meetings.'

One unique feature in this Report for Hampshire is the number of local or sectional answers given to this inquiry (the personal reply to which in the case of Mr. Avery I have just cited) as to the authority they adduce for meeting in these illegal Assemblies.

(i.) In the Andover Deanery (**R. 261**) 'The Authority they pretend 'is His Majesty's Connivence, and that they have some freinds that, if 'occasion be, will interpose betweene them and the Punnishment of 'the Lawes.'

(ii.) At Basingstoke (**R. 261***b*) 'Some of them say they thought 'they had the King's permission & toleration, because such meetings 'are allowed in London and other Places.'

(iii.) At Kingscleare (*ibid.*), the owner of the meeting-place 'declares the reason of his being soe zealous that way is, because the 'King has a great kindness for the Presbyterian party.'

(iv.) At Fordingbridge (**R. 263***b*), 'They say His Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ allowes of 'their Meetings, or at least tolerates them.'

(v.) At Ellingham (*ibid.*), 'they plead His Majesty's Connivance 'and Toleracõn.'

(vi.) At Milford (*ibid.*), 'The Authority they pretend is the 'Spirit.'

(vii.) At Southampton (**R. 264**), 'They all pretend Conscience and 'Toleracon, or at least Connivence from the King.'

It should be noted that one of the very few answers given to the first Postscript inquiry of Sheldon is appended to this same report (**R. 264**): 'The same persons frequent sev^rall Conventicles, which the 'Quakers generally in all places doe.'

14. SURREY.—The Surrey Report occupies five pages.

(1) The first section—*i.e.*, from the 'Southwarke' Deanery—is of special importance, because even in those days 'the Borough of South-'warke' was reckoned (with the Liberties of Westminster) as a part of London. This section, too, is more thorough and detailed than the others.

(i.) The situation of the Conventicles is particularly described (containing some details of topographical value), as also the social position of the owners of the meeting-places.

(ii.) The numbers reported as in attendance are all large—generally over 100; Nathaniel Vincent's, in Farthing Alley, is attended by 500 or 600; Wadsworth's and Chester's, in Globe Alley, by about 600 (Presbyterians and Independents); and there is a great Conventicle of Baptists in Shad Thames of 1,000!

(iii.) As to Quality, we see Morley's delight, when able to belittle their social position. The one in Fishmonger's Alley (of 'Presby-'terians and Interpend^ts') is composed of 'Bakers meal men, and such-'like people,' and the Presbyterian Conventicle in Mountague Close is 'Tradesmen for the most part'; but he is obliged to acknowledge of M^r. Lye's meeting, in Morgan Lane, that it is 'of pretty good 'Qualitie,' and that Nathaniel Vincent's has 'some people of good 'fashion,' though he adds with an evident relish 'the rest servants '& streete walkers.'

Southwark, we know from abundant evidence, was a stronghold of Puritanism, a natural consequence of the fact that their Clergy were so decided in their Puritanism that every one of them left the Church on Bartholomew's Day, 1662. Only one seems to have stayed, to be active in his ministry among his old people; at least only one is reported among the 'Heads and Teachers'—viz., Mr. Beerman (or Bereman), who had been ejected from St. Thomas', Southwark, and he is described as 'a silkman.' Is this an illustration of the way in which some were forced into trades to maintain themselves (as Thomas Taylor from Cambs. was, to become a dealer in tobacco)? [or was this a kinsman of the ejected Minister?]

If I am right in this identification it is only a parallel, in the way of unfairness, to the description of Stephen Ford, a clergyman of Oxfordshire. After ejectment from Chipping Norton, he had fled to London, and had taken up a ministry in these neglected parts. Morley alludes to him simply as 'a servant of Thankfull Owen,' as if he were another Onesimus, and had run away from his service to take up preaching: whereas the fact probably is that, being either domestic servant to

Thankful Owen, or one of the College servants at St. John's College, Oxford, of which Thankful Owen was President in the Commonwealth days, his master thought so well of his gifts that he gave him help in his private studies, and got him placed in the sequestered vicarage.

All the other Teachers reported were (like Stephen Ford) emigrant refugees in the ancient Borough. Mr. Carter, Mr. Thomas Lye and Mr. Wadsworth had come across London Bridge from the City; Carter from St. Michael's, Crooked Lane; Thomas Lye, from All Hallows, Lombard Street; and Wadsworth, from St. Lawrence, Pounteney. Mr. Anthony Palmer had come up from Gloucestershire (Bourton-on-the-Water); Mr. Nathaniel Vincent from Bucks (Langley Marsh); and William Carslake (*e.g.*, one 'Castlake') from Werrington on the Cornish borders of Devon.

(2) For all the rest of Surrey we have only three pages.

(i.) It is rather singular that three of the meeting-places were the private houses of ejected ministers. One in Godalming: John Platt's (Cal. 'Plot'), who had been ejected from West Horsley, North of Guildford; and two in Dorking: one James Fisher's, from Fetcham; and the other, John Wood's, from the adjoining county of Sussex, having been ejected from North Chapel.

(ii.) The denominations, as here reported, are evenly distributed as between Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers. The Independents are separately credited with only one—viz., at Dorking; though I much incline to think that John Plot's, at Godalming, was Independent too.

(iii.) The number of Conventicles reported is small, only 13 in all; but more than half of them number hundreds in attendance; the Presbyterian Conventicle at Dorking counting 300; the Quaker meeting, at Godalming, 4 or 500; and John Plot's, in the same place, 7 or 800.

(iv.) Of the Abettors reported: the Smallpieces, among the Quakers at Newdigate, were a respectable county family of yeomen; and amongst the Presbyterians of the same village, one is reported as the widow of an ejected minister, whose name does not appear on (Palmer's) Calamy's lists—viz., George Steere, ejected from Newdigate, for that is the most natural meaning to put upon the phrase 'late minister of Newdigate.'*

(v.) Of the 16 teachers mentioned, 12 are ejected ministers, 5 of them belonging to Surrey. One of them, however, Mr. Batho, ejected from Ewell, is reported as from London, whither he had fled as a refugee; and another, James Fisher, who had really been ejected from Fetcham, is reported simply as the owner of the house at Dorking where the Independent Conventicle was held.

15. WORCESTER.—The Bishop who sent in this report is Robert

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* The Steeres were a county family, Brayley and Britton (IV. 236) mentioning Lee Steere, Esq., of Jayes, Newdigate, as one of the three chief landholders; and Rev. George Steere, M.A., is mentioned by the same county historians as appointed to the rectory 1609-10, holding it nearly fifty years, and founding a Parish School (IV. 292). Yet, as he was buried Jan. 13, 1662, it is more likely that he resigned in 1660, than that he was ejected in 1662; seeing also that he gave way to one Bonwicke, who is given by Manning and Bray as rector for the year 1660. In 1647 he was member of the Dorking Classis.—[A. G.]

Skinner, who had been translated hither in 1663 from the See of Oxford, where he had been Bishop before the Civil War, and who had been little interfered with by the Parliament during the whole of the period of the Commonwealth, having ordained many to the ministry in this period without interference from the Authorities, political and civil. His Diocese of Worcester consisted of the two adjoining Counties of Warwick and Worcester; and his Report is fairly full, covering some seven pages. In it the counties are rather mixed, but Worcester receives the largest attention; the Returns for it covering over four pages, and those for Warwick less than three. It is not deficient to the extent of meagreness, but it is not clear: its obscurity being largely the result of carelessness.

In Worcester several Conventicles are assigned to one Sect. But of those which are described five are Baptists, four are Quakers, and there is one each of Independents, Presbyterians and Papists.

In Warwick, three Quaker meetings are returned, two Baptist, one Independent, and one Presbyterian. A remarkable fact in these Returns is that of the 'Heads and Teachers' reported, only four are ejected ministers—viz., Richard Fincher ejected from St. Nicholas, Worcester City; Richard Beeslow ('Baslow') from Bredon (Worcester); John Gyles (*alias* Giles) from Lindridge of the same county; and Samuel Tickner ('Ticknen') from Alcester. True, Mr. Thomas Badland is reported as a Nonconformist* (along with Mr. R. Fincher); but he is not mentioned by Calamy, and all the other speakers are laymen with no University education.

Another noticeable feature, common to it with Seth Ward's Return and others, is the statement about many parishes that, though no Conventicle is held there, there are inhabitants in the Parish—individuals (few or many) who are Nonconformists—described by the Bishop as 'factious' or 'seditious,' 'Sectaries,' 'Papists,' Anabaptists, Independents and Quakers. As to the Quality of the Conventiclers there are these admissions: that

(1) at Worcester, there are 'some people of good sufficiency,' 'Some of good Accompt.'

(2) at Alusten (*i.q.*, Alveston), some were 'y^e^ chiefest persons, for 'State, in the Towne'; and

(3) at Brayles, of the Papists some were 'people of good Qualitie.'

One historic touch should be noted. Under the return for Alveston (Alusten), (Worcester) there is this memo.: 'There went out of this 'towne seven score & odde persons against the King to Worcester.'

Another thing common to this with the Return for Sarum Diocese is that there are many references to the Original Returns from which this was compiled. Under Alveston, we have 'see the Returne itself 'for the names of some of the Cheife Sectaries.' Under Kington, referring to the Anabaptists and Quakers we have, 'see the names in y^{e} Returne.' Under Birlingham Inhabitants, in reference to 'some factious persons' we have 'see the Returne for their names,' as also with regard to the Quakers of Brayles; while the formula used in connection with Kington, is repeated *verbatim* of Stratford-upon-Avon.

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* Calamy inserted Badland in his list; though Palmer (iii. 245) excluded him, confusing Baldwin with Badland, foolishly thinking that he knew better.

So far, then, as to the Province of Canterbury. Though there are considerable differences in the Returns from the various Sees, there is more or less of uniformity and fulness in them. Far otherwise shall we find it in the case of the Northern Sees.

THE PROVINCE OF YORK.

The Dioceses in York Province were four—York, Durham, Chester and Carlisle—and Returns come from them all; but the only Report which is full and detailed enough to be condensed in Tabular Form is the first.

1. The Report for YORK DIOCESE was sent in by Archbishop Sterne, who had held the See and the Northern Primacy for five years—from 1664-5—when he was translated thither from Carlisle.

He had been in his early years chaplain to Archbishop Laud, attending him upon the Scaffold. So that we cannot expect anything very sympathetic about Nonconformists.

The order of the Returns is rather inexplicable. The Diocese included the whole of the Counties of York and Nottingham. But Sterne first gives us a very fragmentary report for the sea-board of the East and North Ridings, then a fairly thorough one for the County of Nottingham, and then a much fuller report than was promised at the outset from the North Riding and the West Riding.

For the sake of clearness, we take the Counties separately, and begin with York County.

(1) York County.—(i.) In the first fragment (**R. 278-278***b*) 6 Conventicles are reported: 3 of Quakers and 3 undesignated. The names of the Quaker householders doubtless could be traced.

The non-Quaker Conventicle at Bridlington is of special interest—since the 'Mr. Lucks' at whose house it is held was the ejected minister of the Town: whose licences applied for—and issued—three years later are unusual—and received special notice from the authorities ecclesiastical and civil.

(ii.) The rest of the County is dealt with under the heading of 'Deaneries of Pontefract and other Deaneries in Yorkshire' (**R. 281***b*-**285***b*).

As in other cases, of course, so here, it is impossible to say whether the Returns fairly represent the relative strength of the denominations reported; but the Quakers certainly bulk far more largely in the eyes of the Archbishop than all the other denominations put together. Out of 44 Conventicles reported, 24 are Quaker Meetings; there are only 7 each of Presbyterians and Independents, with 4 of Baptists, and 2 of Papists.

The Archbishop has special animus against them too. He speaks of the Quakers of Balby, Doncaster, (**R. 285**) as 'of y^{e} inferior Gang'; and in connection with the Quaker Conventicle at Hilston (**R. 284**), held at the house of John Stor, who he is obliged to acknowledge, is 'an 'able & rich person'; he shows his rancorous malice and vindictiveness by the terms he employs in reference to the marriages celebrated there: 'They do take one anoth^{r} (as they call it) and so live in Fornicac̄ion'; while of John Hall of Whitby he can bring himself to write, 'who liveth 'with a woman as in Wedlock & an excom̄unicate person' ((**R. 282**).

As a rule, the Conventicles are not large. Two in the North Riding—viz., those at Coxwold and Kilbourn, are each of about 200 or 300; and two at 'Nott.' (an abbreviation for Nottingham)* go into hundreds; one of Presbyterians, of 400 or 500; and one of Independents, of 200. Several Quaker meetings, too, run up to and exceed 100; at Morley, they are 'very numerous' (**R. 285***b*); at Malton (**R. 285**), and Rusticke (**R. 283**) they have meetings of 300; and the Archbishop reports 'one great assembly of Quakers on the moors near Sleights of 1,000' (**R. 285***b*). At Batley, too, he is obliged to report a Conventicle, to which 'as many come as to the Parish Church' (**R. 282**).

As to the 'Heads & Teachers,' only two are spoken of frankly as Nonconformists—viz., Henry Swift of Pennystone, and 'one Denton of 'Bolton'; but 'Mr. Clayton of Rotheram,' and 'Mr. Benson (or Benton) 'of Thursco' were the ministers ejected from those livings: and there are some 19 others, who are referred to simply as 'Mr. X' or 'one X'; while one is referred to just by his personal name; all of them without any hint that they were ever in the ranks of the clergy of his Diocese and Province.

Thirteen are spoken of as 'Mr. X'—viz. (1) Luke Clayton, ejected from Rotherham; (2) John Shaw from Hull; (3) Thomas Burbeck ('Mr. Birbeck') from Ackworth; (4) Edward Prince from Sheffield; (5) Richard Taylor from Longhope; (6) Matthew Bloom from Sheffield; (7) Rowland Hancock from Bradfield; (8) Thomas Hardcastle from Bramham; (9) Robert Armitage from Holbeck (Leeds); (10) Peter Naylor from Houghton Chapel, Lancs; (11) Joshua Kirby from Wakefield; (12) William Hawdon from Broadsworth; and (13) Richard Thorp from Horton.

Five are alluded to even more contemptuously as 'one X'—viz.: (1) Henry Root ejected from Sowerby; (2) John Ryther ('one Ryder') from Ferriby; (3) Christopher Nesse, from Leeds; (4) Joseph Dawson, from Thornton; (5) Oliver Heywood, from Coley Chapel.

The single instance in which he uses the personal name without prefix of any kind is 'Marke Trigot,' who is Mark Trickett ejected from Gate-Burton (Lincolnshire).

(2) Nottingham County.—According to the Archbishop's Report, the Quakers appear to predominate in Notts, as they do in Yorks, though not so overwhelmingly.

There are 9 Quaker Conventicles reported, to 7 Anabaptist, 5 Presbyterian, 3 Independent, 1 Fifth Monarchist, 1 Papist, 1 Jews, and 1 'Famylist.'

The numbers attending them are generally under 100; but two Presbyterian Conventicles are reported, one as of 100, and the other as 'in great numbers,' and two at Notts of 400; the Baptists of Rempston have 200 in attendance, the Independents at Notts 200, and the Independents and Baptists (together) at Flintham have 'Considerable' numbers, and the Quakers of Notts number 100.

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* Is this Knottingley? No; it is doubtless 'Nottingham' misplaced.

The Archbishop's description of the Quality of the Conventicles is generally 'meane' or 'poor,' but the confession is made that at Burton Jovis (Joyce) they have 'some of the best sort,' and that the Presbyterians at Mansfield have 'the better quality than the rest'; while at Nottingham the Archdeacon reports 'the chiefe of these persons have 'beene in actual armes agt the King.'

Again, as in Yorks, we find many ejected ministers referred to by name—without the slightest hint that they had ever been ornaments of the Church of England—only one Teacher is distinctly called a Nonconformist, and he is referred to simply as 'Rose,' *i.e.* Thomas Rose, who had been ejected from Bludsworth, Notts; but the most remarkable thing is that those at Nottingham are unnamed, though described as 'such as are silenced for Nonconformity.'

There are twelve of the noble army of 'sufferers' for conscience, and only three of them came into Notts from other counties. These three strangers or refugees are: two from Derbyshire—viz., Robert Seddon from Langley, and Robert Porter from Pentridge; and one from Leicestershire—viz., William Smyth (*als* Smith) from Packington.

The other nine remained bravely in the county where they had exercised their ministry: (1) John Clark, ejected from Codgrave; (2) John Leighton ('Mr. Layton'), from Linley; (3) Robert Smalley, from Greesley; (4) John Whitlock, and (5) William Reynolds, from St. Mary's, Nottingham; (6) John James, from Flintham; (7) William Cross, from Beeston; (8) Joseph Trueman ('John Trewman'), from Crumwell; and (9) Samuel Coates ('Samuel Coles'), from West Bridgford.

There is one extraordinary case of displacement in the report from this Diocese. At the top of **R. 285**, and therefore under the heading given on **R. 281***b*—'Deaneries of Pontefract and other Deaneries in 'Yorkshire'—sandwiched between such undoubted Yorkshire places as Lissett and Doncaster, is one item 'Nott.' with 7 Conventicles. After conjectures innumerable as to what town in Yorkshire could possibly be intended by this mystic 'Nott.', each to be rejected as utterly improbable, the suggestion was made by Rev. T. G. Crippen that it is intended for '*Nottingham.*' Its bare mention was sufficient to fix it at once in the Editor's mind as the true identification. There follows, of necessity, the curious problem—why the report of a town so strong in Nonconformity should be relegated to such a misleading place in the Returns. What 'animus' and disingenuousness to omit all names from the column of Teachers—simply noting 'Their Teachrs are such as are 'silenced for Nonconformity,' when they included such distinguished preachers as John Whitlock and William Reynolds, the inseparable colleagues both ejected from St. Mary's, and John Barrett ejected from St. Peters!

2. The Diocese of Durham.—Here John Cosin was Bishop. He was strong for Protestant Episcopacy—though his compilation of a

Book of Prayers for Private Devotion set the rumour going that he was secretly a Papist,* a suspicion that was confirmed by the perversion of his son to the Church of Rome. Still the fact that he disinherited him for it is sufficient proof of his Protestant orthodoxy. He fled to France on his deprivation by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and frequently officiated all through the Commonwealth period in Sir Richard Browne (the Ambassador)'s Chapel in Paris: and so became well known to John Evelyn, who befriended him financially. He seems to have been even more devoted to the Stuarts than to the Church; forgot his old friends, was prepared to vote against Chancellor Clarendon, and seemed inclined to condone the infidelities of Charles II. His response to Archbishop Sheldon's inquiries was a very perfunctory one. All that he deigns to ascertain and to present in his Report of four and a half pages is 'the number of persons that continue to keep 'meeting at Conventicles of pretended Religious Worship contrary to 'Law,' adding in some few cases the names of the householders in whose house a Conventicle is kept.

3. CHESTER.—The Bishop here had come to the See only about twelve months when he sent in his Return. He was Dr. John Wilkins—a man of great talents, a broad mind, and genial personality. By his mathematical and mechanical gifts he won the special admiration of John Evelyn; and by his eloquence as a preacher that of Pepys. By origin and marriage he was closely allied to the Nonconformists; as grandson of a great Puritan, Mr. Dod, and brother-in-law of Oliver Cromwell (his wife being Cromwell's sister). During the Commonwealth he had accepted a moderate Presbyterianism, but with the Restoration accepted the restored Episcopacy, and was made Dean of Ripon, being elevated to his See in 1668. He thus became responsible for the Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, as well as the Western half of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and fragments of Flint. For this wide area he sends in a Report, fairly comprehensive, of 14 pages, but containing no information either of the Householders who entertained the Conventicles, nor of the Speakers; much less does he give any particulars as to the numbers attending them, their Quality, or their chief supporters. He simply and solely gives the names of places where Conventicles were held, and the number of Conventicles held in them or of individual Sectaries resident in the various places, in some few cases indicating the Sect to which they belonged.

This is exceedingly disappointing, as we know, from other sources, how strong Nonconformity was (both Papist and Protestant) in many parts of this See, and completer Returns would have had the utmost value.

4. CARLISLE.—The Diocese includes the greater part of Cumberland and the Northern half of Westmorland. The Report is carefully framed; but only a fraction of what we might have had, covering but a single page. It is sent in by Edward Rainbow who had held the See for five years—a devoted Royalist and a learned scholar.

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* Despite the fact that it was published in 1627 in pursuance of royal order, to meet the reproach that books of devotion were used only by Papists. Its full title was—'A Collection of Private Devotions, in the Practice of the Ancient Church, 'called the Houres of Prayer.'

The five Teachers he reports were all ejected ministers: and the manner of his reference to the first two he names implies that fact, describing George Larkham as 'sometime minister at Cockermouth'; and saying of Nathaniel Burnand, whom he reports as Teacher of a Conventicle at Brampton, that he was 'sometime minister there, but is 'now a Farmer or Drover.' The other three he names without any hint as to their previous career: 'Simon Atkinson,' who was ejected from Lazonby in Cumberland (Cal. I. 389); 'one Slee,' a contemptuous allusion to Anthony Sleigh who had had a University training, but was silenced by the Act of Uniformity and prevented entrance to the ministry; and 'one Nicholson,' another similarly situated—George Nicholson—who had been educated at Oxford under Theophilus Gale and destined for the ministry, but found it impossible to accept the conditions of the Act of Uniformity.

III. NUMBERS GIVEN IN THESE RETURNS.

From what precedes it will be seen that the numerable items contained in these Reports are Conventicles, the Owners of houses or buildings in which the Conventicles are held, the Teachers who minister to the Conventicles, and the Number of the worshippers who assemble in, or compose, the Conventicles. [These last I have called 'Conventiclers.']

It is possible, that is, by careful examination of these Returns to count, in each county, the Conventicles reported, the Teachers who ministered to them, the houses or buildings in which the Conventicles are held, and the Conventiclers who are reported as frequenting them. This I have done, and have presented the figures for the several Denominations in each county.

But before giving them or dealing with the inferences to be gathered from them, one or two observations need to be made.

1. In the Episcopal Returns the sects or denominations are four, though in the Licence—or Indulgence—Documents they are only three. The Quakers attracted the attention of the Episcopalian authorities quite as much as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists—indeed some would infer from the figures given in the Returns that they received more than their fair share of that attention.

2. As to the Teachers, the figures I present greatly exaggerate the number of *individuals*, because I reckon each teacher who ministers to a Conventicle as one, so that when the same teacher ministers to more Conventicles than one, it may be in different parts of the same county —or even in different counties—he is counted over and over again. Subsequent sifting of the Returns might show the number of such duplicates, triplicates, etc., and the number of individual ministers reported in each county might thus be more accurately ascertained.

That process I have not yet had the heart to tackle; but I have made a very rough deduction in the County totals.

3. With regard to the number of Conventiclers, moreover, we are confronted with this serious difficulty which at first glance seems insurmountable, and threatens to take away the relative significance of the

figures which these Returns supply. In many cases the 'Numbers' column is a blank. We are told that a Conventicle is held; but no attempt is made to report or estimate the numbers frequenting it. To meet the difficulty frankly, I have called the number x: and in giving the number of Conventiclers in a certain place or in a given county I have given the cardinal figures which are the totals of the numbers actually given *plus* 'so many x's' as there were Conventicles the numbers attending which were not given in the Return. That x unfortunately may represent a few units, or tens or scores or hundreds—as the case may be. We may give x an 'average' value—so as to reduce the whole to definite numbers. Yet even that is necessarily a very unreliable process; though it may be added that the wider the area dealt with, the more likely is the result to be approximately true; and when we deal with the whole of England and Wales we may indulge the fancy that we are not very wide of the mark.

To gain some approximate idea of the numbers, I have gone through the following cumbersome and tedious process:

I have taken a copy of my Classified Summary, and in the left-hand margin of every page in which occur any references to the Episcopal Returns (*i.e.*, wherever an **R** is to be found) I have ruled three columns—one for Teachers (headed 'T'), one for Houses or Householders (headed 'H'), and one for Numbers of Conventiclers (headed 'Nos.'), and in these columns have entered a '1' opposite each mention of a Teacher or Householder in columns 'T' and 'H'; and in the column 'Nos.' the numbers of Conventiclers reported as attending any Conventicle returned, or an x if no number is given. All these particulars are given in the four denominational sections of each county; and at the end of each denominational section I have cast up the totals in each column; and finally, at the end of each county section, have tabulated these totals in a columnar scheme, giving the number of Teachers, Houses, and Conventiclers in each of the four Denominations; and at foot, the total number of Teachers, Houses, and Conventicles of all four Denominations—in other words, of Nonconformists of all Sects in each county.

These figures I have transferred from my Classified Summary to the Tables, presented in the following pages, with one important addition: I have added a fourth column, in which I have placed the numbers of Conventicles of each Denomination in each county (gathered by the process of counting the numbers given in the account of each Town or Parish).

These Tables therefore give: (1) in the first group of four columns the numbers of Teachers (T), Houses (H), Conventicles (Cs.), and Conventiclers (Crs.*) in each of the four Denominations in each county; and (2) in the second group the total number of Teachers, Houses, Conventicles, and Conventiclers in each of the counties.

The counties are arranged in the six groups adopted in the Classified Summary; and the order of the counties in each group is the same geographical order as that adopted there.

It is from this comprehensive scheme of Tables that all the other special Tables are drawn up.

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* This in place of the 'Nos' of my first, three-columned, tabulation.

NUMBERS OF TEACHERS, HOUSES, CONVENTICLES, AND CONVENTICLERS, REPORTED IN EPISCOPAL RETURNS OF 1669.

ENGLAND.

Group.	County.		P.	C.	B.	Q.	Totals.			
							T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
I. 1.	Northumberland	T.	4	1	—	—				
		H.	2	—	—	—				
		Cs.	14	1	—	—				
		Crs.	112	135	—	—	5	2	15	247
2.	Durham	T.	1	—	—	—				
		H.	8	—	—	4				
		Cs.	9	2	1	3				
		Crs.	227	29 + *x*	52	90	1	12	15	398 + *x*
3.	Cumberland	T.	2	2	—	—				
		H.	—	—	—	—				
		Cs.	2	2	—	6				
		Crs.	88	60	—	220	4	—	4	368
4.	Westmorland	T.	—	—	—	—				
		H.	—	—	—	—				
		Cs.	—	—	—	3				
		Crs.	—	—	—	170	—	—	3	170

Group.	County.		P.	C.	B.	Q.	Totals.			
							T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
I. 5.	Yorkshire	T.	31	17	—	14				
		H.	10	9	—	29				
		Cs.	18	12	—	58				
		Crs.	485	635	—	2,220	62	48	88	3,340
6.	Lancashire	T.	—	—	—	—				
		H.	1	3	—	—				
		Cs.	4	3	4	12				
		Crs.	—	—	40	630	—	4	23	670
II. 7.	Cheshire	T.	—	—	—	—				
		H.	—	—	1	—				
		Cs.	13	5	3	22				
		Crs.	$20+12x$	$60+4x$	$3x$	$140+19x$	—	1	43	$220+38x$
8.	Derbyshire	T.	17	—	4	—				
		H.	3	—	2	5				
		Cs.	13	—	2	3				
		Crs.	1160	—	30	100	14	10	18	1,290
9.	Nottinghamshire	T.	16 ?	5 ?	12 ?	7 ?				
		H.	5	8	7	10				
		Cs.	14	6	6	11				
		Crs.	900	$380+x$	300	415	31	30	37	$1,995+x$

II.	10.	Lincolnshire [o]	T.	13 ?	3 ?	—	—				
	11.	Shropshire or Salop	H.	5	1	—	1				
			Cs.	7	4	1	1				
			Crs.	230	30	25	60	15	7	13	345
	12.	Staffordshire	T.	34 ?	3	—	1				
			H.	17	3	5	11				
			Cs.	16	1	4	10				
			Crs.	1,150 + 3x	250	35 + x	205 + 3x	29	36	31	1640 + 7x
	13.	Leicestershire	T.	44 ?	5 ?	25 ?	22 ?				
	14.	Rutland [o]	H.	2	—	—	—				
			Cs.	19	2	18	11				
			Crs.	1,222 + 3x	32	422 + x	270	61	2	50	1946 + 4x
III.	15.	Herefordshire [o]	T.	5	—	7	—				
	16.	Worcestershire	H.	4	—	5	3				
			Cs.	5	1	6	3				
			Crs.	375	35	55	350	12	12	15	815
	17.	Warwickshire	T.	41 ?	1	17 ?	2				
			H.	32	1	16	4				
			Cs.	25	1	16	5				
			Crs.	1,265 + 16x	8	376 + 8x	100 + 4x	53	54	47	1749 + 28x
	18.	Northamptonshire [o]	T.	34 ?	2	36 ?	14 ?				
	19.	Gloucestershire [o]	H.	12	1	25	25				
	20.	Oxfordshire [o]	Cs.	15	2	25	23				
	21.	Buckinghamshire	Crs.	532 + 4x	2x	570 + 10x	380 + 15x	74	63	65	1482 + 31x

Group.	County.		P.	C.	B.	Q.	Totals.			
							T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
IV. 22.	Huntingdonshire [o]	T.	3	11 ?	18 ?	18 ?				
23.	Bedfordshire	H.	—	1	—	2				
		Cs.	2	7	15	13				
		Crs.	$2x$	$201+3x$	$272+2x$	$336+x$	39	3	37	$809+8x$
24.	Cambridgeshire	T.	4	34 ?	10 ?	12 ?				
		H.	3	11	7	11				
		Cs.	1	12	11	18				
		Crs.	35	$702+3x$	$610+3x$	$500+8x$	36	32	42	$1,847+14x$
25.	Hertfordshire	T.	14 ?	4	13 ?	8 ?				
		H.	4	1	6	4				
		Cs.	10	1	7	4				
		Crs.	$350+3x$	200	$522+3x$	$700+x$	32	15	22	$1,772+7x$
26.	Norfolk	T.	7 ?	57 ?	10 ?	7 ?				
		H.	5	36	7	8				
		Cs.	4	31	7	11				
		Crs.	$520+x$	$2,985+11x$	$175+3x$	$612+2x$	64	56	53	$4,292+17x$
27.	Suffolk	T.	21 ?	16 ?	—	5 ?				
		H.	19	11	—	9				
		Cs.	19	11	—	11				
		Crs.	$605+x$	$380+3x$	—	$676+5x$	34	39	41	$1,661+10x$

IV. 28.	Essex.	T.	19 ?	5	—	—				
		H.	—	—	—	—				
		Cs.	17	3	—	—				
		Crs.	$16x$	$3x$	—	—	20	—	20	$19x$
V. 29.	Berkshire.	T.	27 ?	4	11 ?	17 ?				
		H.	17	6	11	15				
		Cs.	17	5	7	14				
		Crs.	$1,660 + 5x$	$45 + 4x$	$11 + 6x$	$600 + 9x$	52	49	43	$2316 + 24x$
30.	Middlesex.	T.	12 ?	2	—	—				
		H.	5	2	—	—				
		Cs.	7	2	—	—				
		Crs.	$8x$	$500 + x$	—	—	13	7	9	$500 + 9x$
31.	London.	T.	33 ?	10 ?	6	—				
		H.	28	9	7	4				
		Cs.	32	10	7	4				
		Crs.	$5,610 + 10x$	$1,500 + 4x$	$1,500 + 3x$	$1,250 + x$	44	48	53	$9860 + 17x$
32.	Kent.	T.	7 ?	9 ?	17 ?	8 ?				
		H.	$2 + x$	4	5	5				
		Cs.	8	8	20	12				
		Crs.	$116 + 4x$	$1,013 + 3x$	$236 + 13x$	$2 + 11x$	33	$16 + x$	48	$1367 + 31x$
33.	Surrey.	T.	9 ?	1	5 ?	—				
		H.	7	1	3	2				
		Cs.	7	1	3	4				
		Crs.	1,461	100	$140 + x$	$550 + x$	13	13	15	$2251 + 2x$

Group.	County.		P.	C.	B.	Q.	Totals.			
							T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
V. 34.	Sussex.	T	30 ?	17 ?	11 ?	1				
		H.	12	8	14	7				
		Cs.	15	9	19	7				
		Crs.	$1,320+3x$	$450+2x$	$370+9x$	$240+5x$	39	41	50	$2,380+19x$
35.	Hampshire.	T.	27 ?	7 ?	2	3				
		H.	13	3	2	11				
		Cs.	15	8	4	12				
		Crs.	$2,000+4x$	$435+3x$	$76+x$	$575+4x$	36	29	39	$3,086+12x$
VI. 36.	Wiltshire.	T.	70 ?	5	20 ?	7				
		H.	25	6	18	11				
		Cs.	24	2	19	15				
		Crs.	$2,490+10x$	$65+x$	$171+8x$	$1,115+6x$	75	60	60	$3,841+25x$
37.	Somersetshire.	T.	287 ?	18 ?	7	14 ?				
		H.	112	4	8	10				
		Cs.	129	5	11	10				
		Crs.	$10,285+15x$	$550+x$	$460+x$	$1020+x$	168	134	155	$12,315+18x$
38.	Dorsetshire.	T.	5	4	—	—				
		H.	5	3	—	—				
		Cs.	7	3	—	1				
		Crs.	766	334	—	25	9	8	11	1125

VI. 39.	Devonshire	T.	27 ?	1	—	—				
40.	Cornwall [o]	H.	8	2	—	1				
		Cs.	11	1	—	1				
		Crs.	1353 + x	200	—	x	19	11	13	1553 + 2x

WALES.

VII. 1.	Flint [o]									
2.	Denbigh [o]									
3.	Carnarvon [o]									
4.	Merioneth [o]									
5.	Montgomeryshire	T.	—	8	—	—				
6.	Cardigan [o]	H.	—	8	—	3				
7.	Radnor [o]	Cs.	—	10	—	3				
		Crs.	—	90 + 4x	—	75 + 2x	8	11	13	165 + 6x
8.	Brecknock [o]	T.	1	9 ?	—	2				
9.	Pembroke [o]	H.	1	10	—	5				
10.	Carmarthen [o]	Cs.	1	7	—	3				
11.	Glamorganshire	Crs.	x	535 + 2x	—	70 + 2x	10	16	11	605 + 5x
12.	Monmouth.	T.	—	38 ?	3	2				
		H.	—	29	3	5				
		Cs.	—	25	3	4				
		Crs.	—	2,160 + x	260	35 + 2x	33	37	32	2,455 + 3x

There are two ways in which we may review these tables, and summarise the statistical conclusions to be drawn from them.

First, disregarding the division of Nonconformists into Sects, we may gather the relative strength of Nonconformity as a whole—in the country generally and in the several counties; and, second, we may gather the numerical strength of each of the four principal denominations—in the country generally—and in the several counties. First, then, we deal with—

1. NONCONFORMITY AS A WHOLE.

In attempting the task, moreover, it will be well perhaps to begin our Review on the widest scale, as the uncertainty besetting the true value of x is thereby reduced to its minimum.

I therefore herewith append (*a*) a 'Summary' Table, giving the totals for the Groups of Counties—with the grand totals thus gained for the whole of England, and for England and Wales:—

SUMMARY OF EPISCOPAL RETURNS, 1669.

	Group.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
England :					
Northern...	I.	72	66	148	$5,193 + x$
North Midlands	II.	150	86	192	$7,436 + 50x$
South Midlands	III.	139	129	127	$4,046 + 59x$
Eastern Counties... ...	IV.	225	145	215	$10,381 + 75x$
South-Eastern Counties ...	V.	230	$203 + x$	257	$21,760 + 114x$
South-Western Counties...	VI.	271	214	239	$18,834 + 45x$
England	...	1,087	$843 + x$	1,178	$67,650 + 344x$
Wales	VII.	51	64	56	$3,225 + 14x$
Totals for England and Wales	...	1,138	$907 + x$	1,234	$70,875 + 358x$

For the whole of England and Wales, then, the totals are as follows: Teachers 1,138, Conventicles 1,234, Houses $907 + x$, and Conventiclers $70,875 + 358x$. As the figures range from 7, 15, 20, 35, 50, 70, 100, 150, 200, 300, etc., an average of 90 might not be out of the way; $358x$ would represent another 32,220, which would raise the grand total of Conventiclers in the United Kingdom to over a hundred and three thousand (103,095); or, reckoning laxly for the eight counties not reported on at all, we should be safe in adding another sixteen or seventeen thousand.

It would be a sober estimate if we were to say, then, that the Nonconformist Conventiclers in England and Wales were at least 120,000—it may well have been between 122,000 and 123,000. Confining ourselves, however, to the counties for which we have returns, we find that for Wales the numbers are: 51 Teachers, 64 Houses, 56 Conventicles, and $3,225 + 14x$ Conventiclers; while for England we have 1,087 Teachers, $843 + x$ Houses, 1,178 Conventicles, and $67,650 + 344x$ Conventiclers. Of the six groups of counties into which we have divided England, the South-Eastern Group comes out as by far the strongest.

Its Conventiclers are nearly twenty-two thousand (21,760), beside 114 Conventicles of unknown number—probably accounting for nearly half as many again, say ten thousand more, with a total of 257 Conventicles. The Eastern Counties come next in these respects, but far behind; giving but half the number of Conventiclers (10,381 + 75*x*); though in other particulars it is not so far behind, having 215 Conventicles, held in 145 Houses, and 225 Teachers to minister to them. Then comes the North Midland Group, with its 7,436 Conventiclers + 50*x*: say another four or five thousand, totalling 12,000, with 192 Conventicles, held in 86 Houses, with 150 Teachers to minister to them.

Of course the high record of the North Midland Group would have been much higher had we a fair report from Lincoln county (for which we have no report at all).

It is certainly noteworthy that the South Midland Group shows up so well, its three counties accounting for almost as many as the five of the Northern Group, though we have no returns for four out of its seven counties—viz., from Hereford, Northants, Gloucester, and Oxford.

(*b*) Fairly to estimate the value of these figures we need, however, to supplement this summary schedule by a more detailed one for each county, which is given on the following pages. The numbers for Warwick show its Nonconformist strength, and those for Bucks tell the same story. Warwick's figures (No. 17) for Conventiclers is 1,749 + 28*x*, together amounting to four thousand or more, while those of Bucks (No. 21) are 1,482 + 31*x*, probably representing an almost equal figure; the latter county having as many as 65 Conventicles in 63 Houses, with the relatively very large number of 74 Teachers ministering to them.

Indeed, a closer study of the Schedule given below will reveal other equally striking comparisons.

Somerset claims by far the largest number of Conventiclers, its definitely reported 12,315 being almost a third as many again as London's 9,960, the unnumbered Conventicles in each being nearly the same—Somerset 18*x* and London 17*x*; while in all the other three particulars the difference is more striking still, Somerset having 155 Conventicles in 134 Houses with 168 Teachers ministering to them, while London's numbers are but 53, 49, and 44 respectively.

TOTALS OF EPISCOPAL RETURNS, 1669.

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	ENGLAND.				
I. 1.	Northumberland	5	2	15	247
2.	Durham	1	12	15	398 + *x*
3.	Cumberland...	4	—	4	368
4.	Westmorland	—	—	3	170
5.	Yorks	62	48	88	3,340
6.	Lancashire	—	4	23	670
		72	66	148	5,193 + *x*

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	Brought forward ...	72	66	148	5,193 + x
II. 7.	Cheshire	0	1	43	220 + $38x$
8.	Derby	14	10	18	1,290
9.	Notts	31	30	37	1,995 + x
10.	Lincs	—	—	—	—
11.	Salop	15	7	13	345
12.	Staffs	29	36	31	1,640 + $7x$
13.	Leicester	61	2	50	1,946 + $4x$
14.	Rutland	—	—	—	—
		150	86	192	7,436 + $50x$
III. 15.	Hereford	—	—	—	—
16.	Worcester	12	12	15	815
17.	Warwick	53	54	47	1,749 + $28x$
18.	Northants	—	—	—	—
19.	Gloucester	—	—	—	—
20.	Oxford	—	—	—	—
21.	Bucks	74	63	65	1,482 + $31x$
		139	129	127	4,046 + $59x$
IV. 22.	Hunts	—	—	—	—
23.	Beds	39	3	37	809 + $8x$
24.	Cambs	36	32	42	1,847 + $14x$
25.	Herts	32	15	22	1,772 + $7x$
26.	Norfolk	64	56	53	4,292 + $17x$
27.	Suffolk	34	39	41	1,661 + $10x$
28.	Essex	20	—	20	$19x$
		225	145	215	10,381 + $75x$
V. 29.	Berks	52	49	43	2,316 + $24x$
30.	Middlesex	13	7	9	500 + $9x$
31.	London	44	48	53	9,860 + $17x$
32.	Kent	33	16 + x	48	1,367 + $31x$
33.	Surrey	13	13	15	2,251 + $2x$
34.	Sussex	39	41	50	2,380 + $19x$
35.	Hants	36	29	39	3,086 + $12x$
		230	203 + x	257	21,760 + $114x$
VI. 36.	Wilts	75	60	60	3,841 + $25x$
37.	Somerset	168	134	155	12,315 + $18x$
38.	Dorset	9	8	11	1,125
39.	Devon	19	11	13	1,553 + $2x$
40.	Cornwall	—	—	—	—
		271	214	239	18,834 + $45x$
	Total for England ...	1,087	843 + x	1,174	67,650 + $344x$

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	Brought forward ...	1,087	843 + *x*	1,178	67,650 + 344*x*
	WALES.				
VII. 1.	Flint	—	—	—	—
2.	Denbigh	—	—	—	—
3.	Carnarvon	—	—	—	—
4.	Merioneth	—	—	—	—
5.	Montgomery	8	11	13	165 + 6*x*
6.	Cardigan	—	—	—	—
7.	Radnor	—	—	—	—
8.	Brecon	—	—	—	—
9.	Pembroke	—	—	—	—
10.	Carmarthen	—	—	—	—
11.	Glamorgan	10	16	11	605 + 5*x*
12.	Monmouth	33	37	32	2,455 + 3*x*
		51	64	56	3,225 + 14*x*
	Total for England and Wales	1,138	907 + *x*	1,234	70,875 + 358*x*

Looking at the four items of which we have counted the numbers, the various counties assume the following order:

1. As to the number of Teachers reported.

(1) Somerset is far ahead of all other counties with 168. [Though we have to remember that in this county the repetition of the same name is most frequent at different places, owing doubtless to the system of grouping both Ministers and Conventicles, so that the members of a group of Ministers would divide their services to a group of Conventicles by a more or less regular rotation.]

The next to Somerset counts less than half.

(2) Wilts with 75, and (3) Bucks with 74, take this second place. (4) Norfolk, (5) Yorks, and (6) Leicester form a third group, with 64, 62, and 61 Teachers respectively. (7) Warwick and (8) Berks form a fourth pair, with 53 and 52; and (9) London is the last which calls for special mention with 44.

The low position of London on the list shows how imperfect, how defective, the Bishop's Return is. We know how many of the ejected from country livings had fled to London; and how large a number of the London clergy had been compelled by conscience to leave their churches, as well as the great number of Conventiclers which were gathering more or less openly in London and the suburbs. Yet Humfrey Henchman can report only 53 Conventicles and 44 Teachers as ministering to them!

2. Number of *Houses* reported in which Conventicles were held:

The same counties figure in the 'honours' list in this particular as figured in the last, save that Sussex takes the place of Leicester, and the rest somewhat change their order.

(1) Somerset again takes the lead with 164. (2) Wilts and (3) Bucks again take the second place, only Bucks leads Wilts by 3; Wilts having 64, and Bucks 61. (4) Norfolk and (5) Warwick form the next pair, with 56 and 54 respectively. (6) Berks and (7) London tie with 49 Houses each, though Yorks joins them as a group, with 48; and (8) Sussex comes in for special mention with 41.

3. In the number of *Conventicles*, there is not quite such a distance between Somerset and the rest of the counties. But still:

(1) Somerset is far ahead of them all with 155. In this list (2) Yorkshire comes second with 88. Then there is a gap; and (3) Bucks and (4) Wilts come together (to take the third place this time), with 64 and 60 respectively. (5) London and (6) Norfolk 'tie' in the next place with 53 each. (7) Leicester and (8) Sussex 'tie' with near the same number, 50; and (9) Kent and (10) Warwick are the last pair which call for special mention, with 48 and 47 respectively, though perhaps we ought to add: (11) Cambridgeshire and (12) Sussex with 42 and 41.

4. With the number of Conventiclers I have dealt in part already:

(i.) In numbers definitely given, the list stands thus:

(1) Somerset, with 12,315. (2) London, with 9,960. (3) Norfolk, with 4,292. (4) Wilts, with 3,841. (5) Yorks, with 3,340. (6) Hants, with 3,086.

(ii.) In the matter of Conventicles whose numbers are not estimated or reported, the counties stand thus:

(1) Cheshire, with 38.* (2) Bucks, with 31; and (3) Kent, with the same. (4) Warwick, with 28. (5) Wilts, with 25. (6) Berks, with 24. (7) Sussex, with 19. (8) Somerset, with 18; and (9) London, with 17.

(iii.) If we reckon 90 for a fair average value of x, in the 23 counties involved the first 12 would stand in the following order:

Somerset and London would easily head the list.

(1) Somerset, with nearly 14,000 Conventiclers (13,935). (2) London, with 11,490 (which is a long, long way below the true number of its Conventiclers). (3) Wilts comes next with 6,091, little more than half. (4) Norfolk is very near to Wilts, with 5,822. (5) Berks follows, with 4,476. (6) Bucks and (7) Warwick are very near, with 4,272 and 4,269. (8) Kent, (9) Hants, and (10) Sussex, come next, with 4,167, 4,166, and 4,090 respectively. (11) Cheshire follows with 3,640; and (12) Cambridge is twelfth with 3,107.

(iv.) If, however, we gave x the value of 50 only, the order would be this:

(1) Somerset is still easily ahead of all the others with 13,215; and (2) London second with 10,810. Then comes (3) Wilts, with less than half of London's numbers, 5,091. (4) Norfolk comes next—with a great falling off—4,142. (6) Berks, with 3,416. (7) Sussex, with 3,330. (8) Warwick, with 3,149; and (9) Bucks, with 3,032. (10) Cambridgeshire, on this scale, has 2,547. (11) Surrey, 2,351. (12) Suffolk, 2,161. (13) Lincolnshire, 2,146. (14) Hertfordshire, 2,122. (15) Cheshire, 2,120; and (16) Nottinghamshire, 2,045.

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* Yet in definite figures it reports only 220; so it is near the bottom of our numbered lists.

One deep and abiding impression remains from this varied review. Somerset was evidently saturated with Puritanism.

Of Dorset and Devon we 'know nothing as we ought to know,' because for these counties the Episcopal Returns are lamentably defective. London, even on Humfrey Henchman's showing, which was largely qualified by timidity or indifference in this campaign against Nonconformity, is strong as compared with the rest of the country, even as it was strongly Parliamentarian in the Civil War. So is Yorkshire, while we see dimly how the Eastern Counties are still largely leavened with the spirit of Cromwell and his Ironsides.

2. NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF EACH OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTS.

Passing now from the more general aspect of these Returns—as giving their testimony as to the position of Nonconformity as a whole—let us examine them with the object of estimating, if we can, the relative strength of the four great 'Sects' which divided the attention of the officials of the Church of England : (1) The Presbyterians ; (2) the Congregationalists or Independents ; (3) the Baptists or Anabaptists ; and (4) the Quakers.

Let us take the same general course which we pursued with Nonconformity as a whole, beginning with the general results in each denomination, and proceeding in each to more or less of detail. [Remembering, of course, that in actual investigation we were compelled first to deal with the details presented in each local report, and work upwards from these to the more general conclusions.]

On the four points with which these Returns deal numerically, the figures come out as follows for the whole of England and Wales, for the four great denominations:

	Teachers.	Houses.	Conventicles.	Conventiclers.
I. Presbyterians ...	845	$367+x$	500	$41{,}998+122x$
II. Congregationalists	299	181	203	$14{,}099+57x$
III. Baptists	234	152	278	$6{,}708+75x$
IV. Quakers	165	205	318	$10{,}731+99x$

On the face of the above tables, two things stand out indisputable : (1) the Presbyterians have the greatest numerical strength by far, as judged by any of the four standards afforded by the Returns : (2) the Quakers, considering the specially spiritual character of their worship, show a strength even more remarkable.

(1) In number of Conventiclers the Congregationalists take the *second* place (though with only about a third the strength of the Presbyterians), but the Quakers are not far behind them. True, if we consider only the Conventicles of which the numbers are reported, the difference is considerable, for the Congregational Conventicles number over 14,000 Conventiclers, and the Quakers not 11,000. When those

Conventicles are included in our review, of which no numbers are reported, the difference is much reduced.

(i.) If we give the average value of 90, the number of Conventiclers are: Presbyterians, 52,998, practically 53,000; Congregationalists, 19,229; Baptists, 13,458; and Quakers, 19,641. And this puts the Quakers in the second place, with a little over 400 more than the Congregationalists, with the Baptists nearly 6,000 behind them.

(ii.) If, however, we give *x* the average value of 50, the figures come out thus: Presbyterians, 48,098; Congregationalists, 16,947; the Baptists, 10,458; and the Quakers, 15,681. In this reckoning the Presbyterians, again, are first with their 48,000 odd; the Congregationalists are second with nearly 17,000; the Quakers come third with less than 16,000 (15,681); and the Baptists last with about 10,500.

On any reckoning, then, as viewed through the eyes of the Bishop's informants, the Presbyterians are by far the most powerful body of Nonconformists, and the Baptists are the weakest, while the second and third places are held doubtfully by the Congregationalists and Quakers.

(2) In number of *Conventicles*, while the Presbyterians lead by a great majority, with exactly 500, the Quakers are distinctly second with 318; the Baptists are third with 278; and the Congregationalists are last with only 203. A singular position, which shows that the average numbers attending Baptist Conventicles were much smaller than those frequenting Congregational assemblies.

(3) In the number of *Houses* in which Conventicles are held, we might expect to find that the same order prevails as in the number of Conventicles. But it is not so. While the Presbyterians have the premier place with $367 + x$ (say, 370), the Quakers have 205, which gives them, as before, the second place; but it is now the Congregationalists who rank third with 181 houses, and the Baptists are last with 152.

(4) When we come to the number of Teachers we must not be surprised to find the Quakers at the bottom of the list, as it was part of their ecclesiastical order to have *no* order of preachers, teachers, or priests. So that while the Presbyterians are reported to have about 850 ministers (845), Congregationalists about 300 (299), scarcely more than *a third* of the Presbyterian number, and Baptists 224, the 'speakers' reported among the Quakers are only 165.

Advancing one more step from the general to the particular, let us see how the several denominations are represented in the six groups of counties in England, and in the Welsh counties as a seventh group.

I. THE PRESBYTERIANS.—In Wales they scarcely appear at all: the Bishops report one Teacher, as preaching to one Conventicle in one house, and attended by an unknown number of Conventiclers.

In England, without any room for question, the South-Western Counties are strongest in every particular (what we often call the 'West Countree'); and the South-Eastern Group, with London at its heart and centre, comes next. The order of the other Groups varies with the particulars you consider. In numbers of Conventiclers the North-Midland comes third, and the South-Midland fourth; while in the number of Conventicles the North-Midland remains third, the Eastern Counties are fourth. In the number of Teachers, the North-Midland retains its place; but (as in the number of Conventiclers) the South-Midland recovers the fourth place; while in the number of Houses the North-Midland and the Eastern Counties are almost equal. In all particulars the Northern Group is last.

I insert a schedule of the particulars:

	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
ENGLAND:				
Group I.	38	21	47	912
„ II.	124?	32	82	4,682 + 18x
„ III.	80?	48	45	2,172 + 20x
„ IV.	68?	31	53	1,510 + 23x
„ V.	145?	84 + x	101	12,167 + 34x
„ VI.	389?	150	171	14,894 + 26x
All England	844?	366 + x	499	36,337 + 121x
WALES: Group VII. ...	1	1	1	0 + x
England and Wales ...	845?	367 + x	500	36,337 + 122x

1. The probable number of Conventiclers again varies with the value assigned to *x*.

(i.) If it be 90, the numbers are:

(1) For the South-Western group 17,234, a distinct *first*. (2) For the South-Eastern 15,227. (3) The third place goes to the North-Midland with 6,302 [only a third (roughly) of No. 1]. (4) The fourth position is taken by the South-Midland group with scarcely 4,000 (3,972), (5) The fifth by the Eastern Counties with 3,590; and (6) the last place falls to the Northern Counties with a little over 900 (912).

(ii.) If it be 50, the numbers follow the same order:

1. South-Western with 16,194. (2) South-Eastern with 13,867. (3) The North-Midland with 5,582. (4) The South-Midland with 3,172. (5) The Eastern Counties with 2,660; and (6) the Northern Counties with 912.

2. The number of *Conventicles* reverses the positions of the Eastern Counties, and the South-Midland:

(1) South-Western leads with 171. (2) The South-Eastern is second with 101. (3) The North-Midland comes third with 82. (4) The Eastern Counties take a fourth place with 53. (5) The Northern Counties follow with 47; and the South-Midland come last with 45.

3. In number of *Houses*:

(1) The South-Western lead again with 150. (2) The South-Eastern follow with 84 + *x*. (3) The South-Midland comes third with

48. (4) The North-Midland and (5) the Eastern Counties are almost a tie with 32 and 31; and as in every other particular (6) the Northern Counties come last with only 21 Houses reported.

4. In number of *Teachers* reported, the order is that of number of Conventicles:

(1) The South-Western have by far the greater number—389 (though that figure by no means represent the number of separate individuals). (2) The South-Eastern comes second with 145; and the (3) North-Midland with 124. Then follow (4) the South-Midland with 80. (5) The Eastern Counties with 68; and, again, (6) the Northern Counties last with 38 Teachers (not a tenth of those of the South-West).

II. CONGREGATIONALISTS.—The distribution here is strikingly different from that of the Presbyterians.

Wales, instead of being almost a 'negligible quantity,' as with the Presbyterians, takes a strong position among the County groups.

The premier place is taken—not by the 'West Countree,' but by the Eastern Counties, as becomes the home of Cromwell, the great Independent, and his godly 'Ironsides.'

In most respects, too, London and its South-Eastern contingent takes a good second; but in some respects Wales surpasses that 'Home Counties' group, specially in Teachers and Houses; and the South-Western group, so distinctly losing its proud pre-eminence, has to take a lowlier place as fourth. The Northern group appears next, and gives the last place to the South-Midland.

1. In number of Conventiclers the order is (1) the Eastern Counties with $4,468 + 23x$. (2) The South-Eastern (London) group with $4,043 + 17x$. Then comes (3) Wales with $2,785 + 7x$. (4) The South-Western group with $1,149 + 2x$; and the two Northerly groups contest the lowest place: (5) the Northern Counties with $859 + x$; and (6) the North-Midland with $752 + 5x$.

The differences become clearer when we assign probable values to x.

(i.) If it be 90—the numbers are:

(1) The Eastern Counties easily first with 6,538. (2) The South-Eastern group with 5,573. (3) Wales with 3,415. (4) The South-Western, and (5) the North-Midland being comparatively near each other with 1,329 and 1,202. (6) The Northern Counties next with 949; and the South-Midland 'easily' last with 223.

(ii.) The assignment of 50 as the average value of x does not alter that order:

(1) The Eastern Counties then leads with 5,618. (2) The South-Eastern group comes second with 4,893. (3) Wales follows with 3,135. (4) The South-Western group comes next with 1,249. (5) The North-Midland, with 1,002, runs it close with (6), the Northern Counties, with scarcely 100 less—viz., 909; and the South-Midland is distinctly last, with 143.

2. In the number of Congregational *Conventicles*:

(1) The Eastern Counties stand first with 65—Groups V. and VII. are almost a tie—(2) the South-Eastern being second with 43; and (3) Wales third with 42. In this respect, however, the Northern group

reasserts herself, (4) reporting 20 Conventicles, to only 18 for (5) the North-Midland group; (6) the South-Western group having 11; and (7) the South-Midland last again with only 4.

3. Of *Houses* held by Congregationalists for Conventicles to meet in:

(1) The Eastern Counties hold the first position with 60. (2) The second place is taken by Wales with 47. (3) The South-Eastern group is third with 33. (4) The South-Western have only 15. (5) The Northern Counties and (6) the North-Midland each have 12; and (7) the South-Midland group have only *two* houses reported in the whole.

4. *Teachers* reach far higher numbers:

(1) The Eastern Counties claim more than half of the number for the whole of England with 127. (2) Wales, again, comes second with 55. (3) The South-Eastern group (with London) is close upon Wales with 50. (4) The South-Western Counties furnish 28. (5) The Northern Counties muster 20. (6) The North-Midland have 16; and (7) the South-Midland have, again, an unchallengeable place as *last* with only 3 Teachers.

I append these figures in tabular form:

	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
ENGLAND:				
Group I.	20	12	20	$859+x$
„ II.	16?	12	18	$752+5x$
„ III.	3	2	4	$43+2x$
„ IV.	127?	60	65	$4,468+23x$
„ V.	50?	33	43	$4,043+17x$
„ VI.	28?	15	11	$1,149+2x$
All England	244?	134	161	$11,314+50x$
WALES: Group VII. ...	55?	47	42	$2,785+7x$
England and Wales ...	299?	181	203	$14,099+57x$

III. BAPTISTS.—The primacy, in this denomination, very clearly shifts to the South-Eastern group; and the Eastern Counties take a second place in every particular but that of the number of Teachers at a great distance behind them.

The South-Midland comes third, except in the matter of Teachers and Houses, in which particulars they head the whole list, decidedly surpassing the South-Eastern group.

The North-Eastern are not far behind the South-Eastern; Wales comes sixth; the Northern Counties have hardly anything to show to give them a place, even at the bottom of the list.

This remarkable disposition can be seen at a glance from the following Table (p. 124),

1. In the *numbers* of Conventiclers reported, the South-Eastern Group takes the first place—even apart from the large number of Con-

venticles reported of which no estimate is given of the numbers attending them—(London and Kent county, we shall see, account for the greater proportion of these).

	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
ENGLAND :				
Group I.	—	—	5	92
,, II.	41 ?	15	34	$812 + 5x$
,, III.	50 ?	46	47	$1{,}001 + 18x$
,, IV.	51 ?	20	40	$1{,}579 + 11x$
,, V.	52 ?	42	60	$2{,}333 + 33x$
,, VI.	27 ?	26	30	$631 + 9x$
All England	221 ?	149	216	$6{,}448 + 76x$
WALES : Group VII. ...	3	3	3	260
England and Wales ...	224 ?	152	219	$6{,}708 + 76x$

The second place as clearly would go to the Eastern Counties, but that the number of 'uncounted' Conventicles in the South-Eastern group brings it very near—and on the higher value of x gives it pre-eminence. A similar result takes place as to the relative positions of the North-Midland and the South-Western groups.

Let us look at the actual figures :

(i.) If x be taken as 90—the following are the results :

(1) The South-Eastern group (including London and Kent) are far ahead of all other groups with 5,303. (2) The South-Midland group comes second with 2,621; and (3) The Eastern Counties third with 2,569. (4) The South-Western comes fourth with 1,351. (5) The North-Midland fifth with 1,262. (6) Wales is sixth with 260 ; and (7) the Northern Counties with less than 100 (92).

(ii.) If x be taken as 50—the order is slightly altered. As before, and in any case : (1) The South-Eastern group is first with nearly 4,000 (3,983). (2) The Eastern Counties come *second* with 2,129 ; and (3) the South-Midland falls into the third place — more than 200 behind (1901). (4) The North-Midland and (5) the South-Western almost tie, with scarcely 30 between them : the former with 1,060, and the latter with 1,031. The last two places remain as before : (6) Wales, sixth with 260 ; and (7) the Northern Counties with 92.

2. In the number of *Conventicles* reported, the order is as follows : (1) The South-Eastern, 60. (2) The South-Midland, 47. (3) The Eastern Counties, 40. (4) The North-Midland, 34. (5) The South-Western, 30. (6) The Northern Counties, with 5 ; and (7) Wales, with 3.

3. In number of *Houses*, in which Conventicles were held. The order changes in a rather remarkable way. (1) The first place is taken by the South-Midland with 46 ; and (2) the South-Eastern group has to take the *second* place with 42. Then comes (3) the South-Western

with 26. (4) The Eastern Counties are fourth with 20. (5) The Northern Counties come fifth with 15. (6) Wales is sixth with 3; and (7) the Northern Counties are last or nowhere—with not a single house definitely reported—though there must have been five at least, as there were five Conventicles—unless they were all held on common land in the open air.

4. When we come to the number of *Teachers*, again, there is still further change. (1) The South-Eastern group comes first with 52; but followed hard by (2) the Eastern Counties with 51. (3) The South-Midland group with 50 then comes third; and (4) the North-Midland group fourth with 41. (5) The South-Western is fifth with 27—as before. (6) Wales is sixth with 3; and the Northern Counties last, absolutely *teacherless*, as far as the episcopal authorities know; though, as a matter of fact, we may be quite sure that 5 Baptist Conventicles would not be, Quaker-like, 'silent' meetings, but must have had some 'teachers' to conduct their worship and speak to them 'the Word.'

IV. QUAKERS.—As far as definite numbers are concerned, the Northern group would stand before all others, especially in the number of Conventicles reported—viz., 82. Even at that high number the average of attendance comes out as over 40; but a huge Conventicle of 1,000 such as that at Sleights, reduces it at once to less than 30.

But in other respects, the Northern group falls far behind other groups, especially in the number of Teachers reported.

There is such variation, however, that it would be better at once to give a tabular view of the numerical totals:

	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
ENGLAND:				
Group I.	14	33	82	3,330
„ II.	30?	27	58	1,190 + 22x
„ III.	16?	32	31	830 + 19x
„ IV.	50?	34	57	2,824 + 17x
„ V.	29?	44	53	3,217 + 31x
„ VI.	21?	22	27	2,160 + 8x
All England... ...	160?	192	308	13,551 + 97x
WALES: Group VII. ...	4	13	10	180 + 6x
England and Wales...	164?	205	318	13,731 + 103x

From this it appears:

1. In number of *Conventiclers* the Northern group falls to the *third*, if not to the *fourth* place, when we attempt to give some estimate of the 'uncounted' Conventicles, in addition to those whose numbers are given.

(i.) If we give x the value of 90: (1) The South-Eastern group (including London) is first with 6,007. (2) The Eastern Counties come next with 4,354. (3) The North-Midland third with their fixed total of 3,330; and (4) the Northern Counties fall into the fourth place with

3,170. (5) The South-Western group comes fifth with 2,880. (6) The South-Midland is sixth with 2,540; and (7) Wales is last with 720.

(ii.) If, however, we value x at 50, 'the old order changeth,' thus: (1) The South-Eastern group still takes the lead with 4,767. (2) The Eastern Counties take the second place with 3,674; and (3) the Northern Counties take one place higher in the list, as third with their 3,330. (4) The South-Western group becomes fourth with 2,560. (5) The North-Midland is fifth with 2,290. (6) The South-Midland sixth with 1,780; and (7) as before Wales is last with less than 500 (480).

2. Coming to the number of *Conventicles*: (1) The Northern group far outstrips all the others with 82. (2) The second place is taken by the North-Midland with 58; though it is almost equalled by (3) the Eastern Counties with 57. (4) The South-Eastern group comes fourth with 53. And then there is a great drop: (5) the South-Midland is fifth with only 31. (6) The South-Western is sixth with 27; and (7) Wales is last with only 10.

3. In the number of *Houses*: (1) The South-Eastern leads very distinctly with 44. (2) The second place falls to the Eastern Counties with 34. (3) The Northern come third with 33. (4) The South-Midland almost pairs it with 32. (5) The North-Midland is fifth with 27. (6) The South-Western is sixth with 22; and (7) Wales is last with only 13.

4. In the number of *Teachers* reported, we are on very uncertain ground in this denomination—which recognized no 'order' of teachers or preachers at all; though in practice, there ever have been a certain number who have been recognized as endued by the Spirit with the teaching and hortatory gift, exercised by them as the Spirit prompts; as well as 'travelling preachers, who were sent out, two and two, as 'Evangelists of the Truth.' According to the names reported in these Returns, the Northern group falls from the first to the last of the English groups—only Wales reporting fewer than the Northern Counties.

(1) The Eastern Counties stand first with 50. (2) The North-Midland second with 31. (3) The South-Eastern third with 29. (4) The South-Western next with 21. (5) The South-Midland comes sixth with 16. (6) The Northern group reports only 14; and (7) Wales is last again with but 4.

Let this suffice as to *the distribution* of the four denominations in the seven county groups into which we have divided the United Kingdom of England and Wales.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF EACH DENOMINATION.

To many, however, *the counties* severally have each its special importance. Let us see how the several counties stand as regards the strength of each of these four great denominations.

I. Presbyterian.—Their respective positions will best appear from the following scheme:

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	ENGLAND.				
I. 1.	Northumberland ...	4	2	14	112
2.	Durham	1	8	9	227
3.	Cumberland ...	2	—	2	88
4.	Westmorland ...	—	—	—	—
5.	Yorkshire	31	10	18	485
6.	Lancashire ...	—	1	4	—
II. 7.	Cheshire	—	—	13	$20 + 12x$
8.	Derby	17 ?	3	13	1,160
9.	Notts	16 ?	5	14	900
10.	Lincs	—	—	—	—
11.	Salop	13 ?	5	7	230
12.	Staffs	34 ?	17	16	$1,150 + 3x$
13.	Leicester	44 ?	2	19	$1,222 + 3x$
14.	Rutland	—	—	—	—
III. 15.	Hereford	—	—	—	—
16.	Worcester ...	5	4	5	375
17.	Warwick	41 ?	32	25	$1,265 + 16x$
18.	Northants	—	—	—	—
19.	Gloucester ...	—	—	—	—
20.	Oxon	—	—	—	—
21.	Bucks	34 ?	12	15	$532 + 4x$
IV. 22.	Hunts	—	—	—	—
23.	Beds	3	—	2	$2x$
24.	Cambs	4	3	1	35
25.	Herts	14 ?	4	10	$350 + 3x$
26.	Norfolk	7 ?	5	4	$520 + x$
27.	Suffolk	21 ?	19	19	$605 + x$
28.	Essex	19 ?	—	17	$16x$
V. 29.	Berks	27 ?	17	17	$1,660 + 5x$
30.	Middlesex ...	12 ?	5	7	$8x$
31.	London	33 ?	28	32	$5,610 + 10x$
32.	Kent	7 ?	$2 + x$	8	$116 + 4x$
33.	Surrey	9 ?	7	7	1,461
34.	Sussex	30 ?	12	15	$1,320 + 3x$
35.	Hants	27 ?	13	15	$2,000 + 4x$
VI. 36.	Wilts	70 ?	25	24	$2,490 + 10x$
37.	Somerset	287 ?	112	129	$10,285 + 15x$
38.	Dorset	5	5	7	766
39.	Devon	27 ?	8	11	$1,353 + x$
40.	Cornwall	—	—	—	—
	All England ...	844 ?	$366 + x$	499	$36,337 + 121x$

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	Brought forward	844 ?	366 + x	499	36,337 + 121x
	WALES.				
VII. 1.	Flint	—	—	—	—
2.	Denbigh	—	—	—	—
3.	Carnarvon ...	—	—	—	—
4.	Merioneth ...	—	—	—	—
5.	Montgomery ...	—	—	—	—
6.	Cardigan	—	—	—	—
7.	Radnor	—	—	—	—
8.	Brecon	—	—	—	—
9.	Pembroke	—	—	—	—
10.	Carmarthen ...	—	—	—	—
11.	Glamorgan ...	1	1	1	x
12.	Monmouth ...	—	—	—	—
	All Wales ...	1	1	1	x
	England and Wales	845 ?	367 + x	500	36,337 + 122x

In this Review I shall specially mention only the counties which, in each of the four particulars already referred to, take a high place. For the figures of the others I refer the student to the scheme itself.

1. The number of Presbyterian *Conventiclers.*

As any estimate which does not include some account of the unnumbered Conventicles must be very fallacious, I give two lists—as before—according to the value assigned to x.

(i) If we take x as 90. The notable results are as follows:

(1) Somerset heads the list with 11,635. (2) London is second, but with only a little more than half—6,510. (3) Wilts follows at a long interval with 3,390. (4) Warwick comes next with 2,705. (5) Hants is fifth with 2,360. (6) Berks is sixth with 2,110. (7) Then (with a gap of over 500) comes Sussex with 1,590. (8) Leicester comes next with 1,492. (9) Surrey next with 1,461. (10) Devon is tenth with 1,443. (11) Essex is almost even with Devon, with 1,440; and (12) Stafford is very close to Essex, with 1,420. After Stafford there is a great gap of 260; and (13) Derby comes next with 1,160; and (14) Cheshire follows on with 1,100.

The rest—each under 1,000—arrange themselves in this order:

(15) Notts, 900.
(16) Bucks, 892.
(17) Dorset, 766.
(18) Middlesex, 720.
(19) Suffolk, 695.
(20) Herts, 620.
(21) Norfolk, 610.
(22) Yorks, 485.
(23) Kent, 476.
(24) Worcester, 375.
(25) Salop, 230.
(26) Durham, 227.
(27) Beds, 180.
(28) Northumberland, 112.
(29) Glamorgan, 90.
(30) Cumberland, 88.
(31) Cambridge, 35.

(ii.) If we take *x* as 50 the list is as follows:

(1) Somerset, as before, leads with 11,035. (2) London comes second with 6,110. (3) Wilts comes next with less than 3,000 (2,990). (4) Hants is fourth with 2,200. (5) Warwick is fifth with 2,065. (6) Berks is not far behind Warwick with 1,910. (7) Surrey and (8) Sussex follow near together with 1,475 and 1,461. (9) Devon is ninth with 1,403. (10) Leicester next with 1,372; and (11) Staffordshire follows with 1,300. (12) Derbyshire is the only other county to reach four figures, with her 1,160.

Below a thousand are:

(13) Notts, 900.
(14) Essex, 800.
(15) Dorset, 766.
(16) Bucks, 732.
(17) Suffolk, 655.
(18) Cheshire, 620.
(19) Herts, 500.
(20) Norfolk, 500.
(21) Yorks, 485.
(22) Middlesex, 400.
(23) Worcester, 375.
(24) Kent, 316.
(25) Salop, 230.
(26) Durham, 227.
(27) Northumberland, 112.
(28) Beds, 100.
(29) Cumberland, 88.
(30) Glamorgan, 50.
(31) Cambridge, 35.

2. In the number of *Conventicles* the difference between Somerset and all the other counties is still more extraordinary.

(1) Somerset has 129; and (2) London comes next with only 32. (3) Warwick is third with 25. (4) Wilts fourth with 24. (5) Leicestershire comes next with 19; and (6) Suffolk tied with them. (7) Yorkshire is seventh with 18. (8) Essex and (9) Berks each have 17. (10) Staffordshire is tenth with 16. (11) Bucks, (12) Sussex, and (13) Hants have each 15. (14) Northumberland and (15) Nottinghamshire each score 14. (16) Cheshire has 13; (17) Devon, 11; (18) Herts, 10; (19) Durham, 9; (20) Kent has 8; (21) Middlesex, (22) Surrey, and (23) Dorset have each 7; (24) Worcester has 5; (25) Lancashire and (26) Norfolk have 4; (27) Cumberland and (28) Bedfordshire 2; (29) Cambridge and (30) Glamorgan 1.

3. In the number of *Houses* the totals in each county are on much the same scale as the Conventicles.

(1) Somerset is first with 112. (2) Warwick comes second with 32. (3) London is third with 28. (4) Wilts is fourth with 25. (5) Suffolk comes next with 19. (6) Staffs and (7) Berks take the next place with 17. (8) Hants is eighth with 13. (9) Bucks and (10) Sussex come next with 12. (11) Yorkshire follows with 10. (12) Durham and (13) Devon each have 8. (14) Surrey has 7. (15) Notts, (16) Salop, (17) Norfolk, (18) Middlesex, and (19) Dorset each have 5. (20) Worcester and (21) Herts have 4 each. (22) Derby and (23) Cambs have each 3. (24) Kent has $2+x$. (25) Northumberland has 2, and (26) Lancashire and (27) Glamorgan each have one House reported in which Conventicles are held.

4. Coming to the number of Presbyterian *Teachers*, there is perhaps need of reminder that the figures here given are of each *Teacher* or *Preacher* reported as preaching at any of the places where Conventicles are returned, though the same Teacher or Preacher may minister to several Conventicles. Again, of course:

(1) Somerset heads the list with 287. (2) Wilts follows with 70. (3) Leicestershire comes third with 44. (4) Warwick fourth with 41. (5) Staffs and (6) Bucks are fifth with 34 each; and (7) London almost ties them with 33. (8) Yorkshire comes seventh with 31. (9) Sussex comes next with 30. (10) Berks, (11) Hants, and (12) Devon tie for the next place with 27. (13) Suffolk has 21, and (14) Essex 19. (15) Derby has 17; (16) Notts has 16; (17) Herts has 14; (18) Salop has 13; and (19) Middlesex 12. (20) Surrey has 9. (21) Norfolk and (22) Kent have each 7. (23) Worcester and (24) Dorest report 5 each; and (25) Northumberland and (26) Cambridgeshire 4 each; (27) Bedfordshire claims 3; and (28) Durham and (29) Glamorgan each 1.

II. CONGREGATIONALISTS.—The very modest numbers credited to this Denomination were distributed as is shown in the accompanying Schedule:

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	ENGLAND.				
I. 1.	Northumberland ...	1	—	1	135
2.	Durham	—	—	2	$29+x$
3.	Cumberland ...	2	—	2	60
4.	Westmorland ...	—	—	—	—
5.	Yorks	17	9	12	635
6.	Lancs	—	3	3	—
II. 7.	Cheshire	—	—	5	$60+4x$
8.	Derby	—	—	—	—
9.	Notts	5 ?	8	6	$380+x$
10.	Lincs	—	—	—	—
11.	Salop	3 ?	1	4	30
12.	Staffs	3	3	1	250
13.	Leicester	5 ?	—	2	32
14.	Rutland	—	—	—	—
III. 15.	Hereford	—	—	—	—
16.	Worcester	—	—	1	35
17.	Warwick	1	1	1	8
18.	Northants	—	—	—	—
19.	Gloucester ...	—	—	—	—
20.	Oxon	—	—	—	—
21.	Bucks	2	1	2	$2x$
IV. 22.	Hunts	—	—	—	—
23.	Beds	11 ?	1	7	$201+3x$
24.	Cambs	34 ?	11	12	$702+3x$
25.	Herts	4	1	1	200
26.	Norfolk	57 ?	36	31	$2,985+11x$
27.	Suffolk	16 ?	11	11	$380+3x$
28.	Essex	5	—	3	$3x$
	Carried forward ...	166	86	107	$6,122+31x$

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	Brought forward	166	86	107	6,122 + 31x
V. 29.	Berks	4	6	5	45 + 4x
30.	Middlesex... ...	2	2	2	500 + x
31.	London	10?	9	10	1,500 + 4x
32.	Kent	9?	4	8	1,013 + 3x
33.	Surrey	1	1	1	100
34.	Sussex	17?	8	9	450 + 2x
35.	Hants	7?	3	8	435 + 3x
VI. 36.	Wilts	5	6	2	65 + x
37.	Somerset	18?	4	5	550 + x
38.	Dorset	4	3	3	334
39.	Devon	1	2	1	200
40.	Cornwall	—	—	—	—
	All England ...	244?	134	161	11,314 + 50x
	WALES.				
VII. 1.	Flint	—	—	—	—
2.	Denbigh	—	—	—	—
3.	Carnarvon ...	—	—	—	—
4.	Merioneth ...	—	—	—	—
5.	Montgomery ...	8	8	10	90 + 4x
6.	Cardigan	—	—	—	—
7.	Radnor	—	—	—	—
8.	Brecon	—	—	—	—
9.	Pembroke	—	—	—	—
10.	Carmarthen ...	—	—	—	—
11.	Glamorgan ...	9?	10	7	535 + 2x
12.	Monmouth ...	38?	29	25	2,160 + x
	All Wales ...	55?	47	42	2,785 + 7x
	England and Wales	299?	181	203	14,099 + 57x

1. In the numbers of *Conventiclers.*

(i.) If x is taken at 90:

(1) Norfolk comes out as the premier county with 3,975. (2) The Welsh county of Monmouth comes second with 2,250, more than 1,700 behind. (3) London is third with 1,860. (4) Kent follows with 1,283. (5) Cambridge comes next with nearly 1,000 (972). (6) The Welsh county of Glamorgan comes sixth with 715. (7) Hampshire follows with 705. (8) Suffolk is next with 650. (9) Somerset is ninth with 640. (10) Yorkshire is tenth with 635, and (11) Sussex eleventh with 630. (12) Middlesex has 590. Then there is a gap of over 100, and (13) Bedfordshire comes next with 471. (14) Notts follows close with 470. (15) Montgomery comes out with 450. (16) Cheshire has 420;

and (17) Berks 405. Then follows (18) Dorset with 334; (19) Essex is next with 270; (20) Staffs is twentieth in the list with 250; (21) Herts comes next with 200; and (22) Devon with the same number. (23) Bucks has 180; (24) Wilts, 155; (25) Northumberland, 135; (26) Durham follows Northumberland with 119; (27) Surrey has 100; (28) Cumberland but 60; (29) Worcester but 35; (30) Leicester only 32; (31) Salop, 30; and (32) Warwick is the last in the list with only 8.

(ii) If *x* is taken as 50 the order slightly varies:

(1) Of course, Norfolk is still first with 3,535; and (2) Monmouth second with 2,210; while (3) London keeps the third place with 1,700; and (4) Kent is fourth with 1,163; (5) Cambridge fifth with 852. But at this point variation begins. (6) Glamorgan comes sixth, as before, with 635; but (7) Yorks ties Glamorgan. (8) Somerset is eighth with 600; (9) Hants is ninth with 585; (10) Middlesex is tenth with 550, and (11) Sussex has the same number; (12) Suffolk comes twelfth with 530. There is now a gap of exactly 100, and (13) Notts is next with 430; (14) Bedfordshire follows, but at a distance, with 351; (15) Dorset with 334; (16) Montgomery with 290; (17) Cheshire has 260; (18) Staffs 250; (19) Berks 245; (20) Herts exactly 200, and (21) Devon the same; (22) Essex claims only 150; (23) Northumberland, 135; (24) Wilts, 115; (25) Bucks and (26) Surrey have exactly 100 each; (27) Durham has 79; (28) Cumberland, 60; (29) Worcester, 35; (30) Leicester has 32, and (31) Salop has 30; and (32) Warwick is last, as before, with 8 Conventiclers.

2. In numbers of *Conventicles* reported the Congregationalist figures are very small.

(1) Norfolk heads the list with 31. (2) Monmouth is second with 25. (3) Yorks and (4) Cambridgeshire dispute the third place with 12 each. (5) Suffolk comes next with 11. (6) London and (7) Montgomery have both 10. (8) Sussex is eighth with 9. (9) Kent and (10) Hants have each 8. (11) The English Bedfordshire and (12) the Welsh Glamorgan have each 7. (13) Notts has 6. (14) Cheshire, (15) Berks, and (16) Somerset have each 5. (17) Salop has 4. (18) Lancashire, (19) Essex, and (20) Dorset have each 3; and no less than six counties have each 2 Conventicles—viz., (21) Durham, (22) Cumberland, (23) Leicester, (24) Bucks, (25) Middlesex, and (26) Wilts; and seven have 1—viz., (27) Northumberland, (28) Staffs, (29) Worcester, (30) Warwick, (31) Herts, (32) Surrey, and (33) Devon.

3. In number of *Houses* in which Conventicles were reported:

(1) Norfolk is still first with 36; (2) Monmouth still second with 29. From this figure there is a great drop. As before (3) Cambridge comes third with 11; but (4) Suffolk (not Yorks) is associated with Cambridge with the same number. (5) Glamorgan comes fifth with 10. (6) Yorks disputes the next place with (7) London, each with 9. (8) Notts, (9) Sussex, and (10) Montgomery each have 8. (11) Berks and (12) Wilts have 6 each; (13) Kent and (14) Somerset each have 4. Four counties contest the next place—viz., (15) Lancashire, (16) Staffordshire, (17) Hampshire, and (18) Dorset, with 3 each; (19) Middlesex and (20) Devon have 2 each; and six counties have only one House reported

in each for Congregational Conventicles—viz., (21) Salop, (22) Warwick, (23) Bucks, (24) Bedfordshire, (25) Herts, and (26) Surrey.

4. Of Congregational *Teachers*, the numbers reported (in the ambiguous way I have already referred to in many cases) are as follows:

(1) Norfolk, still first, with 57. (2) Monmouth second, with 38. (3) Cambridge third, with 34. (4) Somerset fourth, with 18. (5) Yorks and (6) Sussex have 17 each. (7) Suffolk has 16. (8) Bedfordshire comes next with 11. (9) London is ninth with 10. (10) Kent and (11) Glamorgan have each 9; and (12) Montgomery 8. (13) Hants has 7. (14) Notts, (15) Leicester, (16) Essex, and (17) Wilts have each 5. (18) Herts, (19) Berks, and (20) Dorset have each 4. (21) Salop and (22) Staffs have each 3. (23) Cumberland, (24) Bucks, and (25) Middlesex each have 2; and four counties are reported with only 1 each—viz., (25) Northumberland, (26) Warwick, (27) Surrey, and (28) Devon.

III. Baptists.—In no less than twenty-seven counties out of the fifty-two we reckon in England and Wales, no *Baptists* were reported at all. Of *eight* of these we must of course remember no Returns were sent in. Still that leaves nineteen; that is, eight of the English counties and eleven of the Welsh, of which the Episcopal authorities report no Anabaptists at all. Indeed, in only one Welsh county do they know any Baptists, viz., Monmouth; and only two of the Northern counties, viz., Durham and Lancashire.

Nor do they perceive any in Suffolk and Essex of the Eastern group, nor one in any of the three Westernmost of our English counties, counties so important to English Nonconformity as Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall.

The distribution of numbers in the twenty-three counties in which they are recognized is shown in the following table:

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	England.				
I. 1.	Northumberland	—	—	—	—
2.	Durham	—	—	1	52
3.	Cumberland	—	—	—	—
4.	Westmorland ...	—	—	—	—
5.	Yorks	—	—	—	—
6.	Lancs	—	—	4	40
II. 7.	Cheshire	—	1	3	$3x$
8.	Derby	4	2	2	30
9.	Notts	12 ?	7	6	300
10.	Lincs	—	—	—	—
11.	Salop	—	—	1	25
12.	Staffs	—	5	4	$35 + x$
13.	Leicester	25 ?	—	18	$422 + x$
14.	Rutland	—	—	—	—
	Carried forward ...	41	15	39	$904 + 5x$

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	Brought forward	41	15	39	$904 + 5x$
III. 15.	Hereford	—	—	—	—
16.	Worcester	7	5	6	55
17.	Warwick	17 ?	16	16	$376 + 8x$
18.	Northants	—	—	—	—
19.	Gloucester	—	—	—	—
20.	Oxon	—	—	—	—
21.	Bucks	36 ?	25	25	$570 + 10x$
IV. 22.	Hunts	—	—	—	—
23.	Beds	18 ?	—	15	$272 + 2x$
24.	Cambs	10 ?	7	11	$610 + 3x$
25.	Herts	13 ?	6	7	$522 + 3x$
26.	Norfolk	10 ?	7	7	$175 + 3x$
27.	Suffolk	—	—	—	—
28.	Essex	—	—	—	—
V. 29.	Berks	11 ?	11	7	$11 + 6x$
30.	Middlesex	—	—	—	—
31.	London	6	7	7	$1{,}500 + 3x$
32.	Kent	17 ?	5	20	$236 + 13x$
33.	Surrey	5 ?	3	3	$140 + x$
34.	Sussex	11 ?	14	19	$370 + 9x$
35.	Hants	2	2	4	$76 + x$
VI. 36.	Wilts	20 ?	18	19	$171 + 8x$
37.	Somerset	7	8	11	$460 + x$
38.	Dorset	—	—	—	—
39.	Devon	—	—	—	—
40.	Cornwall	—	—	—	—
	All England	231 ?	149	216	$6{,}448 + 76x$
	WALES.				
VII. 1.	Flint	—	—	—	—
2.	Denbigh	—	—	—	—
3.	Carnarvon	—	—	—	—
4.	Merioneth	—	—	—	—
5.	Montgomery	—	—	—	—
6.	Cardigan	—	—	—	—
7.	Radnor	—	—	—	—
8.	Brecon	—	—	—	—
9.	Pembroke	—	—	—	—
10.	Carmarthen	—	—	—	—
11.	Glamorgan	—	—	—	—
12.	Monmouth	3	3	3	260
	All Wales	3	3	3	260
	England and Wales	234 ?	152	219	$6{,}708 + 76x$

1. Number of *Conventiclers.*

We will again give *x* average values.

(i.) If we assign 90 as its value, the list comes out as follows:

(1) London stands first with 1,770, but that is largely because one Conventicle in Shad Thames is reported as attended by 1,000—the spiritual 'ancestor' of Spurgeon's Tabernacle. (2) Bucks is second with 1,470. (3) Kent comes third with 1,406. (4) Sussex, fourth, with 1,180; and (5) Warwick fifth with 1,096.

After this we come to very modest figures.

(6) Wilts is sixth with 891; (7) Cambridgeshire boasts of 880; and (8) Herts is eighth with 792. With a drop of over 300, the next is (9) Berks with 551; and (10) Somerset, within one of the same number, with 550. (11) Leicestershire follows with 512; and (12) Beds follows Leicester with 452. (13) Then comes Norfolk with 445. (14) Notts comes next, with a gap of nearly 150, with 300. (15) Cheshire has 270. (16) Monmouth, 260; and (17) Surrey, 230; (18) Hants follows (with a big interval of nearly 70), with 166. (19) Staffordshire has 125. (20) Worcestershire, only 55. (21) Durham, 52. (22) Lancashire but 40. (23) Derby only 30; and (24) Salop is last with 25.

(ii.) If we assign to *x* the value of 50, the order remains the same for the first 3 in the list; and its last 7, but the intermediate 14 slightly change their places.

(1) London is first with 1,650. (2) Bucks is second with 1,070; and (3) Kent is third with 886; (4) Sussex is fourth with 820; and (5) Warwick is fifth with 776; while Hampshire is eighteenth with 126; Staffs is nineteenth with 85; Worcester is twentieth with 55; Durham is twenty-first with 52; Lancashire is twenty-second with 40; Derby is twenty-third with 30; and Salop is last with 25.

But—

(6) Cambridge is sixth with 760. (7) Herts is seventh with 672. (8) Wilts is eighth with 571. (9) Somerset is next with 510, and (10) Leicester is tenth with 472. With a drop of 100 (11) Beds follows with 372. (12) Norfolk is twelfth with 325. (13) Berks comes next with 311. (14) Notts is next with 300. (15) Monmouth follows with her unchanged 260. (16) Surrey is next with 190 only; and (17) Cheshire is seventeenth with 150 (instead of fifteenth).

London, Buckinghamshire, and Kent, then, are the counties which to the eyes of the Episcopal authorities are most 'troubled' with *Anabaptists.* Though in Warwick, Herts, and Sussex, they are influential.

2. In the number of *Conventicles* reported the numbers strangely vary:

(1) Bucks stand first with 25. (2) Kent comes second with 20. (3) Sussex and (4) Wilts claim the third place with 19. (5) Leicester comes next with 18 Conventicles. (6) Warwick follows with 16. (7) Beds is next with 15. (8) Cambridgeshire and (9) Somerset both report 11. Four counties report 7, viz.: (10) Herts, (11) Norfolk, (12) Berks, and (13) London. (14) Notts, and (15) Worcester each return 6. (16) Lancashire, (17) Staffs, and (18) Hants, all have only 4.

(19) Cheshire, (20) Surrey, and (21) Monmouth, can boast only of 3 each. (22) Derby reports only 2; and (23) Durham, and (24) Salop contest the last place, as each having only *one* Baptist Conventicle.

3. In *number* of *Houses* in which Conventicles are reported:

(1) Bucks is again first with 25. (2) Wilts is second with 18. (3) Warwick is third with 16. (4) Sussex fourth with 14. (5) Berks is fifth with 11. (6) Somerset is sixth with 8. (7) Notts, (8) Cambridgeshire, (9) Norfolk, and (10) London, claim the seventh place with 7 each. (11) Herts has 6. (12) Staffs, (13) Worcester, and (14) Kent, each have 5. (15) Surrey, and (16) Monmouth have only 3; while (17) Derby, and (18) Hants have only 2; and (19) Cheshire is reported with only 1.

4. In the number of *Teachers* some striking differences appear:

(1) As before Bucks comes out first with 36. But (2) Leicester, which has no *houses* reported at all, is *second* in number of Teachers with 25. (3) Wilts comes *third* with 20. (4) Beds fourth with 18. (5) Warwick and (6) Kent come next, each with 17. (7) Herts follows with 13. (8) Notts is eighth with 12. (9) Berks and (10) Sussex each have 11. (11) Cambridge and (12) Norfolk, each have 10. (13) Worcester and (14) Somerset, each have 7. (15) London comes next with 6. (16) Surrey, 5. (17) Derby, 4. (18) Monmouth, 3; and (19) Hants, is last with 2.

To Episcopal eyes and ears, therefore, Buckinghamshire is altogether strongest in Baptists; though Kent, London, and Warwick are as strong or even stronger, and Shropshire, Durham, and Hants are weaker than any other counties which report any Baptists at all.

IV. QUAKERS.—Of the counties of which we have Episcopal Returns, only three report no Quakers; Northumberland in the extreme north, and Essex and Middlesex, close to London.

Of the thirty-two which are reported, twelve give definite numbers of Conventiclers as well as of Conventicles, but the other twenty report Conventicles, with no estimate of the numbers attending them.

Among the former is Yorkshire, which, apart from any doubtful quantities, and even when the highest values are given to them, stands distinctly first with 2,200.

Among the latter, as far as definite numbers are concerned, London would stand next, though nearly 1,000 behind Yorks; Wilts and Somerset coming third and fourth; and Suffolk following, though far behind.

When we give x any definite value, and when we look at the other numerable items of information, we find that order quite upset.

It will be better, therefore, to present the table of the figures, and point out the order when each item is separately considered.

Group.		County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
		ENGLAND.				
I.	1.	Northumberland ...	—	—	—	—
	2.	Durham	—	4	3	90
	3.	Cumberland	—	—	6	220
	4.	Westmorland ...	—	—	3	170
	5.	Yorks...	14	29	58	2,220
	6.	Lancs	—	—	12	630
II.	7.	Cheshire	—	—	22	$140+19x$
	8.	Derby	—	5	3	100
	9.	Notts	7 ?	10	11	415
	10.	Lincs	—	—	—	—
	11.	Salop	—	1	1	60
	12.	Staffs	1	11	10	$205+3x$
	13.	Leicester	22 ?	—	11	270
	14.	Rutland	—	—	—	—
III.	15.	Hereford	—	—	—	—
	16.	Worcester	—	3	3	350
	17.	Warwick	2	4	5	$100+4x$
	18.	Northants	—	—	—	—
	19.	Gloucester	—	—	—	—
	20.	Oxon	—	—	—	—
	21.	Bucks	14 ?	25	23	$380+15x$
IV.	22.	Hunts	—	—	—	—
	23.	Beds	18 ?	2	13	$336+x$
	24.	Cambs	12 ?	11	18	$500+8x$
	25.	Herts	8 ?	4	4	$700+x$
	26.	Norfolk	7 ?	8	11	$612+2x$
	27.	Suffolk	5 ?	9	11	$676+5x$
	28.	Essex	—	—	—	—
V.	29.	Berks	17 ?	15	14	$600+9x$
	30.	Middlesex	—	—	—	—
	31.	London	—	4	4	$1{,}250+x$
	32.	Kent	8 ?	5	12	$2+11x$
	33.	Surrey	—	2	4	$550+5x$
	34.	Sussex	1	7	7	$240+x$
	35.	Hants	3	11	12	$575+4x$
VI.	36.	Wilts	7	11	15	$1{,}115+6x$
	37.	Somerset	14 ?	10	10	$1{,}020+x$
	38.	Dorset	—	—	1	25
	39.	Devon	—	1	1	x
	40.	Cornwall	—	—	—	—
		All England ...	160 ?	192	308	$13{,}571+97x$

Group.	County.	T.	H.	Cs.	Crs.
	Brought forward ...	160?	192	308	13,571 + 97x
	WALES.				
VII. 1.	Flint	—	—	—	—
2.	Denbigh	—	—	—	—
3.	Carnarvon	—	—	—	—
4.	Merioneth	—	—	—	—
5.	Montgomery	—	3	3	75 + 2x
6.	Cardigan	—	—	—	—
7.	Radnor	—	—	—	—
8.	Brecon	—	—	—	—
9.	Pembroke	—	—	—	—
10.	Carmarthen	—	—	—	—
11.	Glamorgan	2	5	3	70 + 2x
12.	Monmouth	2	5	4	35 + 2x
	All Wales	4	13	10	180 + 6x
	England and Wales	164?	205	318	13,751 + 103x

1. *First*, then, as to the number of Quaker *Conventiclers*.

(i.) If 90 be the value given to x, the various counties come out in the following order:

(1) Yorkshire leads with its indubitable 2,220. (2) Cheshire comes second with 1,850; and (3) Bucks third with 1,730. (4) Wilts will be fourth with 1,655. (5) Berks next with 1,410. (6) London sixth with 1,340. (7) Cambridgeshire seventh with 1,220. (8) Suffolk follows with 1,126. (9) Somerset next with 1,110. (10) Kent has 992. (11) Hants, 935. (12) Norfolk follows at an interval of more than 40, with 792; but (13) Herts is very close to Norfolk with 790. Then comes a gap of 100; and (14) Sussex appears with 690. (15) Surrey follows with 640. (16) Lancashire is near Surrey with 630. But the next (17), Staffs, has but 470; with (18) Warwick, with 460; and (19) Beds, with 426. (20) Notts comes next with 415. (21) Worcester is twenty-first with 350. (22) Leicestershire has 270. Two of the Welsh counties come next: (23) Montgomery, with 255; and (24) Glamorgan with 250. (25) Cumberland comes next with 220; and then the third Welsh county (26) Monmouth, with 215. (27) Westmorland is reported for 170. (28) Derby for 100. (29) Durham for 90; and (30) Devon for the same. (31) Salop has only 60; and Dorset is last with only 25.

(ii.) If we give x the value of 50, the order is:

(1) Yorkshire first, 2,220. (2) Wilts second, 1,415. (3) London third, 1,300. (4) Bucks is fourth, 1,130. (5) Cheshire fifth, 1,090. (6) Somerset next with 1,070. (7) Berks quite close with 1,050. Then (8) Suffolk, 926. (9) Cambridge, 900. (10) Hampshire is tenth

with 775. (11) Herts follows with 750. (12) Norfolk, with 712. (13) Lancashire comes next with 630 (nearly 100 less). (14) Surrey next, with 600. (15) Kent has 552. (16) Sussex follows with 490. (17) Notts, after a great interval (130) comes next with 415. (18) Beds has 386. (19) Staffs, 355. (20) Worcester, 350. (21) Warwick is twenty-first with 300. (22) Leicester, 270. (23) Cumberland, 220. (24) Montgomery and (25) Glamorgan, follow one another with 175 and 170; but (26) Westmorland ties Glamorgan, and the third Welsh county (27) Monmouth, follows suit with 135. (28) Derbyshire holds the same position as in the previous list with her 100. (29) Durham, with 90. (30) Salop, with her 60. (31) Devon, with 50; and (31) Dorset, again, is last with her 25.

2. In number of *Conventicles:*

(1) The pre-eminence of Yorkshire is still more pronounced. She has 58; and the next county (2) Bucks has 35 less, only 23. (3) Cheshire is almost even, with 22. (4) Cambridge comes next with 18. (5) Wilts has 15. (6) Berks, 14; and (7) Beds, 13. (8) Lancashire, (9) Kent, and (10) Hants have 12 each. (11) Notts, (12) Leicester, (13) Norfolk, and (14) Suffolk, have 11 each. (15) Staffs, and (16) Somerset, 10 each. (17) Sussex has 7. (18) Cumberland, 6. (19) Warwick has 5. (20) Herts, (21) Kent, and (22) Monmouth, have each 4. Six counties boast 3 Conventicles each, viz.: (23) Durham, (24) Westmorland, (25) Derby, (26) Worcester, (27) Montgomery, and (28) Glamorgan; and three have each 1, viz.: (29) Salop, (30) Dorset, and (31) Devon.

3. In number of *Houses:*

(1) Yorks has 29. (2) Bucks, 25. (3) Berks, 15. Four counties contest the fourth place with 11 each: (4) Staffs, (5) Cambs, (6) Hants, and (7) Wilts. (8) Notts and (9) Somerset, have 10 each. (10) Suffolk has 9. (11) Norfolk, 8. (12) Sussex, 7. Then come *four* counties with 5 each, viz.: (13) Derby, (14) Kent, (15) Glamorgan, and (16) Monmouth. (17) Durham, (18) Warwick, (19) Herts, and (20) London, have 4 each. (21) Worcester and (22) Montgomery, have each 3. (23) Beds and (24) Surrey, each have 2; and (25) Salop and (26) Devon, only *one* apiece.

4. *Finally*, in *Teachers*, according to the numbers given—which, of course, are of scarcely any significance—the order of the counties is:

(1) Leicester, 22. (2) Beds, 18. (3) Berks, 17. (4) Yorks, (5) Bucks, and (6) Somerset, 14 each. (7) Cambridge, 12. (8) Herts, and (9) Kent, 8. (9) Notts, (10) Norfolk, and (11) Wilts, 7 each. (12) Suffolk, 5. (13) Hants, 3. (14) Warwick, (15) Glamorgan, and (16) Monmouth, 2 each; and (17) Staffs, and (18) Sussex, 1 Teacher apiece.

CHAPTER IV

THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS FOR 1676

The Returns for 1676 preserved in Vol. **639** are even fewer than those for 1665. We have two complete and detailed—viz., those from Canterbury and Salisbury; and summaries of the total numbers from two other Dioceses—viz., York and Winchester. And this is absolutely everything for 1676, which is an integral part of the MS.

Were we dependent, therefore, upon the Archives preserved in Lambeth Library in this Vol. **639**, we should be left to mere speculation (as we were with the 1665 Returns) to determine the question whether or no these four Returns were the only ones sent up to Canterbury in response to Sheldon's Enquiries in 1676. But fortunately we are not. Even the MS. volume helps us to a decided negative. For, though clearly no part of the original MS., and therefore not reproduced by me in Vol. I., I found inserted in it, just before the Canterbury Returns, on a large, loose leaf, a carefully drawn up Table, headed 'Religious Census, 1676. Account of the Province of 'Canterbury.' It is arranged in eight columns, the first giving the names of the 22 Dioceses in the Province (18 in England and 4 in Wales); the next three columns giving the numbers of Conformists, Nonconformists, and Papists respectively in each; and the other four columns giving the proportions of (1) Nonconformists to Conformists; (2) Papists to Conformists; (3) Both Nonconformists and Papists to Conformists; and (4) Papists to Nonconformists—in each of the 22 Dioceses.

It is drawn up in another handwriting, and evidently compiled at a later date than the body of the Episcopal Returns in the midst of which it is inserted. Indeed the document bears a separate signature: J+R.

Clearly, then, Returns were sent in from every one of the Dioceses, though only four have been preserved in this MS. volume, and of the four only two are complete and detailed.

Still more significant, too, is the note written at the foot of the page: 'MS. Salt apud Stafford.'

This note, however, would be quite cryptic did we not know—though the knowledge seems confined to a very small number of workers in this field of research—that in the William Salt Public Reference Library, in Stafford, are preserved in a thick folio volume the whole of the Returns for 1676, with all the minute detail given in the two we have reproduced in Vol. I., from the Dioceses of Canterbury and Sarum, of the total population, the numbers of Papists, and the numbers of 'other Sectaries,' in every parish of each Deanery or Archdeaconry in every Diocese in England and Wales.

On ascertaining these facts, I debated long whether I should make these 'Original Documents' more complete, by asking permission to reproduce the MS. volume in the Salt Library, and place its contents side by side with those I have reproduced from Lambeth and the

Record Office. Considerations of economy, however, both of time and money, finally decided me not to attempt it.

I will confess that my interest in this work centred so much more in the personalities of the pioneers of this great movement than in the numbers whom it gathered, that I could not face the toil involved in reproducing Tables which give no names (save those of the clergy who are responsible for the figures sent in for their individual parishes), and deal with figures only.

Still, of course, numbers have their value ; and Sheldon had a very definite object in view when he put his clergy to the difficult task of collecting the numbers scheduled, in part in the Returns I have printed in Vol. I., and in detail for the whole Kingdom in the MS. volume, preserved in the Salt Library.

That object was to ascertain the numerical strength of the Nonconformists in the various parishes and districts in England and Wales ; his hope and confidence being that the figures when gathered and summarized would justify him in representing them to the King and his advisers as so feeble a folk that they might safely neglect them in any further action they might take for the strengthening of the State Church, and securing the loyal adherence of its members. And I doubt not that he would point to the figures he secured as a triumphant vindication of his past policy and present position.

As showing the broad conclusions he would draw, I here reproduce the Abstract (p. 142).

The fifth column shows the proportion of Nonconformists to Conformists in each Diocese. From this Sheldon could point to the facts that even in the cases most favourable to Nonconformity, Protestant Nonconformists were only as 1 to 9 in Canterbury, as 1 to 12 in London, and as 1 to 15 in Rochester; that in Winchester they were but as 1 to 19 ; in Chichester as 1 to 20 ; that in Norwich, Lincoln, and Ely, they were but as 1 to 21 ; and in Bath and Wells, only 1 in 24. He could point to the facts that in Sarum they were only as 1 to 25 ; in Gloucester, 1 to 26 ; in Worcester and St. David's, they were only as 1 to 28 ; in Coventry and Lichfield and Bristol, but as 1 to 30 ; in Exeter, only as 1 to 38 ; and in Peterborough, as 1 to 43 ; while in the rest they were only a tiny fraction of the numbers of Conformists : in Llandaff, only $\frac{1}{54}$; in Hereford, $\frac{1}{61}$; in St. Asaph, $\frac{1}{71}$; in Oxford, $\frac{1}{84}$; and in Bangor, only $\frac{1}{113}$.

So that the strength of Nonconformity was least in the Welsh Diocese of Bangor, and in the English Diocese of Oxford, while it was greatest in the Dioceses of Rochester, London, and Canterbury (Sheldon's own Diocese). Curiously enough, then, according to the Anglicans' own showing, the Nonconformists were strongest in Kent and London, the parts of England nearest the centres of supreme authority in Church and State.

Yet even there, they could argue, they were so weak that a few years of resolute government and persistent execution of the Penal Statutes against them would certainly reduce them to insignificance and impotence.

RELIGIOUS CENSUS, 1676.

ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

Diocese.	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.	Nonconformists to Conformists as 1 to—	Papists to Conformists as 1 to—	Both to Conformists as 1 to—	Papists to Nonconformists as 1 to—
Canterbury	59,596	6,287	142	9 **R** 3,013	419 **R** 98	9 **R** 1,735	44 **R** 39
London	263,385	20,893	2,069	12 **R** 12,669	127 **R** 622	11 **R** 10,803	10 **R** 201
Winchester	150,937	7,904	968	19 **R** 761	155 **R** 823	17 **R** 113	8 **R** 160
Rochester	27,886	1,752	64	15 **R** 1,606	455 **R** 46	15 **R** 646	27 **R** 24
Norwich	168,760	7,934	671	21 **R** 2,146	251 **R** 339	19 **R** 465	11 **R** 553
Lincoln	215,077	10,001	1,244	21 **R** 5,056	172 **R** 1,109	19 **R** 1,422	8 **R** 49
Ely	30,917	1,416	14	21 **R** 1,181	2,208 **R** 5	21 **R** 887	101 **R** 2
Chichester	49,164	2,452	385	20 **R** 124	129 **R** 399	17 **R** 935	6 **R** 142
Salisbury	103,671	4,075	548	25 **R** 1,796	189 **R** 99	22 **R** 1,964	7 **R** 239
Exeter	207,570	5,406	298	38 **R** 2,142	696 **R** 162	36 **R** 2,320	18 **R** 42
Bath and Wells ...	145,464	5,856	176	24 **R** 4,920	826 **R** 88	24 **R** 696	33 **R** 48
Worcester	37,489	1,325	719	28 **R** 389	52 **R** 101	18 **R** 697	1 **R** 606
Coventry and Lichfield	155,720	5,042	1,949	30 **R** 4,460	79 **R** 1,749	22 **R** 1,918	2 **R** 1,144
Hereford	65,942	1,076	714	61 **R** 606	92 **R** 254	36 **R** 2,602	1 **R** 362
Gloucester	64,734	2,363	128	26 **R** 296	505 **R** 84	25 **R** 2,449	18 **R** 59
Bristol	66,200	2,200	199	30 **R** 200	332 **R** 132	27 **R** 1,487	11 **R** 11
Peterborough	91,444	2,081	163	43 **R** 1,961	591 **R** 111	40 **R** 1,684	12 **R** 125
Oxford	38,112	1,122	358	84 **R** 664	108 **R** 148	26 **R** 1,332	3 **R** 48
St. David's	68,242	2,368	217	28 **R** 1,938	314 **R** 104	26 **R** 1,032	10 **R** 198
Llandaff	39,248	719	551	54 **R** 422	71 **R** 147	30 **R** 1,148	1 **R** 168
Bangor	28,016	247	19	113 **R** 95	1,474 **R** 10	105 **R** 86	13
St. Asaph	45,088	635	275	71 **R** 3	163 **R**	49 **R** 498	2 **R** 85
Total	2,123,362	93,154	11,870	22 **R** 73,974	178 **R** 10,502	19 **R** 1,906	7 **R** 10,064

NOTE.—The **R** in the abstract means Remainder after Division.

MS. Salt apud Stafford,
Lambeth Palace Library.

The implication, of course, was that if fourteen years of Penal Legislation had reduced the Nonconformists to such a pitiable plight, 'patient continuance in' such 'well-doing' would before long exterminate them altogether.

In such a tabulation of figures, and in such arguments based upon them, however, there were two sophisms at least which much weakened their force.

The Abstract contrasted Protestant Nonconformists with Conformists, while the Enquiries of Sheldon did not speak of Conformists at all. Sheldon asked for the numbers of Papists, the numbers of other persistent Sectaries, and the numbers (not of Conformists, but) of the total population of each parish according to common repute. It is clear that 'J.R.,' in drawing up his Abstract, arrived at the number of 'Conformists,' not by estimating the number of godly communicants, or even of regular frequenters of the Parish Church, but by the simple arithmetical process of adding the Recusants together, Papist and Protestant, and then subtracting that total from the total population of the parish.*

It is quite in accordance with the State Church's usual mode of reckoning to count as members of her fold all parishioners who are not definitely Recusant; and it is abundantly evident that the ecclesiastical authorities of this period were far more concerned to reach and punish any parishioner who refused to attend the Parish Church and to 'communicate' there, though it were from the highest motives, and purely from 'scruples of conscience,' than to deal with and 'discipline' those who absented themselves from carelessness, indifference, or rank ungodliness.

So true is this, indeed, that the student of the Visitation Records of this period will very seldom go astray, if he reckons as conscientious Nonconformists those who are 'presented' in the ecclesiastical courts—for 'not coming to Church,' or for 'refusing to come to their own 'parish Church,' 'to hear divine service and sermon,' or 'to receive the 'Holy Communion.'

Candour must admit that this simple negation of Recusancy (whether Papist or Protestant) does not constitute a Conformity to the Anglican Church Establishment that has in it much spiritual significance or moral worth. A great preponderance in numbers of men or women estimated as Conformists by such methods as these does not prove any preponderance whatever in a particular parish or district of religious force or influence. Statistics gained along such lines were a very poor test of the relative strength or weakness of Nonconformity in the Kingdom.

There is a second point, moreover, which statistics of this kind ignore altogether. Such Returns merely count heads, without any attempt to estimate the force and quality of the brains within them, or of the heart and character of the men and women who carry them. In things spiritual as well as things military, one real leader may be worth more than a whole host of 'followers.' One great teacher, one moving preacher, may outweigh in spiritual power scores or hundreds of humble listeners though perfectly sincere, just as truly as a great tactician or general of genius and magnetic power may count for more in a military campaign than hundreds of the rank and file arrayed against him.

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* It is an odd accident (surely) that for Canterbury Diocese the number in the 'Conformists' column has been transferred, without any deduction at all, from the first column of the *Summæ Totales*—*i.e.*, the total number of *inhabitants!* The same is true also of the figures here given for Winchester.

So that as we think of the men of spiritual might, men of scholarship and eloquence, of sanctity and heroism—like the ejected of 1662, their comrades and disciples—who each count only as 'one' in this 'enumeration' or 'census' of the Nonconformist host, we cannot but turn away from such a tabulation as practically worth very little. Yet here it is; and certain other facts which it brings out are worthy of separate notice. The numbers of Nonconformists reported in these Returns we may be sure are not exaggerated. The various parochial officials admit that in 1676 there were well on to 100,000 of the inhabitants of England and Wales pronounced and convinced Nonconformists—the exact total given in this Schedule being 93,154. Of that 93,000 odd more than a fifth were in the Diocese of London—20,893. In numbers, Lincoln Diocese comes next with nearly half that number—viz., 10,001. Norwich and Winchester come next, each with nearly 8,000 to their credit, Norwich with 7,934, and Winchester with 7,904. Canterbury now follows with over 6,000 (6,287), and the two Dioceses in the 'West Countree' are not far behind; Bath and Wells with 5,856, and Exeter with 5,406; and the Midland Diocese of Lichfield with Coventry is near them with over 5,000—(viz., 5,042); while Sarum comes in with over 4,000—viz., 4,075. Chichester reports 2,452; Gloucester and St. David's have each over 2,300, (Gloucester 2,363, and St. David's 2,368); and Bristol nearly matches them with 2,200. Peterborough has to confess to over 2,000 (2,081), Rochester to over 1,700 (1,752); Ely to over 1,400 (1,416), Worcester to 1,325, and Oxford to 1,122: and the 3 Welsh Dioceses of Llandaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor complete the list with the smallest tale of Nonconformists: Llandaff boasting of only 719; St. Asaph of but 635; and Bangor with not 250; (viz., 247).

So much we have felt it necessary—because illuminating—to say about this interpolated Abstract or Summary of the 1676 Returns as a whole.

Now to turn to the two Diocesan Returns which we have in 639, and which I have reproduced in detail in Vol. I. They come from Sheldon of Canterbury and Ward of Sarum, the two on the whole Episcopal bench who were most eager for the suppression of Nonconformity.

1. From the very first Gilbert Sheldon had been at the heart of the movement against the Nonconformists which in 1662 culminated in the Act of Uniformity, although at that time Juxon was Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sheldon was only Bishop of London and Master of the Savoy; and since his elevation to the See of Canterbury, and Primacy of the Established Church (in 1663) he had been foremost in stiffening Parliament in the policy of persecution.

It was he who had secured the passage of the first Conventicle Act in 1664; as well as of the Five Mile Act in 1665; and (as we have pointed out elsewhere) it was in preparation for the re-enactment of the Conventicle Act (with astutely contrived additions), which was actually effected in 1670, that he secured the Conventicle Returns of 1669.

Two years later, it is true, while Parliament was in Recess, Sheldon's Royal master—legally the Supreme Governor of the Church and Defender of the Faith—had quietly undone all his ten years' labour by the Declaration of Indulgence which suspended the Penal Statutes he and his associates had managed to get upon the Statute Books. With the reassembling of Parliament in 1673 Sheldon marshalled his forces in both Houses to retake the positions they had lost: and they showed to Charles so resolute a determination to refuse supplies till the Statutes were reinstated, that they speedily brought him to his knees. Spite his bold avowal that he would stand by his Indulgence, three days' resistance was enough to compel the King to withdraw his Declaration and, with his own Royal hand, to break the Great Seal attached to it. Sheldon's object was once more regained. The penal legislation was declared to be in full force; and Sheldon gave to his clergy the strictest injunctions that they should see to it that the Civil Magistrates should second the Ecclesiastical authorities in the most rigorous repression of all Conventicles and all unauthorized teaching.

It is quite possible that in the wider work which occupied Sheldon (as Archbishop) in the political as well as in the ecclesiastical world, his more specific duties as Bishop might somewhat suffer. He would not be able—as he certainly did not seem inclined—as did Gunning in Sussex, and Carleton in Bristol—to see personally to the enforcement within the parishes of Eastern Kent of those measures which he had successfully pressed both upon Parliament, upon his brother-Bishops, and upon his clergy. That may in part account for the apparent failure in his Diocese as compared with the splendid success of the Bishop of Sarum in his.

Yet he was aided in Canterbury by a man as strong against the Nonconformists as Seth Ward, and one who, by his virulence against them, was making good his way to higher preferments. I refer to Samuel Parker, whom Sheldon had made one of his chaplains in 1665, at the same time stimulating his seal by giving him the Archdeaconry of Canterbury.

We have visible proof of his activity in this business, for the Returns for Canterbury, reprinted on pp. 20-26 of Vol. I., were drawn up by him, and bear his signature—'Sam Parker, Arch: Diac. Cantuar.'

At the commencement of James II.'s reign he was elevated to the See of Oxford; and it was over his appointment by Royal Mandamus to the Presidency of Magdalen College that the struggle broke out, which brought matters to a head in the contest between the Roman Catholic King and a Protestant nation, issuing in the flight of James II. and the enthronement of William of Orange.

II. Seth Ward—to whom we owe the second of these Returns (reprinted on pp. 127-136 of Vol. I.)—was not a whit behind Sheldon in anti-sectarian zeal; and, if his figures have any value, he was far more successful in the suppression of Nonconformity. He had begun with vigour at the Restoration, and as Bishop of Exeter had given proof of his keenness as a persecutor, and his efficiency as a Bishop by the fulness of the Returns he sent up to Canterbury in 1665. Those Returns, as we have already seen, are by far the most valuable of all that are preserved in Lambeth for that year.

The same accuracy and fulness of detail characterize the Returns he sent in for Sarum, only two years after his translation, in 1669: and here, in 1676, we find the same characteristics.

The document is headed: ‘1676, May 10th. An Account of the ‘Number & Proportions of Popish Recusants, Obstinate Separatists, ‘Conformists Inhabitants in Wiltshire and Berks under the Jurisdic‘tion Im̄ediate of the Bp of Sarum. By Seth Ward.’ To the tabulated details of every Parish within those limits, giving the numbers of ‘Pop.-Recusants,’ ‘Sectaries’ and ‘Inhabitants,’ in three several columns, he prefixes a Table of Totals for the several Deaneries and Archdeaconries within those limits, and on a separate folio, ‘An ‘Abstract of the Numbers and Proportions’ in the Diocese as a whole. A comparison of this last with the line referring to ‘Salisbury’ in the ‘Religious Census’ Abstract, shows very close agreement, though the slight divergence is enough to prove that the larger Table is by a different hand.

There is one fact, however, which might easily escape observation, which most completely deprives these figures of their superficial significance. For some reason or other, in the ’76 Returns, the whole of Dorset is omitted: and several other items in **R. 248*b*-R. 250** in the ’69 Returns have no counterpart in those of 1676. Yet Dorset alone accounts for from 1,350 to 1,400: and the other items account for from 1,875 to 2,200—together amounting to from 3,125 to nearly 3,600.

The Enquiries to which Sheldon had asked for tabulated replies are prefixed *verbatim* to Parker’s Returns. They are given on **R. 163*b*.**

‘Diocœss: Cant. The Enquiries.

‘1st. What number of persons are by com̄on Accompt & estima‘tion Inhabiting within such (each) Parish subject unto this Juris‘diction?

‘2dly. What number of Popish Recusants or persons suspected for ‘such Recusancy are there Resident amongst the Inhabitants aforesaid?

‘3dly. What number of other Dissenters are there in each Parish (of ‘whatsoever) which either obstinately refuse or wholly absent themselves ‘from the Com̄union of the Church of England at such times as by Law ‘they are required?’

In the tabulated answers to these Enquiries, Parker simply places at the head of each column Q^1, Q^2, Q^3: and Protestant Nonconformists are thereby virtually described as Sheldon had described them in his questions—viz., as ‘Dissenters other than Popish Recusants’;—an interesting proof, by the way, that as early as 1676 (not 15 years after the passing of the Act of Uniformity) those who did not wholly conform to the forms of the Church of England, were already being described and generally referred to—under the positive term 'Dissenters,' as frequently as by the merely negative term 'Nonconformists.'

The opprobrious phrases—which follow in Sheldon's Enquiries and which constitute so needlessly offensive an equivalent of 'Protestant 'Recusants'—'which either obstinately refuse, or wholly absent them- 'selves from the Communion of the Church of England at such times as 'by Law they are required'—are not ostentatiously endorsed and put to the front by Parker as they are by Ward. Seth Ward uses no such respectful word as Dissenters, but he calls them 'Obstinate Separatists' or 'Sectaries': 'Obstinate Separatists'—in the Heading of his Returns, —'Sectaries' at the head of his second column. There is a further difference between the two—most noticeable—and, I venture to add, quite characteristic.

Archdeacon Parker appends certain observations which are evidently intended as palliative explanations of any increase of Nonconformists within his jurisdiction since the Returns presented in 1669.

Bishop Ward has no apology to offer—because he has no such increase in his Diocese to attempt to explain away.

Parker's explanations are very interesting, being given in no less than nine particulars. 'Wee finde,' he says, 'these things observable.' They are given *verbatim* on **R. 169***b*.

The most notable points are: (1) The retrospective blame cast upon the Indulgence of 1672—'Many left the Church upon the late Indul- 'gence, who before did frequent it'; (2) the credit claimed for the issue of his Chief's Inquisition :—'The sending forth of these Inquiries has 'caused many to frequent the Church'; (3) the large number of French Protestant Refugees, settled in the north-eastern corner of the county— 'They are Walloons chiefely who make up y^e^ great number of "Dis- '"senters" in Cant. Sandwich and Dover'; and (4) the light cast upon the accepted classification of Dissenters in that day—viz.: 1°. 'A new 'sort of Hereticks "called after the name of one Muggleton, a London '"Taylor, in number about 30,"' 2°. Presbyterians, 3°. Anabaptists, 4°. Brownists—Independents; 5°. Quakers (these four 'of about equall 'numbers') and a few 'Self-Willers.' The Totals given in Parker's Abstract (**R. 169**: p. 26) correspond exactly with the line for Canterbury in the 'Religious Census' paper; only the Archdeacon's Total population for the Diocese (59,596) is transferred to the Census Abstract as the number of Conformists—rather a bad slip.

In Seth Ward's case, however, there is no such mistake. His Abstract is given in **R. 253**; and in it the number of Inhabitants is given separately as 108,294; while the number of Conformists, 103,671, appears correctly in the first column of the Abstract. But there is a variance, though only in the way of addition. Seth Ward gives two other Totals, besides those of the Papists (correctly transferred to the Abstract Census as 548): namely, 4,623 Dissenters, and 4,075 Separatists. Evidently, 'Dissenters' include Papists as well as Protestant Nonconformists. These latter he calls ‘Separatists’; and it is these (4,075) who appear in the third column as the number of Nonconformists.[*]

The only other documents belonging to this 1676 enquiry, which are preserved in Vol. **639**, are two Summaries (of totals); the one from York (**R. 297**, p. 177); and the other from Winton, pp. 147 and 148 (**R. 270**).

During the whole of our period (1662-1676), the Sees in these two Dioceses were occupied by the same two prelates. Winchester by George Morley (the devoted Royalist), and York by Richard Sterne, Bishop of the Diocese and Metropolitan of the Northern Province. Morley had been translated from Worcester to Winchester the very year which saw the passing of the Act of Uniformity (1662). Though stedfast in his loyalty to both King and Church, he was not a very eager ecclesiastic, and did not show any very hot persecuting zeal.

It is singular that in the Winchester Returns this 1676 document precedes the 1669 Return, though in the other three cases (as was most natural) it follows it.

[*] It is this paper which my critic in the *Spectator* lighted on as the ‘one particularly interesting document’ in the whole volume—the one, at any rate, on which alone he was moved to make any observation. He simply copies the figures of ‘the ‘population,’ 108,294; Dissenters, 4,643; Separatists, 4,075; and Popish Recusants, 548; and adds the sarcastic observation: ‘The figures do not indeed quite tally, but ‘this is the wont of historical figures.’ He does not seem to have noticed that the total of ‘Dissenters’ (4,623) exactly ‘tallies’ with the numbers of ‘Separatists’ (or Protestant Dissenters), 4,075, and Popish Recusants (or Roman Catholic Dissenters), 548, added together; and that the numbers of ‘Popish’ (548), ‘Separatists’ (4,075), and ‘Conformists’ (103,671) added together—or, if he please to look at it in that way of ‘Dissenters’ (4,623) and ‘Conformists’ (103,671)—added together do exactly tally with the numbers of inhabitants (108,294). So that his sarcasm is wasted, because pointless.

There was no need either for his analytic speculation as to what the ‘names’ stand for in the synopsis given in **R. 252***b* (pp. 127 and 128). The first column, in which the names he comments on are found, is distinctly headed ‘Decanatus,’ so that no intelligent student of the book could fail to see that the numbers given after the name Malmesbury on p. 128 are the totals arrived at by adding together the figures given in the three columns under the heading ‘Decanatus Malmesbury’ on pp. 132 and 133; the figures for Malmesbury, ‘the town,’ being given on **R. 257** (p. 133) as yielding 00 Popish Recusants, only 05 Separatists, and a total population of 2,050.

The reviewer’s further conundrum as to Norton Bradley is not so easily solved: ‘It may be observed that Norton Bradley is given as having 340 Separatists out of ‘440 inhabitants. There is nothing like this anywhere else. Is it an error?’ I venture, however, to submit the following: Is ‘Norton Bradley’ a clerical error for ‘North Bradley’? Adams, in his ‘Index Villaris,’ gives ‘Bradley *North*’ as in Whorlwelsdown Hundred, and a *Vicarage* in *Pottern* Deanery, rated at £11: and, on **R. 242** (in 1669) Seth Ward reports one Conventicle of Anabaptists meeting ‘at a ‘Barne’ ‘every Sunday & Wednesday,’ numbering 200 or 300 tradesmen and yeomen, and furnished with three or four Teachers. Is it beyond the range of possibility that the Baptists in North Bradley had grown in the seven years since 1669 from 300 to 340? That this was not an isolated case, moreover, is clear from a presentment made as early as 1664, in quite another part of the kingdom.

The following is the complaint made of Winteringham (in the north-eastern point of Lincolnshire):

‘Thomas Ogle Churchwarden either Refuseth or at Least neglecteth to pay his ‘Easter offerings. Not a Quarter of the Parish are present in Service time, and not ‘half of them at any time. Holy dayes are despised; not three of the husbandmen ‘ever appear at Church at once; and but few of the Cottagers, servants, or poorest ‘sort. On Sundayes at Eleaven a Clock seldom soe many present as to Chime, and ‘sometimes the minister hath been forced to Returne for want of Company, &c.’

Morley follows Ward in using the comparatively mild term 'Dissenters' to cover both classes of 'Recusants,' Popish and Protestant, and contents himself with calling the latter Separatists. In the Summary reproduced in **R. 270** (Vol. I., 147), we are confronted with this somewhat puzzling circumstance. The total number of Separatists given for 1676 is exactly the figure reached by adding together all the numbers given in the 1669 Returns—viz., 7,904—if only we take the larger number where alternative numbers are given. [The smaller total would be 7,045; the larger is exactly 7,904.] The inference I was at first inclined to draw was that I was wrong in placing this document among the 1676 Returns. It bears no date, and I assigned it to 1676, simply because no Summary or Abstract is given of any other of the 1669 Returns; and because its title or heading follows so closely the form of the Abstract sent in by Seth Ward, which is distinctly dated '1676, May 10th.'

This Winton Summary is headed:

'Winton Dioc.: An Abstract of the Number & Proportion of the 'Inhabitants, Conformists & Dissenters, in the Diocesse of Winton, etc.'

And Seth Ward's elaborate 1676 Return is headed:

'An Account of the Number & Proportions of Popish Recusants, 'obstinate Separatists Conformists (&) Inhabitants in Wiltshire and 'Berks under the Jurisdiction Im̃ediate of the Bp of Sarum.'

Yet in the 'Religious Census of 1676,' abstracted from the Salt MS., the total for Winchester under the 'Nonconformists' column is exactly the same—viz., 7,904, as are also the number of Inhabitants and the number of Popish Recusants—the former, 150,937; and the latter, 968.

This, therefore, justifies my 'assignment' of the Summary Account to 1676, but makes it evident that there can have been no *recount* of Nonconformists in the seven years' interval between '69 and '76; a striking sign of George Morley's ecclesiastical slackness, and indication that he never responded to Sheldon's last demand at all.

Only, as in the case of Canterbury, J.R., in his 'Religious Census,' transfers the number of 'Inhabitants' in Morley's Abstract to the 'Conformist' column, though Morley gives separately (in the line below) the number of Conformists as 142,065. The same mistake, too, is carried into his fifth column, which professes to give the proportion of Nonconformists to Conformists—viz., as one to 19 with the remainder of 761. This is what Morley, with stricter accuracy, gives as the proportion of Separatists to the whole of the Inhabitants. The proportion should have been, as Morley actually gives it in the next group of figures, as one to 17, with 7,697 remaining. It invalidates the next two columns also, for Papists were to Conformists, not as one to 155 with 823 remaining, but only as one to 146 with 737 remaining; and both Nonconformists and Papists (or as Morley puts it 'All Dissenters') were to Nonconformists, not as one to 17 with 113 remaining (which was their proportion to the total population), but as one to 16 with 113 remaining.

These divergences show that the Abstract or Religious Census needs to be carefully scrutinized, whenever the figures from other Dioceses are forthcoming by which to test it.

The other document from York is also without a date. But there is no question that it belongs to 1676. Its groups of numbers are arranged under the three heads of Inhabitants (' Persons ' in the case of York City), Popish Recusants, and other Dissenters, which are direct replies to Sheldon's three Enquiries of that year.

It claims to give 'The Number of Persons' (or Inhabitants), 'Popish Recusants, and other Dissenters' within the Dioceses and 'Jurisdiction of Yorke'; but is very defective. It does not give a complete list of the Deaneries within York County (only those of New Ainstie, Old Ainstie, Craven, Pontefract and Doncaster), much less all of those within the Diocese; one grave omission being the whole of the County of Nottingham, in which Nonconformity was so strong.

Its figures, too, are far from accurate, as has been pointed out to me by a correspondent (Mr. Chas. R. Simpson, of Oxford and Woodbrook Settlement, Selly Oak). He draws attention to the figures given for the Deanery of Old Ainstie: Inhabitants, 3,444; Popish Recusants, 33; and Dissenters, 228 [not 220]; and comments on them thus: 'Now Leeds is in this Deanery, and its inhabitants over 16 were '12,000. So that the total (3,444) cannot be correct. On looking at 'the MSS.' (my correspondent has transcribed the Returns for Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, which are to be found complete in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library) 'I found how the mistake 'occurred.'

The Leeds figures had been put down correctly, but in the wrong columns. So that it had been added up as 1,200 instead of as 12,000, and the total inhabitants should have been 14,244 instead of 3,444.

This same correspondent has also given me the totals for the other seven Deaneries omitted from the Abstract given on **R. 297**:

	Persons over Sixteen.	Papists.	Dissenters.
Bulmer	9,051	210	164
Rydal	8,090	152	253
Cleveland	12,166	662	520
Holderness	6,289	214	315
Harthill	14,703	162	1,666
Pickering	3,997	28	122
Buckrose	2,357	4	67

and the Totals for the whole County come out as—

Inhabitants, 159,160; Popish Recusants, 2,006; and Dissenters, 5,974.

It is noteworthy that in the Deanery of New Ainstie the number of Papists is more than twice as great as that of Protestant Dissenters, and that there is a decided preponderance of a similar character in the Deaneries of Bulmer and Cleveland. The most striking fact, from our point of view, is the large number of 'Dissenters' returned in the Deanery of Harthill—viz., 1,666, for it heads the list in all the Deaneries of the County, being nearly 400 more than in the Deanery of Pontefract, though the total population of the Deanery of Pontefract is well on to being three times as great as that of the Deanery of Harthill (39,282 as compared with 14,703).

There is evidently almost endless work to be done in the way of testing the numbers given in this Summary, and making it complete, as well as making a Summary or Abstract Census for the Province of York, similar to that which I found in Vol. 639 (Lambeth Library), and have reproduced in this volume.

I must leave the task to one who has more love for statistics, and a larger belief in their value for the purposes of Nonconformist history than I possess.

SECTION II

THE INDULGENCE DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I

WHAT BROUGHT THEM INTO BEING: 'THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE'

We have already pointed out (Part I, chap. ii.) that the Persecution of Nonconformists was in no sense the work of Charles II., that by natural disposition he was averse to it, and that it was really the work of Parliament under the strong lead of the Earl of Clarendon, prompted and inspired by Sheldon and the High Anglican party.

We pointed out at the same time that the Indulgence (of 1672-73) was Charles's work first and foremost, even if it were too much to say that it was his alone. It is true that Neal ascribes it to the King's Council rather than to the King himself; putting it thus (Vol. III., p. 177)—'The Cabal made the third advance towards Popery and 'absolute power, by advising the King to suspend the penal laws against 'all sorts of Nonconformists.' I cannot help thinking that in the strength of his anti-Papal polemic he credits them with too much. Though Clifford and Arlington may have actively seconded the suggestion of the King, because, as Roman Catholics themselves, they saw in it a hopeful means to the larger end of giving the Papacy a freer hand, Buckingham, in his easy indifference to all religious considerations, was quite ready to humour his Royal master. Lauderdale seemed quite willing to pose in England as the champion of the liberties of those whom he relentlessly persecuted in Scotland; and Shaftesbury in a most mysterious fashion took a line of singular aloofness in the matter throughout the brief period during which it was in force.

The only explanation at all satisfactory of Ashley's curious conduct is that, though of the whole Cabal he was the most convinced believer in the liberty of the subject in all that could touch the individual conscience, he had so little sympathy with this method of securing it that he would do as little as possible that might suggest to anyone that he endorsed it. In other words, he had no confidence that a Royal Indulgence—which really 'flouted' Acts deliberately passed by the representatives of the people—could stand its ground, when once the nation had discovered the political significance of what the King had done.

So that in the King's determination—somewhat suddenly formed at last to try the effect of Indulgence, which he had promised to Nonconformists again and again ever since his Restoration—the Cabal as a whole distinctly supported him, although I can find no proof that they suggested the experiment, or advised him to try it.

The persecution of the Nonconformists throughout this period was Prelatic and Parliamentary, not Royal; their relief and Indulgence for these eleven months was distinctly Royal, not Parliamentary or popular.

The document itself is more consonant with our contention than with Neal's suggestion. In the preamble—which expresses so pointedly the reason of his taking the step, and the objects he hopes to secure by it, he does not even mention his Council. He assumes all the responsibility, as he claims all the authority, himself:

> 'CHARLES REX—
>
> 'Our care and endeavours for the preservation of the rights and interests of the Church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world by the whole course of our government since our happy restauration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion that we have used for reducing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return; but it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all those forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so, by several statutes of parliament; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting the minds of our good subjects in these points, for inviting strangers in this conjuncture to come and live under us, and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trade and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government; as also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from private meetings and seditious conventicles.'

The retrospective paragraph with which the preamble opens calls the world to witness that (however averse to such courses himself) he has taken the advice of others, and given a thorough trial of the policy of persecution, only to prove its inefficiency. 'It being evident by the sad 'experience of twelve years that there is very little fruit of all those 'forcible courses'—the 'many and frequent ways of coercion' which had been employed in the four Penal Statutes (the Act of Uniformity, First Conventicle Act, Five Mile Act, and Second Conventicle Act); and that so far from benefiting 'the Church' (as by law established) these 'forcible courses' have injured it, estranging many from it, who before had been willing to frequent its services and make the best of them; and multiplying and strengthening private meetings or 'Conventicles' instead of repressing and ending them.

Indirectly and implicitly, too, it acknowledges that the policy of persecution has created civic resentment and political disquiet; has discouraged 'foreigners'—Protestant exiles from other countries who would fain have come to England to find rest from the persecution they suffered from the Papal Church in their own—and has dislocated trade and commerce at home, because so many of the foremost tradesmen and merchants are Puritan in their faith and sympathy, and so have been forced into the ranks of Dissent and Nonconformity.

An anecdote of the time illustrates the point. 'How can I do 'business with a man to-day,' said one of the Aldermen of London, when complaint was made to him that he was not actively 'working' the Penal Statutes against Nonconformists, 'when I may fine him or 'clap him in prison to-morrow?'

With admirable astuteness, also, Charles recognizes the fact that these Nonconformist services will be held—whether Parliament recognizes their legality or pronounces them illegal; and urges that, if they are to be held at all, it is far better to provide that they shall be public, like the services of the Established Church. Moreover, services held with closed doors, and at the risk of penalties, would be more likely to become 'seditious conventicles,' because the worshippers met under the sense of injury and injustice.

Beyond all this, it is clear that the King acted purely in his own name in order that the liberty Nonconformists so much desired might be had solely as an act of Royal favour, and if accepted might bind the recipients by personal loyalty to him, and constrain them to the acceptance of his policy both at home and abroad. Incidentally, too, great light is here thrown on the anxiety he had shown to have the clause declaring the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical made part and parcel of the recent Act (the Second Conventicle Act). Although at the time he disavowed any intention to interfere with the course that Parliament was taking, there can be little question that even then he was contemplating the course planned in this Declaration which he published only two years later.

That the Indulgence was thus to be viewed—as the personal action of the King rather than as his Royal endorsement of the action of the Cabal—is also the view of the High Anglican Cardwell.*

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* In commenting on 'the Declaration of Indulgence' in his 'Documentary Annals' (Vol. II., pp. 282-284), he expresses his own view as follows:

'Lord Clarendon having gone into banishment at the end of the year 1667, and his administration being succeeded by that of the Cabal, the King was now at liberty to pursue his own projects, not only without restraint, but even with the aid of counsellors more fertile in expedient and more regardless about consequences than he himself was. And this was the darkest and most intricate period of a reign which may justly be called throughout the greater portion of it "the mystery of iniquity." Within the compass of a few years the King resolved to be independent of parliaments, entered into a war to which the nation generally was averse, declared his treasury insolvent, united himself with France, and became the pensioner of the French monarch, formed a secret compact to surrender the liberties and religion of his own kingdoms, and issued a Declaration which directly dispensed with the observance of the law, and indirectly claimed the exercise of absolute power. The Declaration issued on the 15th day of March, 1672, is an instance, among many, of the dishonest and tortuous policy by which the King endeavoured to accomplish his purposes. It seems to have been intended for the benefit of the non-conformists: it was really designed to relieve the Romanists. For the former he felt as much compassion as could belong to a temper easy and indulgent by nature, but rendered hard

Passing from the preamble to the several paragraphs of the Declaration, we find the *first* dictated by the desire to keep the prelates quiet, with their clergy and the Church party among the laity, by profuse promises and assurances, just as the offer of liberty was intended to quiet and secure the loyalty of the Nonconformists. It reads :

'And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning and intention to be, that the Church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline, and government, as now it stands established by law ; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the basis, rule and standard, of the general and public worship of God, and that the orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the revenues belonging thereunto ; and that no person, though of a different opinion and persuasion, shall be exempt from paying his tithes or other dues whatsoever. And further we declare, that no person shall be capable of holding any benefice, living, or ecclesiastical dignity or preferment of any kind in this our Kingdom of England, who is not exactly conformable.'

There is the quiet assumption throughout it, suggested by a shrewd observation of human nature, that if the emoluments, privileges, and dignities of the Establishment are secured to the 'orthodox' and 'conformable' there will be the less inclination to resent the liberty accorded to the 'unorthodox' and 'nonconformist.' Though facts were not long in discovering to the King that Prelates and Conformists were not so

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and reckless by profligate and irreligious habits; and as for his advisers, they had no sympathy except for atheists and Romanists, and would naturally treat with contempt a class of men who looked upon their principles with abhorrence. Nevertheless it was only by conciliating or by bribing the Nonconformists that he could hope to obtain more favourable conditions for the Romanists ; and to this object he was so far pledged that he incurred the greatest hazard, and had recourse to the most unconstitutional methods in order to accomplish it.

'The parliament which had been prorogued since the 22nd day of April, 1671, was at last allowed to assemble on the 15th of February, 1673, and was addressed by the King with reference to his Declaration in the following manner: "Some few days before I declared the war I put forth my Declaration for indulgence to dissenters. . . . There is one part of it that is subject to misconstruction, which is that concerning the papists, as if more liberty were granted to them than to the other recusants, when it is plain there is less. . . . In the whole course of this indulgence I do not intend that it shall any way prejudice the Church ; but I will support its rights, and it, in full power. Having said this, I shall take it, very, very ill to receive contradiction in what I have done: and I will deal plainly with you. I am resolved to stick to my Declaration." Nevertheless the Commons proceeded to vote that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by an act of parliament," and as stated in reply to the King's defence of his proceedings, "that no such power was ever claimed or exercised by any of his predecessors." They shewed at the same time a readiness to grant relief to protestant dissenters, but a determination to oppose themselves to the additional dangers arising from the duke's open adoption of popery, and the King's secret attachment to it.

'It is now known from the Stuart papers ("Life of James II.," Vol. I., p. 442) that the King had decided in the year 1669 to bring in the Romish faith, and had arranged with his brother to "go about it as wise men and good catholics ought to do." The Test Act was passed in the session 1678, and the country party, to which the nation was afterwards so much indebted, was established at the same period. The King assured the two houses that his suspension of penal laws "should not be drawn either into consequence or example," and the lord Chancellor (Shaftsbury) stated with his majesty's permission, that the Declaration under the great Seal had been cancelled in his presence.'

easily 'quieted' and soothed into acquiescence, as were the Nonconformists and Dissenters.

In the next paragraph we have the more negative part of the Declaration, a necessary preliminary in order to clear the ground for its more positive part:

'We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of non-conformists or recusants, be immediately suspended. And all judges, judges of assize and gaol-delivery, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereunto.'

This no doubt is the part of the Declaration which created in all Parliamentarians the greatest concern, and not alone the Prelates and the High Church Party. The fabric of Penal Legislation which it had taken ten years to build up is shattered into fragments at the touch of the King's hand. Had the Declaration ended here, the view which has often been taken of it would have been true. By the suspension of all Penal Statutes, it might seem to proclaim to all and sundry absolute liberty to worship God and to teach or preach, after any form which conscience might dictate, and in any place which fancy or convenience might suggest. Even J. R. Green, whom usually it is safe to follow, uses phraseology which would produce that impression on the incautious reader. In alluding to the Declaration of Indulgence, he says (p. 626): 'By virtue of his ecclesiastical powers the King ordered "that all "manner of penal laws on matters ecclesiastical against whatsoever "sort of Nonconformists or recusants should be from that day suspended," and gave liberty of worship to all dissidents save Catholics, who were allowed to practise their religion only in private houses.'

Evelyn, also a contemporary (and generally a discriminating observer), makes the same mistake. In his 'Diary' (under date Mar. 1, 167½) he writes: 'To this succeeded the King's declaration for an universall tolleration, Papists and swarms of Sectaries now boldly showing themselves in their publiq meetings.'

So to put the matter is a grave mistake. The two following paragraphs show that the King intended, and provided, that 'dissidents' were to have no more liberty than before to worship in any fashion other than that prescribed by the Common Prayer Book or in any place other than the Parish Church, *except* by express Royal permission, authority, or licence.

The very next paragraph puts it positively that he, the King, is willing to 'allow' (*i.e.*, license) a sufficient number of places in all parts of England for those who desire it of him (among those 'who do not conform to the Church of England'); and the second paragraph puts it negatively that only in places that are 'allowed,' and by 'persons' directly 'approved' by the King—that is, by licences issued in his name to the owner of the place and to the teacher or preacher who conducts the service—can 'nonconformist' worship be permitted at all; while the last paragraph puts the matter very plainly—utterly precluding the construction so unguardedly put upon it by J. R. Green and J. Evelyn—that any one presuming to abuse this liberty, and to act after the lax fashion suggested by the language of these writers, by meeting in any place for which a Royal licence has not been issued, shall be dealt with 'with all imaginable severity.'

The paragraph inserted between the two former and the last was intended as a farther 'sop' to the Protestant prelacy (inserted no doubt by the urgent pressure of Lauderdale, expressly restricting the liberty here offered to Protestants. No licences for public worship were to be granted to Roman Catholics. They were to be allowed only—but this they were allowed as both Protestant and Papist had been allowed hitherto—to gather for worship 'in their private houses' if there were not more than four present over and above the members of the household resident therein.

Here are the four paragraphs in the order in which they stand in the actual document:

'And that there may be no pretence for any of our subjects to continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our Kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, to meet and assemble in in order to their public worship and devotion; which places shall be open and free to all persons.

'But to prevent such disorders and inconveniences as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate, our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until such places are allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.

'And lest any should apprehend that this restriction should make our said allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do further declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of the public places of worship, and approbation of the teachers, shall extend to all sorts of non-conformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom we shall in nowise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

'And if, after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline, or government, of the established Church, or shall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare, we will proceed against them with all imaginable severity; and we will let them see we can be as severe to punish such offenders when so justly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.

'Given at our court at Whitehall, this 15th day of March, in the four and twentieth year of our reign.'

So that so far from giving 'liberty of worship to all dissidents,' the number of places in which dissidents might worship was limited to what were sufficient for those nonconformists who desired it—limited, too, by the absolute discretion or arbitrary decision of the King (and his immediate advisers). For evidently what was a 'sufficient' number of places in any one parish or district, was to be determined not by the Nonconformists in it but by the King.

The determination, too, of what 'places' should be 'allowed,' and what 'teachers' should be 'approved' lay wholly with him. He reserved it as a matter solely within his own discretion to decide whether any particular building should or should not be a 'place' 'allowed' for Nonconformist worship; quite as absolutely, indeed, as to whether any particular person were 'fit and proper,' safe and salutary to 'approve' as 'teacher' in these licensed places.

It is true that by the terms of the Declaration the methods by which this Indulgence was to be administered were left entirely open. It would have been quite consistent with the Declaration had the King made it a matter in which the initiative was to be taken only by himself, as it is in the case of the grant of any title or order, as a Royal recognition of special merit in the subject or of special affection or favour in the Prince. From the first, however, it is clear that he intended the initiative to be taken by his Nonconformist subjects; for speaking of 'the sufficient 'number of places' which he was prepared to allow, he uses the phrase 'as they shall be desired,' suggesting that the normal lines along which he wished to act were those of an expressed 'desire' on the part of the Nonconformist ministers and inhabitants in any parish, town, or district. It is plain, in fact, that the King purposed awaiting the expression of such desire before he would move at all.

Wherever no 'desire' for 'allowance' or 'approval' was expressed and brought before his notice, public 'worship,' by Nonconformists in forms other than those prescribed by the Common Prayer Book—or in any other 'place' than the Parish Church—remained as illegal as it was before; though, by the terms of the third clause of the Declaration, active persecution of Nonconformists by Penal Statute would have automatically ceased; and such worship, in itself, and in a sense (that is, under certain prescribed conditions), was not illegal as it was before.

One important thing to realize, then, if we would understand the spirit and methods of the Indulgence, is that the liberty offered by it, wherever, and by whomsoever it was secured, was secured as an act of grace and favour shown by the King in person to the individual subject or subjects to whom his licences were given.

In no sense was a new legal 'status' conferred on Nonconformists as such. It was simply that to the Nonconformists who applied for a licence, the licence was granted when the applicant was considered a fit and proper person to receive it, as a personal favour from the King. And the acceptance of it naturally bound the recipient, if only by the ties of ordinary gratitude, to a more than ordinary loyalty and obedience.

There is no doubt, indeed, that this was the main object of the Declaration. It was no sudden discovery of the harshness and injustice, or even of the practical inutility, of persecution by Penal Statute that moved the King. It was that Nonconformists (especially in London and its suburbs) were growing restive under this bitter and spiteful persecution. The political situation was critical. Charles had made up his mind to declare war against the Dutch, as part of the policy adopted by him in 1670 in the disgraceful Treaty of Dover. He knew well that the Nonconformists had a friendly feeling towards them; because, of all the Continental powers, the Dutch were the one nation which in their zealous Protestantism had always showed the Nonconformists the greatest practical sympathy, and had always been readiest to give them friendly asylum when driven into exile by the persecuting Anglican.

And he foresaw very clearly that declaration of war against the Dutch might increase the disaffection of Nonconformists, and tempt them to courses which might create serious danger of internal weakness. So that Charles's hope and definite purpose were that if only they would accept his Indulgence, they would feel bound to abstain from any courses which would harass him in his home measures, or weaken his policy abroad. These circumstances necessarily determined the centre from which, and the mode in which, the Royal Indulgence was worked.

As the licences were granted by the King in person, and by the King alone, they had of course to be issued from the Royal Court; and being given only in response to an express desire duly notified to the Court by the would-be licensee, the whole business of the Indulgence was bound to be transacted from a single local centre, where alone applications for licences could be received, and whence alone the licences which were granted could be issued. That centre was Whitehall.

The bearing of this, however, upon the Licence documents which are here published, is so multifarious, interesting, and significant that the consideration of it must be relegated to a separate chapter.

NOTE.

Frank Bate, in his recently published work on 'The Declaration of 'Indulgence, 1672' (chap. v., pp. 79-80), clearly gives us all that can be known of the events which by such rapid strides led to the actual issue of the Declaration. He gives the main particulars furnished by Sir Joseph Williamson's Diary, including a list of the members of Council who were present at the final meeting, who gave a unanimous adhesion to the scheme. He thus shows that those jointly responsible for it were: (1) the King, his brother the Duke of York, and his son the Duke of Monmouth; (2) all five members of the Cabal; (3) Earls Craven and Holles (both of whom, we shall see, used their personal influence to secure licences for ministers they knew), the Earls of Bath, Bridgewater, and Anglesey; as well as (4) Secretary Trevor, Lord Newport, Sir John Duncomb, the Vice-Chamberlain, and the Master of Ordnance. He is inclined, too, to credit Clifford and Shaftesbury with being the main movers in the matter, though Bucks and Arlington heartily agreed, and Lauderdale did not oppose.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE INDULGENCE WAS BROUGHT INTO WORKING ORDER

Some of the documents contained in **320** show very clearly, though indirectly, that a great deal of work was needed outside the Council, and special Committee Meetings, before the Indulgence declared on March 15 could be brought into working order. They show, too, that the two men who did most of this unofficial but highly practical work, were men hitherto practically 'nullities' to the sober English historian. Indeed, the one who did almost all is so little known that the 'Dictionary of National Biography' has not even admitted his *name* into its voluminous pages—I mean Dr. Nicholas Butler. The other, Colonel Thomas Blood, is known well enough; but only for his deeds of lawless daring, so that he has been almost uniformly treated as a 'mere highwayman,' after the type of Dick Turpin, or as a wild revolutionary, to be held by all sober citizens as deserving only opprobrium and contempt. To place them before the student of this period with something like historic fairness and accuracy of detail, has not been an easy task. The first had to be recovered from scattered allusions in contemporary documents, which show him to have been a man of singular abilities and of very mixed character, presenting a psychologic problem not easy to solve. And the second original research has shown to be possessed of aims and ideals which were largely lofty and unselfish, and leads the candid student to regard him as a Reformer spoiled in the making, a knight errant of civil and religious liberty, by ruthless oppression turned into an Ishmael, until an erratic outburst of Royal favour restored him to his more natural rôle of a protector of the weak and a champion of the oppressed.

It appears that quite recently an American writer along independent lines, and without any correspondence with the Editor, has arrived at conclusions remarkably similar: so that there is some hope that Thomas Blood may be reinstated in his rightful place in history, and his character be vindicated from the aspersions which have wellnigh destroyed it.

I proceed, therefore, in each case first to sketch the man's career, and then (from these documents), to point out the part he took in this important task of giving the Indulgence practical efficiency and smooth working.

NICHOLAS BUTLER.

The 'D^r Butler' of these Indulgence Documents up to the age of forty-two was plain Mr. Butler, or 'Nicholas Butler Gent.' From June 17, 1671, to September 30, 1680, he was M.D. of Cambridge, and so 'D^r Butler.' From September 30, 1680, he was Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians; and from March, 168½, he was Sir Nicholas

Butler Kn^{t}. He was born in 1626 or 1627.* Of his parentage and place of birth, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

But on June 9, 1616, a Nicholas Butler was married at St. Vedast's, in Foster Lane, to Margarett Ellett (Harleian Society's Reprint of Register of St. Vedast's). Quite possibly this was our Nicholas Butler's father. In which case our Nicholas will have been born twelve years after their wedding, and was probably a native of the City of London.

Twelve years after that, again, in other words, when our Nicholas was twelve years old, a Nicholas Butler is registered (Foster's 'Marriage ' Licences') as licensed to marry Margarett Jones, of the 'Citty of West- ' minster.' Was that the second marriage of our Nicholas's father and namesake?

Twelve years later, again, he says of himself, that 'he was in a ' manner wholly taken off thoughts of self.' If that is a sincere piece of his personal history it would mean that in 1652, when he was twenty-four years of age, he was practically 'converted.'

Was this (1) by the influence of Arthur Barham, who began his ministry at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, about this time, having been presented to the living by Sir John Langham? It may have been, if he was then living where we know he was living some ten years later, viz., in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. Or was it (2) on his marriage to 'Dorothy,' who after a few years proved faithless, so that our Nicholas Butler sought and obtained *divorce* from her 'causâ adulterii'?†

One thing is clear—that in the Commonwealth period, probably some time between 1650 (when he would have attained twenty-two years of age) and 1658 or 1659, he was married to a lady whose Christian name was Dorothy, but whose maiden surname is yet to be discovered.

Another thing is plain also from the terms of the Petition he addressed to the King in 1672, viz., that about the year 1660 he was divorced from this wife, Dorothy.‡

So far our information about 'Nicholas Butler Gent.' is very fragmentary, and much of it nebulous and conjectural. From the year 1664 onwards, however, we begin to deal with facts which have definite documentary attestation.

In this year he received from Archbishop Sheldon a licence to practise the art of medicine. By the courtesy of Mr. Jenkins, Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library, I have secured a transcript of this Licence as contained in Sheldon's Register, fol. 202*a*.

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* See his letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, written March 19, 1671-72, in which he says (though indirectly) that he was forty-four years of age. The sentence is: 'Since I was 24 years, which now is 20 moe [more], I have beene in a manner wholly ' taken off thoughts of selfe, etc.' (S.P. Dom. Car. II., 304, 47). His epitaph allows of any date between June 8, 1626, and June 7, 1627.

† *Vide* his Petition to the King for pardon for having 'married again,' sent in December, 1672.

‡ Its preamble reads: 'The humble Petition of Nicholas Butler, Doctor in Physic ' Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner having immediately after Your Ma^{ties} Res- ' tauration sued out a Divorce causâ adulterii against Dorothy Butler his then ' wife, &c.'

[*Licence to Nicholas Butler.*]

The following is a literal translation of the Latin original:

'On the 8th of October A.D. 1664 (through the same venerable personage) [*i.e.*, Sir[*] Richard Chaworth, Knight, Doctor of Laws, Vicar-General in "spirituals"] a Licence was granted to Nicholas Butler "professor in medicine" to practise the art of medicine, he having first subscribed the three articles mentioned in the Canon, and after this method: viz^{t} the first and third articles without qualification, and of the second article the two former members of the same; the oath of the Supremacy of the King's Majesty having also been taken by him; the licence to last during his (the King's) good pleasure.'[†]

The 'three articles' are the articles first promulgated by Whitgift and revived by Bancroft when he drew up the Book of Canons (141 in number), which were passed by both Houses of Convocation and ratified by the King's letters patent under his great seal in 1603 (1 James I.), which every one had to subscribe, before he could receive office by authority of the Bishops or Archbishops of the Church of England—*i.e.*, before any clergyman could be ordained to the ministry, any person could be licensed to teach school or to practise 'physick.' But the second 'member' of the second article, by its nature can apply only to clergy in their public ministry as teachers and preachers.

'The three articles' are as follows (Neal's 'History of the Puritans,' Vol. I., p. 414):

'(1) That the King's majesty is the supreme head and governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical, as temporal causes; (2) that the Book of Common Prayer &c. contains nothing contrary to the word of God, and that he will use it and no other; (3) that he alloweth the thirty-nine articles of 1562, to be all and everyone of them agreeable to the word of God.'

The thing to note specially in connection with this licence to practise physick is that by applying for it and accepting it from the Archbishop, and by signing those three articles, Nicholas Butler declared himself a faithful and conformable member of the Church of England, as by law established; and negatively it is proved incontestably that he was not, at this time at any rate, a Nonconformist, whether Protestant (as a Puritan) or Papist (as a Roman Catholic Recusant).

What we do not (as yet) know, is how and where he 'qualified' so as to become a 'professor in medicine.'

On May 4, 1665, we find that Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Butler, was buried in St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Margaret was the Christian name of the second wife of Nicholas Butler sen^{r}. So that this Margaret was probably a sister of our Nicholas Butler.

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[*] Richard Chaworth of Richmond, Surrey, was knighted at Whitehall, Dec. 18, 1663.

[†] The Latin text is as follows: 'Octavo die mensis Octobris Anno Dni 1664 per eundem venerabilem virum concessa fuit Licentia Nicholao Butler in medicinis professori ad practicand̄ artem medicinæ subscriptis prius per eum tribus articulis in Canone menc̃onatis et in hunc modum viz^{t} primo et tertio articulis integris et secundi articuli duobus prioribus membris prœstitoque per eum juramento supremitatis Regiæ Majestatis et ad beneplacitum duratur.' (The 'venerabilis vir' is 'dominus Richardus Chaworth miles legum Doctor, Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis.')

This is the year, of course, in which London was visited by the Great Plague. Margaret Butler may have been one of its earliest victims; though its presence in the city was not positively recognized till the end of June or the beginning of July. When its presence was recognized, however, Nicholas Butler behaved with signal courage and benevolence. He was one of the few qualified doctors who stayed in the plague-stricken city all through this awful visitation, risking his own life to save that of his panic-stricken fellow-citizens. What Dr. Chippendale says in his booklet, entitled 'A Medical Roll of Honour: Physicians and Surgeons who 'remained in London during the Great Plague,' is worth quotation:

'When the Great Plague of 1665 occurred in London there was a general stampede of all who could leave the City. The exodus included those to whom the distressed inhabitants naturally turned for help, namely, the clergy and the doctors; and the panic-stricken inhabitants were left largely in the hands of irregular practitioners in both professions.' [A curious description, by the way, of Nonconformist ministers!] 'The medical refugees included men of high reputation and great wealth, among them one at least whose name is a household word in the annals of medicine. All the officers of the College of Physicians, led by their President, fled; to find, on their return, that their college had been broken into and the college coffers emptied. How many medical men remained at their posts is not accurately known. There were not many. Apparently not more than twenty-five. Not a large number to minister to the medical needs of a population estimated at 240,000 and in a time of pestilence. No list has been preserved of this small band of heroes. A study of contemporary literature, however, and an examination of valuable MSS. in the Guildhall Library, most kindly transcribed by Mr Edward M. Borrajo, the City Librarian, has enabled the compilation of the following list, which, however, cannot pretend to be more than an approach to completeness:

'I. *Physicians.*—(1) Allen Thomas, M.D.; (2) Dr Thomas Wharton; (3) Sir Thomas Witherley; (4) Dr Nicholas Davy; (5) Dr Edward Deantry.

'II. *Surgeons.*—(1) John Fife; (2) Thomas Gray; (3) Edward Hannam; (4) Edward Higgs.'

Nicholas Butler is one whose name should appear upon this honourable roll, for he not only remained throughout the Plague to give his medical help to those who so sorely needed it, on the ordinary terms of remuneration then current for those who were licensed (as properly qualified) to practise the art of medicine; but he gave his services gratis, and not only prescribed, but dispensed and distributed medicines, to many hundreds daily of those too poor to pay him any fee whatever. This we know on the testimony of many citizens, who were qualified by personal knowledge of him and his work to certify the facts, as well as on the personal certificate of the Mayor of the City of London in that year. These citizens were all parishioners of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where we know Nicholas Butler himself was residing some four or five years later, and where he was probably residing in this fateful year, 1665.

The part the Mayor himself played, too, was so simply heroic that it deserves special record, and is of peculiar interest to us, as qualifying him to give first-hand testimony to Nicholas Butler's work at this time. Cox (‘Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate,’ p. 324), says of him: ‘Sir John Lawrence kept his Mayoralty at his house in Great St. Helen's, and continued in the Metropolis during the whole of the time of the Great Plague. He sat constantly as a magistrate, heard complaints and redressed them, enforced the wisest regulations then known respecting the prevention of the pestilent contagion, and saw them executed himself; appointed physicians and surgeons for the relief of the diseased poor; and particularly requested the College of Physicians to publish directions for chief remedies for the poor in all circumstances of the distemper. This was done by a consultation of the whole College, and copies given gratis to all who desired it. The day after the disease was known with certainty to be the plague, above 40,000 servants were dismissed and turned into the streets to perish; for no one would receive them into their houses, and the villages near London drove them away with pitchforks and firearms. Sir John Lawrence supported them all, as well as the needy who were sick, at first by expending his own fortune till subscriptions could be solicited and received from all parts of the nation.’

It is he (Sir John Lawrence), who gives the weight of his high authority to the testimony of seven citizens of London (three of whom lived in St. Helen's parish), concerning the skilled and gratuitous services of Nicholas Butler.

That testimony is preserved in the Public Record Office as S. P. Dom. Car. II. 273, 66 I., and reads as follows:

‘Wee whose names are subscribed Inhabitants of the Citty of London, doe hereby Certifie, That Nicholas Butler, gentleman, practic̃oner in physick, did reside in the parish of St. Helen's London in the year 1665 all the tyme of the visitation; when almost all other Physicians retired into the Countrey: And, during that great mortality, did admit a free access of all sorts of persons to him, both for themselves and others sick of the plague; to whom he did freely administer physick & medicines without receiving any reward or compensation for the same. By which meanes, we doe upon credible grounds believe that great numbers of people were restored & recovered from that dangerous contagion.

‘*Dated* 18th *February*, 1669.

[Autograph signatures]:

‘HEN. WHITTINGH^{M}. JOHN JOLLIFFE. W^{M} CARBONNEL.
‘JAMES ALLEN. BENIAMIN ALBYN. JACOB GOSSELIN.
‘THOMAS ALDWORTH.’

And immediately following is the certificate of the Lord Mayor:

‘I doe Certifie that in the year 1665 being the tyme of my Mayoralty, the matters above certified were then reported and affirmed to me for truth by some of the persons above named; to whom I then did, and still doe give full credit.

'*Feb. the* 21st, 1669.
'JNO LAWRENCE.'*

The first three and the fifth of the signatories, we know, were resident in the parish of St. Helen's as well as Sir John Lawrence himself. As above hinted (by Cox), the last resided in a mansion within Great St. Helen's, which was built under the supervision of Inigo Jones, the front of which remains to the present day much the same as during his Mayoralty.

Henry Whittingham, who died 1673, remembered his poorer fellow-parishioners in his will in these terms: 'I give and bequeathe unto the 'poor of the parish of St. Helen's where I do dwell & have long lived 'the sum of £25 &c.'

James Allen was a native of the parish, who (as the Parish Register testifies) was baptized in St. Helen's Church in 1689, as 'son of Richard 'Allen, Merchant Taylor, and Jane his wife.' His first marriage (to Mary) must have been celebrated elsewhere, but the baptism of his eldest son is recorded in the Parish Register in 1644, as 'James Allen, 'son of James Allen (haberdasher) & Mary his wife.' His marriage to his second wife was celebrated in St. Helen's in 1657, and is recorded in this unusual form:

'James Allen of St. Helen's widower and Joan Barker widow, pub-'lished in the Leadenhall Market 11, 14, and 16 . . . married by 'Mr Barham our minister.'

He continued to live in the parish till his death, which took place December, 1682, and he was buried in the churchyard. The burial is entered in the Parish Register, 1682, December 4: 'James Allen in the 'Churchyard on the North side of Mr Pember's tomb.'

Thomas Aldworth is referred to in the Parish Records as Deputy Thomas Aldworth, inhabited a leasehold house in St. Helen's parish, and died in 1670 or 1671; as we find 'Mrs Aldworth, widow of Deputy 'Aldworth, asking a renewal of her husband's lease for life' in 1671. In the Parish Register he is described as 'Thomas Aldworth plumber,' one son being buried in 1656, and another—who survived him—being buried in 1681 'by his father.'

Of Benjamin Albyn there are two mentions in the Parish Register: one of the burial in 1661 of 'Mr Albyn's child,' 'by the pew doore';

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* We have collateral information, showing the respectability of three of the above-named in a Hearth Roll for London for 1663 ($\frac{147}{617}$). In Bishopsgate Ward:

'ST. HELLEN'S PARISH.

					£	s.	d.
'Sr John Lawrence	...	...	...	26 ...	3	18	0
'Henry Whittingham	...	...	...	14 ...	2	2	0
'Thomas Aldworth	...	...	...	8 ...	1	4	0'

A house rated on 26 Hearths must have been 'a noble mansion'; one like Henry Whittingham's, rated on 14, was a 'mansion-house'; and one like Thomas Aldworth's, with 8, was a 'goodly dwelling-house.'

and the other of the burial of Mr. Albyn himself, on May 27, 1676, 'Beniamin Albin in Mr Kerwin's Vault.'

Jacob Gosselin, I learn from Rev. A. Gordon, was a clergyman who distinguished himself as one of the prosecutors of Reeve and Muggleton for blasphemy.

Supported by the testimony of such respectable and responsible citizens, we may then accept as true his own account, contained in the preamble of a Petition he presented to the King in this same year, 1669 (towards its close*), which reads as follows:

To the King's most Excellt Matie.
'The humble Peticon of Nicholas Butler Gent
'Sheweth

'That your Petr hath been for divers yeares a practitioner of Physick licenced thereunto by ye Lord Arch-Bpp of Canterbury. That all along ye time of ye late dreadfull Pestilence he constantly kept his abode in ye Citty of London, and (beside other patients of better quality) for some Months together gave Physick gratis, to betwixt two and three hundred of ye meaner sort in a day, very few (God so blessed his Endeavours) Miscarrying under his hands—as by the annexed Certificate may more fully appeare.'

It is natural to suppose that at this time he would form the acquaintance and even the friendship of several of the Nonconformist ministers resident in London. For the regular clergy acted as did the qualified physicians and surgeons, and the 'irregular practitioners' heroically stepped in to take their place and supply their lack of spiritual service. In the striking words of Cox ('Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate'):

'Under these dreadful circumstances the citizens were deserted by their parochial ministers: but the Nonconformist ministers, considering it their indispensable duty, though contrary to law, repaired to the deserted pulpits, where the ministers were often compelled to clamber over the pews to get at the pulpits.'

The following were notable among this noble band—Mr. Thomas Vincent (ejected from Milk Street); John Jackson (of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf); Mr. John Chester, who had been driven from Witherley, in Leicestershire, and was living in Southwark; young James Janeway, of Rotherhithe; Robert Franklyn (from Westhall, Suffolk); John Turner (now living in Fetter Lane, who had come into the City from Sunbury, in Middlesex); and Mr. Grimes, whose true name was Robert Chambers, who had been associated with Blood in his attempt upon the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Dublin Castle, and had adopted the *alias* of Grimes to shelter him in his retreat to the City of London.

Of the four years following this spell of special and self-denying work amongst the plague-stricken, we have no special information. He was residing in Little St. Helen's and pursuing his profession as a 'practitioner in physick.' But he is not satisfied with the emoluments of an ordinary 'practitioner,' and towards the close of 1669 or the beginning of 1670 (N. S.), he petitions the King for the Degree of M.D. by Royal Letters, in recognition of his special services at the time of the plague. The preamble of that petition and the certificates which accompanied I have already cited verbatim. The petition proper reads as follows:

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* Preserved in the Record Office as S.P. Dom. Car. II. 273, 66, and described in the side-fold as 'The Peticon of Nicholas Butler, Gent.'

'The premisses consider'd the Pet^{r} humbly prayes your Ma^{tie} will be pleas'd in token of your Ma^{ties} gracious acceptance of that his Service, and as a marke of yo^{r} princely favour to Hono^{r} him with your Mandamus to y^{e} Universitie of Cambridge for y^{e} Degree of Doctor in Physick. And your Pet^{r} (as in Duty bound) shall ever pray &c.'

Nicholas Butler must have had some 'friend' at Court, and, judging by subsequent events, we should imagine that it must have been Joseph Williamson, right-hand man of Sir Harry Bennett, who had just been made Lord Arlington, and member of the inner Ministry or Cabal. The strings are pulled successfully by his friends, and on March 15, 1669-70, a Royal Letter is sent by Arlington to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. It is preserved in S. P. Dom. E. B. 35B, 2, and reads:

'C R

'M^{R} BUTLER

'Trusty &c. Being well informed that our Trusty &c Nicholas Butler Gent. hath for diverse yeares practised Physick in this Our City of London wth great credit & success; & legally Licensed thereunto; & ꝑticularly in y^{e} time of y^{e} late dreadfull pestilence wth great freedome giving access to all & ꝑticularly to many hundreds of y^{e} meaner sorte in a day gained reall esteeme & gave many Singular proofs of his knowledge & abilities that way. Wee have thought good in token of Our Gracious acceptance of that his service, & as a marke of Our Royall favour, hereby to Recom̃end him to you for y^{e} degree of a Doctor in Physick; Willing & requiring you upon receipt of these Our Lres, all dispensac̃ons necessary being first granted, to conferre on him the said Nicholas Butler, the sd̄ degree of D^{r} of Physick, wthout obliging him to y^{e} performance of any previous or subsequent exercises for y^{e} same, & wth exemption from all fees & paym^{ts} for or in consideration of y^{e} sd̄ degree; Any law, Canon, Statute or Custome of that Our University, or anything else to y^{e} contrary notwthstanding And soe &c

'Given &c *Mar* 15, 1669.

'By &c ARLINGTON

'To y^{e} Vice Chancell^{r} of Camb:
'to bee com̃unicated to y^{e} Convocation.'

The degree was granted as required 'per literas regias,' June 17, 1670.

But the degree of M.D. does not satisfy him. He follows up the petition which had been so successful by another, asking 'Royall Letters' to practise physic throughout England. It is preserved in S. P. Dom. Car. II. 276, 241.

It is endorsed on the side-fold: 'The Petic̃on of Nicholas Butler.'

'To the King's most Excell^{t} Ma^{tie}

'The humble Petic̃on of Nicholas Butler Docto^{r} in Physick

'Sheweth

'That whereas your Ma^{tie} was graciously pleased in Considerac̃on of his abode in London during the late dreadfull Pestilence and his constant administering of Physicke to all sorts of People who applied to him in great numbers for it to give yo^{r} Royall Letters bearing date the fifteenth of March 1669-70 to the University of Cambridge for the Degree of Docto^{r} of Physicke

'Your Pet^{r} most humbly prayes that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will be pleased to give him yo^{r} License under your Signe Manuall for practiseing Physicke throughout England

'And yo^{r} Pet^{r} shall ever pray &c.'

Whether the Royal Licence was given or not, does not appear by any documents preserved in the Record Office. Why he needed it when he had the Archiepiscopal licence to practise the art of medicine, which would apply to the whole Province of Canterbury (if not to the whole of England), I do not understand. Save that the publication of such a licence in the *Gazette* might bring him more into public notice.

It is clear that he was of a restless and ambitious spirit, and it was too evidently 'restless ambition,' as much as any sincere desire to further the cause of the King, which led him into the important work we find him doing later—in the years 1671 and 1672—in connection with the King's Indulgence to Nonconformists, and its actual working.

It may enable us to estimate his conduct more justly, perhaps, if we first follow his career subsequent to this episode, which to us, of course, is of central and vital interest.

One incident which belongs to the period of his active connection with the working of the Indulgence, but which had no relation with it, has yet a vital bearing on his personal career and domestic life.

I refer to a Petition he addressed to the King for pardon for marrying a second wife during the life of his first. He had married again, as we have seen already, because his first wife was divorced from him for infidelity.

We learn from it that his first wife's name was 'Dorothy' and that his second wife was a widow, by name Mistress Jane Stephens.

The Petition is drawn up in the handwriting of Francis Benson, Sir Joseph Williamson's chief clerk. It is calendared S. P. Dom. Car. II. 317, 117; and is endorsed on the side-fold by Sir Joseph himself, 'Dr. 'Butler.' It reads:

'To the King's most Excellent Ma^{tie},

'The humble Petition of Nicholas Butler Doctor in Physick

Humbly Sheweth

'That your Petitioner having immediately after Your Ma^{ties} happy Restauration sued out a Divorce causâ adulterii against Dorothy Butler his then wife and having till this present time remained in that Condition (he being satisfied in Conscience that by the Word of God it was lawful for him to marry againe during the life of his former wife, and also finding several examples formerly, as well as in the case of the Lord Ross) hath upon sober deliberation consummated a marriage with

Jane Stephens Widdow, but finding that by the defect of the Laws that he may meet with some disturbance as well as from Courts Spirituall as Temporall

'Your Petitioner therefore most humbly beggs that your Ma^{ty} would be pleased to grant him your Pardon for his soe doing under your Greate Seale of England

'And your Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray,' etc.

This Petition was apparently accompanied by, or enclosed in, a letter addressed direct to the 'Earle of Arlington.'

The terms of the letter suggest that this step had been suggested to him—either by the Earl of Arlington, or (more probably) by Sir Joseph Williamson.

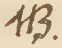
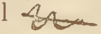
It seems that in the course of the transactions connected with the Royal Indulgence—which were rapidly raising him in the confidence of the Whitehall authorities and making him a 'persona grata' to the King himself, some one had set rumours in circulation that he was not legally married to his present wife, because a former wife (though divorced from him) was still living. And these whispered slanders were threatening his social status and that of his wife.

Brought to the ears of Arlington and mentioned by him to the King, it would not be difficult to persuade the Merry Monarch (who was lax himself as regards the amenities and moralities of married life) to promise his pardon if the matter were brought before him in a judiciously worded Petition duly introduced by his favourite Arlington.

So Dr. Nicholas Butler takes this course, forwarding his Petition to the King in a covering letter to the Earl.

This letter is preserved as S. P. Dom. Car. II. 318 (207); endorsed 'Dec. 1672 R.,' and addressed: 'For y^{e} right Hon^{ble} the Earle 'of Arlington.'

One very remarkable circumstance is that this is the only letter preserved, either in the Record Office or in the MS. Department of the British Museum Library, which bears his signature in full—'Nicholas Butler.'

All others, which are signed at all, are signed only with the initial of his Christian name 'N,' but in such a curious form that it looks more like 'J Butler' (and so was taken by me to be the initial of the Christian name 'John'). The form of the Letter is more like a very magnified edition of the small letter 'n'—but with its second stroke not curved but straight —and the second stroke of the 'N' utilized as the first stroke of the 'B'—thus  In nearly all the letters connected with Charles's Indulgence, however, he signs in cypher: the cypher being a crossed scrawl  which bears only the remotest resemblance to the initial of his Christian name.

This letter of appeal to the Earl reads as follows:—

'Decemb. y^{e} 11th 72

'Right Hon^{ble}

'I most humbly beg your pardon for this trouble as I must his Majesties for what I have done; & had I not received your honors promise y^t my pardon should bee had I should not (have) adventured—I hope tis but veniall sin & soe ought not to meet with much difficulty. I never promised anything to my selfe beyond this, though beefore I had y^e great happiness to know your honor I made it busines as I had opportunity to serve my King.

'I leave my case with your honor & goodnes and rest as abundantly obliged

'My lord, your honors for ever to pray for you,
'NICHOLAS BUTLER.'

The plan pursued is eminently successful. The Petition which had been drawn up in Arlington's office—probably at Sir Joseph Williamson's dictation, and certainly in the handwriting of his chief clerk (Francis Benson)—was no sooner presented to the King than it was granted, and the Pardon was ordered or warranted by a formal instruction, sent the same day (Dec. 11, 1672) to the Attorney-General.

It is entered in S. P. Dom. E. B. 34, 211, in the following form:

'C. R.

DR. BUTLER. Our Will & Pleasure is &c to pass our Great Seale of England containing Our gratious Pardon unto Nicholas Butler Doctor in Physick for & concerning the marrying of Jane Stephens during the life of Dorothy Butler his former wife heretofore causâ adulterii divorced by him, & of all Paines & Penalties, Convičons & Forfeitures whatsoever by reason thereof. With the restitution of Goods & Chattells & all other Forfeitures. And also that you insert in the same, a Special 'non Obstante' to the Statute of 1° Jas. in that case provided or to any other Statute to the Contrary & w^{ch} shall be requisite in this behalf with such other beneficiall Words & Clauses as may render Our said Pardon most avayleable & effectuall unto him for his soe doing & continuing soe

'For w^{ch} &c.
'Given &c 11 day of December '72.
'TO OUR ATTURNEY
'GENERAL.'

Without doubt the actual Pardon would be forwarded to him without delay; and he would be able to mix with the fashionable society to which his connections with Whitehall would naturally introduce himself and his wife—free from any anxiety from ill-natured and jealous rivals.

How long he had been married to Jane Stephens does not appear distinctly from any of these documents—though it was twelve years since he had been divorced from his first wife. His letter to Lord Arlington certainly suggests that it could not have been long before. There is one clause of his will which, read superficially, seems rather inconsistent with what is implied in these documents. A second clause in it seems to imply that his first wife was living at the time he made his will—and probably survived him. There is also an allusion in one of his letters to Sir Joseph Williamson which gives us a 'limit' as to the date of the second marriage.

The first clause in his will which at first blush is confusing as to dates reads as follows: 'And whereas at my marryage with my now 'wife Dame Jane Butler I did enter into one recognizance or statute in 'nature of a Statute Staple taken and acknowledged before S^{r} Francis 'North Kn^{t} then Lord Cheife Justice of the Court of Com̃on Pleas bearing date the 12 day of June 1676 by the name of Nicholas Butler then 'Doctor of Phisick to Christopher Plucknell of Fulham gent Thomas 'Hassall and Tho. Lamb Citizens of London in the full sum̃e of £2400 'of good English money payable as therein is mencõned which was soe 'done by me for securing the performance of certaine articles made and 'entered into by me with my said now wife or with some of her Relations 'and Friends before our intermarriage.' The mention of the date 1676 as the date of the 'recognizance' or 'Statute Staple' entered into 'at' his marriage with his now wife Dame Jane Butler, seems to fix this his second marriage as having taken place in 1676—four years after his Petition for the King's forgiveness—and the issue of the King's Pardon for his having 'consummated' it.

Yet surely the word 'at' must be interpreted very laxly as meaning simply 'in connection with'—the 'Recognizance' having really been entered into at the very least seven or eight years after it—as he puts it 'for the securing the performance of certain articles made and entered 'into by me with my said now wife, &c., before our intermarriage'—which must mean the Marriage Settlement which was made by him—as is usual—just before the actual wedding. Though the 'recognizance' therefore was dated June 12, 1676; the 'intermarryage' with Jane Stephens was long antecedent to this: and might have taken place at any time between 1660 (the probable date of the divorce) and 1672 the date of the issue of the King's Pardon.

The second clause in the will I referred to above is the very brief one: 'I give and devise unto Valentine Morley and Dorothy his wife 'each of them 5s.'—as supplemented by the first clause of the Codicil—'Item. My further will and mind is that if Dorothy Morley wife of 'Valentine Morley doe not accept of the yearly sum̃e of £3. 6. 8. in full 'from my son and daughter Chauncey by vertue of their marryage 'Settlement,' &c.

The suggestion I make is that Valentine Morley is the man who had seduced his wife Dorothy from her conjugal fidelity, and who (after Nicholas Butler's divorce of her) had married her; and that under threat of making trouble over Nicholas Butler's second marriage while she was still living, Nicholas Butler had made her an allowance—to keep her quiet—that allowance being continued to her for life by arrangement with his son-in-law, Mr. Chauncey.

The allusion in a letter of his to Sir Joseph Williamson, occurs in the letter calendared as **320 (5)**. He is soliciting 'liberty' (I suppose release from imprisonment) for 'one Thomas King'—and explains that 'hee is a house carpenter married our chambormaid '3 years agoe,' etc. The phrase 'our chambormaid' certainly implies that his present *ménage* with his second wife at its head has lasted for more than 3 years at the time of his writing. The letter is dated March 27,'72; '3 years' would take us back to March, 1669. So that at the very latest we may infer he had married the second time in 1668 —and probably earlier. From the 'testamentary' allusions, moreover, it is a fairly sure inference that when he married a second time he married 'money'; and that Mrs. Jane Stephens had a fair competence of her own. This is borne out by the terms of her own will made seven years after her husband's death.

However long or short a time they had been married, the first sure trace of any children as the fruit of this second marriage is given from two to three years after the 'Indulgence' had been withdrawn, and any active work in connection with it had ceased. We know that Nicholas Butler was living in St. Helen's in 1665. He had evidently been living there ever since. There is documentary proof that he was living in Little St. Helen's in 1672. And in 1675-76 the St. Helen's Parish Register records: '1675. Jan. 16. a female Child of 'Dr. Butler bap.' By the way, it is a singular circumstance that the child's 'Christian' name is not given, the only name specially connected with a 'baptism' or 'christening.' We can, however, with some confidence, supply this lack of information. She must have been 'Jane,' who at the age of 18 was married to Henry Chauncy, barrister. Foster gives us this record. '1692 Dec. 16. Henry Chauncy of Middle 'Temple, Bachelor, 26 & Madam Jane Butler of Edmonton Middlesex, 'Spinster 18 consent of father Sir Nicholas Butler Kt at St. Andrew 'Undershaft.'

If her baptism had been deferred three weeks or a month she would have been born in December, 1674: and so in December, 1692, might fairly be described as '18.'

His friends at Court had evidently not dropped him: nor had he failed to remind them of his continued existence and expectation of help from the King, through them. I imagine that the King had refused to give him Royal Letters for a roving licence 'to practise physicke throughout the Kingdome': and in his disappointment he had asked Sir Joseph Williamson to help him. Sir Joseph moves for him—and this time by writing in his behalf to the President of the Royal College of Physicians.

The letter is preserved as S. P. Dom. E. B. 43, 102. It is copied under the heading 'Sr George Ent,' and reads:

'Whitehall 4 July 1676.

'Sr,—Will you please to remember a suite I made to you, and through your hands to ye College in favour of my friend Mr Butler for a Lycence to practice Physicke within the Libertyes of yr Charter.

'This is the way I choose my friends should take in all occasions rather then by any superior Interposition which in the little station I am in I shall ever discountenance. I beg leave to renew my suite and that I may have the assistance of yr authority in favour of my friend who will attend you with this

'I am &c.

'J. W.'

Sir William had evidently either written Dr. Ent* or had called at the Royal College of Physicians, sometime before: and thinks that by personally presenting Sir Joseph's letter Dr. Nicholas Butler will be more likely to gain his point.

We have no proof that the licence was granted. Probably they were slow to issue 'licences,' except along the regular lines of 'exercises' presented or examinations held of the candidate for the privilege. And the King had been unwilling to intervene—by the 'Superior Inter'position' of 'Royall Letters' containing a 'Mandamus' to the 'Royal 'College of Physicians'—as he had already done in 1670 to the University of Cambridge.

For the next four years I have come upon no notice of Dr. Butler. But in 1680 we have record of the baptism of another daughter in St. Helen's Parish Church. The entry in the Parish Register is:

'1680. Sep. 28 Elizabeth da: of D^{r}. Nicholas Butler & Jane his 'wife.'

Only two days later, we find the College of Physicians doing him honour. We should like to know to what the move was due—the continual 'dunning' of the President and Fellows by his friend Sir Joseph Williamson—or a message at length secured from the King.

However it was brought about, the fact is thus recorded in Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians Vol. I., 409, under date 1680. '*Nicholas Butler M.D.* A doctor of medicine of Cambridge (per Literas 'Regias) of 17th June 1670: was admitted an Honorary Fellow of the 'College of Physicians 30 Sept^{r}. 1680.'

One would have supposed that now that Dr. Butler had secured all the prestige accruing to a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, he would have largely increased his practice, and would be making a fortune by the successful practice of his profession. It may, of course, have been with this practical end in view that he sought and secured the further honour of Knighthood. To many a successful physician a 'Knighthood' has proved a 'crowning mercy'—in the direction of securing him a more remunerative 'clientèle' among the nobility and aristocracy.

Subsequent events, however, and the curious description of his status under which the honour of Knighthood is conferred upon him, rather show that it was because he was contemplating the abandonment of the 'healing art' and entrance on the more remunerative rôle of a civil servant of the Crown.

The honour is registered in Shaw's 'Knights Bachelors,' Vol. II., 257. '1681-2 Mar. 2. Nicholas Butler of London merchant at 'Whitehall.'

His designation as 'merchant,' for a long time made me doubt the identity of this Nicholas Butler with ours who, when licensed 'to 'practise the art of medicine,' was described as 'gent.'; and when admitted to an Honorary Fellowship of the Royal College of Physicians was described as 'a doctor of medicine of Cambridge (per Literas 'Regias).' But the discovery of two autograph letters written by Sir Nicholas Butler—in the MS. collections of the British Museum—with his 'unmistakeable' signature proved that what seemed so improbable was the fact. It showed unmistakably that with the prospect opening of a lucrative office under the government of Charles, Dr. Nicholas Butler was ready at one stroke to 'shed' all the glories and honours of his medical profession—and pose as a London 'merchant.'

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* There is an interesting reference to Sir George Ent in Pepys' Diary. Under date Jan. 22, 1665-66, he writes: 'The first meeting of Gresham College, since 'the plague. Dr. Goddard did fill us with talk, in defence of his and his fellow 'physicians going out of town, in plague-time the . . . But what, among other fine 'discourse pleased me most, was Sir G. Ent (F.R.S. and President of the College 'of Physicians) about Respiration &c.'

Possibly—while carrying on the healing art—he had carried on a business as a 'chymist' or as a wholesale and retail dealer in drugs, so that this new description of 'merchant' would not be wholly untrue to the facts. Still it does not raise him in our estimation to find that considerations of pecuniary and social gain should so easily lead him to abandon the profession of a lifetime.

So it evidently was. He is still residing in Little St. Helen's when he goes up to Whitehall, and is presented by his friend Arlington to receive the honour of Knighthood from the King.

For on the birth of his last child and youngest daughter 'Angell,' we find she is baptized in St. Helen's Parish Church.

'1682. Ap. 11. Angell da: of Sir Nicholas Butler Knt. & Jane 'his wife,' is the entry in the Parish Register which proudly records the honour conferred on the father only five weeks before, as well as the last addition to his family.

This same year, 1682, and in this same month of April, we find that he is appointed to the lucrative post of a Commissioner of Customs. At this time the Customs were 'farmed' as were the 'Taxes': and there is little doubt that at this period there was a great deal of practical peculation in both, nay in all, departments of Government.

As early as April 14 (three days after the 'christening' of 'Angell') we have documentary evidence of his being already installed in the active duties of his new office.

In the *Kenyon MSS.* under this date '1682. April 14,' we find Sir Nicholas Butler as one of the Commissioners of Customs, on the nomination of the Commissioners of the Treasury, appointing a 'waiter and 'searcher for the Isle of Wight.'

Nor does Sir Nicholas fail to improve his opportunities of securing the personal favour of, and even intimacy with, the King and his brother the Duke of York. We have proof, indeed, that by the next year, 1683, he is in a position of confidence and influence with them, and of consideration with all the members of the Court. In a letter written by Sir Christopher Musgrave and Richard Traherne to Lord Dartmouth (preserved in the Dartmouth MSS. Vol. III., p. 121), under date August 27, 1683, the writers refer to Sir Nicholas in terms implying all this. Lord Dartmouth's financial affairs had become very involved, and in his absence from home on public naval service he had committed them to the care of these two friends to do what they could to reduce them to order and to solvency.

Lord Dartmouth is Admiral aboard the *Grafton*, and his friends are writing to him to report progress. And they write thus: 'Sir Nicholas 'Butler told us that he had spoken with the King and the Duke in 'your favour, who have promised to make you easy in your fortune; 'upon which we asked him if that would be done before your return, he 'believed not. So that your Lordship hath no greater assurance (as 'we conceive) than you had at parting.'

On October 11, this same year, 1683, we find (Patents): 'The 'King Giveth unto S^{r} John Worden & *S^{r} Nicholas Butler Knight* 'all sum̃es of mony rec̃ed from his Majesty or by his direction by Roger 'Whitley Esq. for Postage of Letters which ought to have gone free of 'Postage—to have and Receive without account.'

And the following year we find a Patent appointing him (re-appointing him, with four others) a Customs Commissioner, with a salary of £1,200 a year:

'36. Car. II.
'Dudley North,
'Andrew Newport,
'S^{R} Richard Temple,
'S^{R} George Downing,
'& Nicholas Butler,
to be commissioners for the manageing and causeing to be levyed and collected the Customes, Subsidies, and other dutyes during pleasure. Sallary £1,200 by the yeare to every Commissioner.'

Ten months later, too, we find him giving counsel to Sir Richard Temple, as a brother-Commissioner. The letter is preserved among the Stowe MSS., in the MS. Department of the British Museum Library (Vol. 554, f. 53). The body of the letter is apparently written by his clerk, but it is signed with Sir Nicholas's unmistakable signature.

It is written from London (LN^{o}), dated May 30, 1684, and addressed: 'To S^{r} Richard Temple, Baronett, Kn^{t} of the Bath, and 'one of the hono^{ble} Com^{rs} of his Ma^{ties} Customes—In Exon.'

It reads:

'1684.

'I have yo^{rs} of the thirtieth of the last month from Exon. As for sending yo^{r} Reporte of Southampton and Cows, if you bee not like to return speedily you will doe well to send itt. But certainly it is for the King and your owne Advantage to have it read and determined when you are heere. As for your returne by Weymouth if you will take a ffriends Advice I would Advise you to the Contrary for M^{r}. Miller has obtained his Habeas Corpus to be removed up hither to London, you will be able to doe him more service (if there bee roome for it) by your not goeing thither than if you did. You cannot now expect anything from the Boord relating to Sanford, and I think you much derogate from yo^{r}selfe, when you seeme to think you ought to Act nothing but as you receive direction from the Boord. The Kings Com̃ission is your only direction unlesse you receive any further from the Lords of the Treasury. There is noething appeares to me as yet relating to the state of Penhalurick* but as you have in yo^r letter sett forth to mee, therefore in relation both to him and Mr. Miller it would doe well that you were heere as soon as you could. There will bee a Peace abroade. But Edinburgh must fall into the ffrench hands whether Peace or Warr.

'I am S^r
'Your Loving friend & humble Serv^t,

'LN^o 30 *May* 1684.' N Butler

Only a month later he is actively pressing the claims of a 'M^r. 'Bankes' who, according to Sir Nicholas's putting of the case, has suffered violence and injustice at the hands of the French.

Three letters of Lord Preston's give ample proof of the importance attached by him to the position and influence of Sir Nicholas Butler. [Lord Preston was at this time British Ambassador in Paris.]

They are all preserved in the House of Lords MSS.

1. The first is dated July 12, 1684. It is sent from Paris to his cousin Jn^o Galme of Clifford's Inn. He writes:

'I pray you be pleased to present my most humble service to Sir Nicholas Butler & to let him know that I received his letter of the 26th June last yesterday. . . . Therefore Sir N. B. and Mr. Banks would do well to take care that his Majesty may be thoroughly informed of the violence & injustice of the proceedings, & be pleased to assure them that if any further orders come to me I shall take care to execute them vigorously here.'

2. The second is addressed by Lord Preston direct to Sir N. Butler. It is dated from Paris June 17, 1684, and he says:

'I did yesterday receive yours of the 2nd Inst. s.v. in which you are pleased to recommend to me the affairs of Mr. Bankes. I had before received his Majestys commands in it from my Lord of Sunderland, & I have already prepared a memorial (a copy of which I have sent to my Lord by this post) to be presented to his most Christian Majesty upon that subject. You may be assured sir, that I shall not fail to endeavour to obtain speedy satisfaction for Mr. Banks.'

3. The third was written nearly five months later. It is also addressed to 'Sir N. Butler,' written from Paris. Nov. 4, 1684. He says:

'I shall not fail to do all that lieth in my power in the affairs of M^r. Bankes, for besides the commands of the King, & the justice of the cause, your recommendation of it must work much with me. I intend to go the next week to Fontainebleau where I shall press the ministers upon it; & I shall endeavour to obtain as speedy an answer as I can.'

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* *Penhallurick* is north of Stithyans and west of Gwennap, in the Falmouth district of Cornwall, in Kirrier Hundred.

Was this Mr. Banks (Bankes) the son of Sir John Bankes (an opulent merchant, with puritan sympathies)? In August, 1676, some eight years before this trouble, Evelyn tells us in his Diary under date August 25 (1676), that he 'Din'd with Sir John Banks at his house in 'Lincoln's Inn Fields, on recommending Mr. Upman to be tutor to 'his sonn going into France,' (adding 'This Sir John Banks was a 'merchant of small beginning, but had amass'd 100,000*l*.'). This allusion may point to the commencement by the son of trade connections with France; and the troubles so indefinitely alluded to in these letters may have concerned some high-handed interference of French custom-house officers with merchandise of Sir John Banks's son.

These letters bring us near the close of this section of Sir Nicholas Butler's career, in which by his Knighthood and appointment to a Commissioner of Customs, he was lifted into all the importance, influence and perils of official life. Charles II. himself seems to have received him well; but the Duke of York had evidently taken even greater notice of him. Indeed he seems to have seen in Sir Nicholas traits of character which inclined him to judge he could take him into more intimate confidence and use him in his service.

Indeed, I can scarcely resist the inference that he must have given the Duke of York to understand that his Anglicanism was not 'stiff' enough to prevent him working with Papists, or serving the Duke with devotion.

This, at any rate, is what happened when in the following year Charles II. died, and the Duke of York succeeded to the throne as James II.

Sir Nicholas Butler did not lose but gained influence, and seems to have favoured rather than opposed all James's schemes for toleration of non-Anglicans, and the elevation of Roman Catholics to places of honour and trust. In May, 1686, four Roman Catholics were sworn of the Privy Council, and a passage of great heat between himself and the Earl of Rochester may well have arisen out of Sir Nicholas's attitude of sympathy with James's policy. We are not informed of the nature or occasion of the dispute. We only see its close in a very undignified withdrawal from it by an abject apology and submission. We have to bear in mind, of course, that the Earl of Rochester was Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Earl of Clarendon, who inherited and maintained a stout devotion to the Protestantism of the Church of England; had been created Earl of Rochester, December, 1682; had been made President of the Council in 1684; and in 1684-85 was appointed High Treasurer of the Exchequer. In the strong division of opinion created by James II.'s growing bigotry, however, the Earl of Rochester did not waver in his opposition to Roman Catholicism, and in December of this year (1686) had the White Staff taken from him. What then so likely as that in Sir Nicholas Butler's growing compliance with James's policy and devotion to the King he should come to high words with Rochester.

Sir Nicholas evidently could not defend his action, whatever it was, and in fear that he might lose with his colleagues more than he could gain from the King, he wrote the letter which is preserved in the additional MSS., Vol. 15,894, in the British Museum Library MS. Department. It is endorsed 'Petition to your LoPP.

'Sr Nicholas Butler, July 1th, 1686.'

Written by his clerk, it is signed by Sir Nicholas. It must have been composed under great agitation of mind: for while endorsed or addressed 'Petition to your LoPP,' and headed 'The Humble Submission 'of Sr Nicholas Butler Knt,' it is really a letter. It runs:

'To the Rt Honble Laurence Earle of Rochester Lord High 'Treasurer of England.

'The Humble Submission of Sr Nicholas Butler Knt.

'My Lord,

'I am very Sencible that I am Justly fallen under your Lordships displeasure for my Undecent & ill behaviour towards your Lordp when I with the rest of the Com̃issionrs wayted upon you last at the Treasury, for which I am most heartily sorry. And humbly begg your Lordps pardon. And as my crime was publickly com̃itted (if your Lordp think fitt) I will as publickly make my submission And begg your Pardon the first tyme I shall have the happinesse to wayte on your Lordp with the rest of the Com̃issionrs at ye Treasury Chamber. And doe assure your Lordp that for the future you shall have noe reason to complaine of anything in the like nature.

'Yor Lordps Most humble and most obedient Servant,

'July the 1st, 1686.'

As events turned out, Sir Nicholas need not have been in such haste to humiliate himself before the Earl, for the Earl's star was very rapidly declining, and Sir Nicholas's was in the ascendant. Before the year 1686 was out, Rochester was degraded; removed from his high office of 'Lord 'High Treasurer,' and in the course of the year following, Sir Nicholas was admitted to the Privy Council.

Things were moving very swiftly now towards the restoration of Roman Catholicism.

On April 4, James published his 'gracious declaration to all his 'loving subjects for Liberty of consciences,' which was only an excuse for installing Papists in positions of trust and honour. And in October more drastic steps were taken in this retrograde direction.

Preserved amongst the 'Montague House MSS.' is a letter from John Smithsby to Mr. Antonie, dated October 21, 1687, in which he writes:

'His Majesty since his return from his Progress hath removed most 'of the Aldermen of the City of London, and most of the Assis'tants of the several Companies, most of [those] which are brought in 'their places were formerly turned out for Nonconformity. Duke

'Hamilton and Sir Nicholas Butler were sworn t'other day of the Privy 'Council.' The Duke of Hamilton was a pronounced Papist. That Sir Nicholas should have 'gone in' with him is incredible, if he had not been more Papist than anything else.

On November 9, we come upon a rumour, which proved unfounded, that Sir Nicholas was to be made a Peer. It is in a letter, preserved in the House of Lords MSS., written by Dr. W. Denton to Sir R. Verney. Dr. Denton writes: 'I hear that Baron Wem is to be your 'Lord Lieutenant, and that Sir Nicholas Butler shall be Baron 'Edmonton and Viscount Boon.'

Though the rumour proved unfounded, however, it serves to give us a point of light on his domestic history. Up to 1682 we know he continued to live in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. This reference to Edmonton as the place from which he would name his Peerage, if he obtained it, shows that he had probably resided there some time. We know that Edmonton was his home from this time to his death in 1700, and that his widow continued to reside there till her own.

Two days after the date of this letter, Father Edward Petre, the King's private Confessor, was sworn of the Privy Council. So that the year 1687 closes with Sir Nicholas established in the confidence of James II., and working in harmony with the Popish party. A casual reference to him in Bishop Burnet's 'Life and Times' confirms this view of his position. The allusion occurs in a passage,* quoted from 'The Life of King James II.,' in which it is said of the Earl of Sunderland, 'He would often try the ford by his secret agents, as sir 'Nicholas Butler, Mr. Lob, even Father Petre himself, that he might 'seem only not to oppose those dangerous methods which had their true 'origin from him alone.'

In the month of November (1687) 'The Earle of Sunderland pro- 'cures a Pardon & dispensation to Sir Nicholas Butler Knt for acting 'contrary to, or omitting to do what is enjoined by several Statutes'; and in February of the following year 1687-88, 'A Constitution of Sir 'Nicholas Butler Knt' is issued 'to be a Commissioner of Customs with a 'Clause of Dispensation usually inserted in Commissions of the Peace,' while in October of the same year, a special Pardon is granted to Sir Nicholas Butler. [All these are extracted from the 'Lords' 'Journals,' XIV., 394.]

It is a little puzzling to know why the Pardon and dispensation are needed by him, as well as a reappointment to the office of Commissioner of the Customs which he had held so long. Except it be this, that in 1682 he was appointed as an orthodox Anglican, and had subscribed the 'Three Articles' as a conformable member of the Church of England as by law established, but that when sworn 'member' of the Privy Council, he had declared himself willing to receive 'fresh light' on the subject of religion from the Priests of the Roman Catholic Church, and had asked to be reappointed Commissioner of Customs as one who was now loath to subscribe, as required by the Oxford Act, and claimed dispensation under James's Declaration of Indulgence.

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* Vol. III., p. 249, note 1.

If so, it certainly could not have been as a Protestant Nonconformist, but as one who was more than half persuaded to become a Papist. And this, at least, is clear that he was pledging himself more and more deeply to James and his cause, in face of the growing feeling in favour of the Prince of Orange.

When William actually landed, and made such rapid progress, it is clear Sir Nicholas knows scarcely what to do, and when James's cause has become practically hopeless, he seems to have been seized with panic-fear, lest by his reconstituted office he should be treated as an enemy, and at the end of November he throws up all the offices he holds by special favour of James.

For in a news-letter of November 29, 1688, preserved in the Fleming MSS., and repeated in the Kenyon MSS., the facts are laconically announced: 'Prince of Orange at Crewkerne—D^r^. Oates 'dead—Sir Nicholas Butler has laid down his places' (or 'all his 'places').

With the final flight of James II. from Whitehall on December 23, 1688, and the establishment of William and the English Court around him in January, 1689, Sir Nicholas with startling suddenness abandons the cause of James, and tries to begin again. As we learn from a letter in the Leeds MSS., dated January 16, 1689, addressed by Sir Nicholas to the Earl of Danby, he freely and eagerly tends his proffers of service to the Prince.

In accordance with a very natural wish, on the part of William, to detach from James's party all who showed any signs of wavering, and to attach to himself as many influential English subjects as he can, he appears rather to have encouraged than repulsed Sir Nicholas. Only a month after the proclamation of William and Mary as King and Queen, we find that William III. puts Sir Nicholas Butler, Knt. (of Edmonton), on the first Commission of a Lieutenancy of London,* and he is appointed as one of those whose presence was necessary to make a Court. This shows that, while his case may have been thought to be a suspicious and doubtful one, his social and previous official positions were thought by Danby of sufficient importance to make it worth while to pledge him by office to the new régime.

The plan seems to have been scarcely successful, or perhaps we ought to say that Sir Nicholas was too deeply pledged to the Jacobite party for them to allow him to shake himself free of them all at once, or for him to have given up all hopes of James's return. In the course of the next twelve months, at any rate, he seems to have found his position so far from secure in England, or to have conceived that he might be able so really to serve his old friends on the other side the Channel, that he crossed to Holland, remaining there for the winter of 1689 and 1690; and did not return to England till May or June, 1690. The exact dates and periods are conjectural, but the main facts are clearly enough implied in a letter from the Earl of Portland to King William.

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* In the 'Lords' Journals,' under date May 2, 1690, is a paper headed 'Names of 'the Lieutenancy of London. No. 1 Commission of 19 Mar., 1688-89, Sir Nicholas 'Butler Q'—the 'Q' signifying that he was one of those whose presence was necessary to make a Quorum. This was William III.'s first Commission.

The Earl is the British Ambassador or Plenipotentiary at The Hague (‘La Haye’), and writes to the King—in a letter calendared ‘S. P. Dom. King William's Chest’ (Vol. VI., 124), signed ‘Portland,’ and dated ‘de la Haye, ce 15 Febvrier, ’90.’ . . . ‘My L^{d} Sunderland ‘n'a pas esté ici . . . S^{r} Nic^{s} Butler a demandé a me voir men(e)crivant ‘quil avoit a me parler des choses que je servis bien aise dentendre. ‘. . . mais il ne me dit rien sinon quil couliussoit* de retourner en ‘Angleterre et quil vous servisoit fidelement pretendant estre ignorant ‘de tout ce qui a estoit passé.’

What exactly had taken place in these months is difficult to say, but there are hints in some of the Treasury Papers that it may have had to do with his conduct as one of the Commissioners of Customs: that complaints had been lodged against the Customs Board of James's reign, and that Sir Nicholas was implicated in the conduct of which complaint was made. Or it may have been that suspicions had been raised that he was concerned in some of the plots which had been unearthed and shattered for bringing James back. Here are the papers bearing on the point:

The first is ‘Cal. Treasury Papers’ (Vol. VII., 20), ‘Report of ‘Richard Hutchinson, Esq., on an allegation by Chr. Fawthorpe.’ Jan. 18., 1689-90.

‘His report is that he was not prosecuted about penal laws and tests ‘nor by Sir Nicholas Butler particularly, but by order of the whole ‘Board for on landing† certain parcels of tobacco on which he forfeited ‘600*l*. . . . Dated 18 Jan. 1689.’ [NOTE.—‘The King will not ‘forgive it.’]

The second is ‘Cal. Treasury Papers’ (Vol. VII., 41): ‘Memorial of ‘M^{r} John Lithered to the Lords of the Treasury, attacking the ‘Commissioners of Customs with M^{r} Hough who had been tampering ‘with persons who were criminals in that affair, as well as himself (M^{r} ‘Hough) . . . as self-interested as M^{r} Wells, the officer at Sandwich, ‘or as Sir Nicholas Butler, when a Com^{r} of Customs: and suspects ‘there are some of the same kidney as the Honorable Board.’ [Agent at Dunkirk for the late King James.]

It was about this time that James had gone to Ireland with a fleet and an army (aided by the French) to attempt to capture Ireland as a base for the recovery of England; and it was in April, 1690, that William took command of the English Army to oppose and crush James. Mary he left with full powers as Queen of England. It was apparently at this time, while William was absent in Ireland, that Sir Nicholas ventured to return to England. Yet it was only to be arrested immediately and imprisoned in Newgate; and the documentary proof of this is the interesting entry of a warrant under the seal of ‘Maria Regina,’ entered in ‘S. P. Dom. Warrant Book’ (XXXV., p. 290):

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* ? From *coulissier*, ‘to frequent the coulisse—make secret arrangements.’

† Old form for ‘unlanding,’ an intensive form like ‘unloosing.’

'Abell Alley to attend upon S^{r} Nicholas Butler.

It is her Maj^{tys} Pleasure that Abell Alley be permitted to attend upon S^{r} Nicholas Butler a Prisoner in your Custody provided that he be confined with him.

'Given at y^{e} Court at Whitehall
y^{e} 27th Day of June 1690.

'NOTTINGHAM.

'To Major Richardson
'Keeper of Newgate.'

With the victory of the Boyne in July, James's cause was finally destroyed, and suspects were released, among them Sir Nicholas Butler. The date of that release I have not traced. He seems to have settled down to a quiet life at Edmonton; and the following year, 1692, his daughter Jane is married to Henry Chauncy, barrister of the Middle Temple.

Foster has preserved the Licence:

'1692, Dec. 16.—Henry Chauncy of Middle Temple, Bachelor, 26; & Madam Jane Butler of Edmonton, Middlesex, Spinster, 18.—consent of (the) father Sir Nicholas Butler, Kn^{t}, at St. Andrew Undershaft (Lombard St.).'

My inference that Sir Nicholas had been released and was living in retirement in Edmonton is, however, rather rudely challenged by the next document bearing upon his career.

It refers to the beginning of the year 1697-98, full four years after his daughter's marriage; but it is dated 1703.

It is preserved in the MSS. of the House of Lords, and numbered 1,900:

'15 Feb. 170$\frac{2}{3}$.—List of persons who had licences in the reign of William III. to return to England, upon the Act* of Dec. 1697 to prevent correspondence with the late King James, the warrants being countersigned by the late M^{r} Secretary Vernon.†

. . . . . .

'169$\frac{7}{8}$ Jan. 25.—Sir Nicholas Butler.'

This certainly seems to imply that Sir Nicholas Butler was in France in 1697. How long he had been there does not appear. So that he might have been at home for some time after his daughter's marriage, and become implicated in some further Jacobite designs requiring his presence in France. All this is pure conjecture, which may be quite baseless.

After all the turmoil of the last ten years, and on the appearance of international settlement by the Peace of Ryswick, Sir Nicholas appears to have made up his mind to retire from public life, and make arrangements for the future. And on July 5, 1699, he made his will, as follows:

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* It had been preceded by a Proclamation, issued November 2, 'for apprehending his Majesty's Subjects who should return from France without Licence.'

† Who replaced Mr. Secretary Trumbull on December 5.

'[Somerset House: Noel. 125.]

'[𝕿 Dni Nicholai Butler Militis.]

'I S^r Nicholas Butler of Edmonton in the County of Middx Kn^t being in perfect health of body and of sound mind memory and understanding (praised be Almighty God for the same) doe here make my last Will and Testament humbly com̃ending my soule to God and my body to be decently buryed in such manner as I shall hereinafter direct and whereas I have by Indenture bearing date the fourth day of July in the present yeare 1699 limited setled and disposed of severall Messuages Farmes Lands and Hereditaments therein menc̃oned and comprised upon such trusts ends intents and purposes as are therein expressed and declared. My will and mind is that the said Settlement soe made by me as afores^d shall stand ratifyed and confirmed. And I doe hereby establish and affirme the same (except one Farme of Child* which I gave for ever to my daughter Chauncy) after my death. And whereas at my marryage with my now wife Dame Jane Butler I did enter into one recognizance or statute in nature of a Statute Staple taken and acknowledged before S^r Francis North Kn^t then Lord Cheife Justice of the Court of Com̃on Pleas bearing date the 12th day of June 1676 by the name of Nicholas Butler then Doctor in Phisicke to Christopher Plucknell of Fulham gent Thomas Hassall and Tho Lamb Citizens of London in the full sum̃e of £2400 of good English money payable as therein is menc̃oned which was soe done by me for securing the performance of certaine articles made and entred into by me with my said now wife or with some of her Relations and Friends before our intermarryage. Now my will is that my said loving Wife shall in the first place after my decease and after all my funerall charges and debts paid and satisfyed receive and take to her owne proper use out of my personall estate all such sum̃e and sum̃es of money as are and ought to be paid unto her by the said Articles.

'And my will and mind is that the said Articles shall in all partes thereof be performed and made good to my s^d wife. And after full satisfaction made to my said wife and full payments of my debts.

'I give and devise unto Valentine Morley and Dorothy his wife each of them 5/.

'And unto . . . Filkins and his Wife Jane each 5/.

'And unto Will: Stasmore and his Wife Mary each 5/.

'And I give unto my 3 Grandsons Henry Butler and Nicholas Chauncy each of them £20.

'My mind and will is that my Children and their Husbands and my Grandchildren which are by the Children of this said Wife have each of them £5 each for mourning.

'My mind and will is that I be decently buryed in the night without any Eschutchions in the Chancell in parish Church of Edmonton and none to be at my ffunerall but my owne ffamily which I require to be punctually performed.

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* ? Child's Hill, Hampstead.

'And I make my deare wife Dame Jane Butler my sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament revokeing hereby all former Wills.

'July 5th 1699.

'N: BUTLER.

'Signed & sealed & declared in presence of
'WILLIAM HOCKER
'JOSEPH CART
'MARMADUKE CONWAY

'[Codicil to Will.]

'Item my further will and mind is that if Dorothy Morley wife of Valentine Morley doe not accept of the yearely sume of £3 . 6 . 8 . in full from my son and daughter Chauncey by vertue of their marryage Settlement That then what I have charged upon my daughter Angell Butler in a Deed of Settlement beareing date 4 July 1699 which is the sume of £3 . 6 . 8 to be paid to Dorothy Morley shall not be paid to her, but shall be paid to my son and daughter Chauncey and their Heires during the life of the said Dorothy Morley. And as on the other side I make my deare Wife Dame Jane Butler my whole and sole executrix of this my last Will and Testament this 5th day of July 1699, whereas there is an interlineing on the other side betwixt the 12th & 13th lyne in my owne handwriting and my will to be strictly performed.

'N. BUTLER.

'Signed sealed & delivered in the presence of
'WILLIAM HOCKER
'JOSEPH CART
'MARMADUKE CONWAY.'

The indentures and settlement referred to in the Will, it will be observed, were made the day before the Will, so that these three Instruments were evidently intended to be a final settlement of all his temporal affairs.

If the preamble of the Will were true that at the time Sir Nicholas was 'in perfect health' of body, he did not remain so long.

Not twelve months elapsed before it had been *proved* by 'Jane Butler 'relict & executrix'—viz., on June 26 : A.D. 1700.

Its exact date is given in his epitaph—as preserved by W. Robinson. In his 'History of Edmonton,' published in 1819 (p. 107), he cites it as 'On a black marble slab in the pavement within the chancel' :

> 'Here lyeth the Body of | SR NICHOLAS BURLER, of this parish | Knt. died June 8th A.D. 1700 | in the 74th year of his Age | And also the Body of Dame Jane | his Wife, who deparated this life | ye 27th day of April 1707. Aged 67 years.'

Two palpable mistakes (probably misprints)—'Burler' for 'Butler', and 'deparated' for 'departed'—make the exact accuracy of Robinson's transcript a little doubtful. The entry of Sir Nicholas's burial in the Parish Register, and the date of the proving of the Will by his widow, are both so naturally consistent with the date given for his death in the epitaph, that we may safely accept it as accurate.

The entry of the Burial reads: '1700 | June | 13 Sr Nich: Butler,' which is five days after the date of the death; and the date of the Probate is 'the 26th of June 1700 at London'—not quite a fortnight after the funeral.

Sir Nicholas Butler therefore ended his chequered course in the retirement of his quiet home at Edmonton on Saturday, June 8, 1700, having attained the age of over seventy-three.

We learn also from the slab that his widow survived him nearly seven years, dying April 27, 1707, at the age of sixty-seven.

Unfortunately the slab is no longer visible, as it certainly was less than a century ago. No trace of it was discoverable November 2, 1913, either on the floor of the Chancel, or on its walls. 'If extant,' Mr. Gordon says, 'it is either under the modern tiling of part of the Chancel, or under the wooden flooring of the Choir-benches.' So that we cannot tell—as we might, could we compare the two parts of the inscription—whether the slab was placed there by the widow, and her epitaph added by a later hand, or the memorial to both was placed there after Dame Butler's death. The former is the more natural supposition, as she showed her loyalty to her husband's memory in this simple sentence in her will: 'I desire to be privately and decently buried by 'my said Husband Sr Nicholas Butler.' In that case it is probable that the second part of the inscription was added by order of their youngest daughter, 'Angell Butler,' for we gather from Dame Butler's will that Angel lived with her mother, unmarried, till her mother's death, as she made her 'dear daughter Angell Butler' her residuary legatee, and sole executrix.

If the latter supposition is the truth, it is still most probable that Miss Angel Butler made all the funeral arrangements, and placed the memorial in the chancel; for in her will, her mother mentions only her elder sister Elizabeth, who had married a Mr. Sedgwick,* making no reference by name to her eldest daughter and namesake, nor to any of the children of her husband's first wife. But she does remember 'all 'her grandchildren,' giving 'to each of them a Gold mourning ring of 'the value of ten shillings, to be delivered to each of them by her 'Executrix . . . soon after her decease.' It produces the impression upon us that Henry Chauncey and his wife had not paid the mother much attention after Sir Nicholas's death.

The will was made by Dame Butler on June 8, 1706, six years to the day after her husband's death—little less than a year before her own. And it was proved in London by her daughter within a month of the death.

Dame Butler's maiden name we do not know. Was it 'Boon' (to give the name to her husband's peerage as 'Viscount Boon,' if the rumoured honour had really been conferred on him)? Born in 1640, she could not have married her first husband, Mr. Stephens, before 1657 or 1658. As we have seen (p. 172) that the earliest likely date of her second marriage (with Nicholas Butler) was 1668, she may, of course, have then been widowed some few years.

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* To her she gives 'ten pounds in money, and the bed and boulster she lyes upon.'

Putting together the testimony of the two wills, as well as of the register of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, we learn that Sir Nicholas had three daughters by his second wife (and most probably no sons):

1. Jane (so named after her mother), born 1675-76; married to Henry Chauncey, barrister.
2. Elizabeth, born 1680; married to Mr. Sedgwick.
3. Angell, born 1682; still unmarried at the time of her mother's death.

As to the grandchildren, we learn the names of only two—both boys—and from Sir Nicholas's will: (1) Henry Butler—probably the son of a son, not elsewhere named, probably by his first wife Dorothy. (2) Nicholas Chauncey, doubtless the son of his eldest daughter Jane. There is in Somerset House the record of the Admõn of a Nicholas Butler; but this most probably a nephew of Sir Nicholas, as he is described as 'late of H.M.S. *Le Edgar*, bachelor,' and it was granted to his sister, Charity Coleman ux. Henry Coleman. Both Nicholas and Charity were probably children of a brother of Sir Nicholas.

Here we must close our account of his life, with profound regret that no information is forthcoming about his birth, his family, his education, and his early years—in which alone we can expect to find the key to his strange but fascinating career.

Such was the man whom Sir Joseph Williamson chose, on behalf of Lord Arlington, to sound the Nonconformists of the City of London, and to discover the best means of recovering their lost confidence, so as if possible to secure their silence, if not their support, in case the King and Council decided on an alliance with France and war against the Dutch—and whom he afterwards consulted so largely in determining the final form the Indulgence was to take and the lines along which it was finally administered.

He had secured his M.D. (through the intervention of the King) only about a year before he took up this work. The diploma had been conferred on him in March, 1670, only a month after Parliament had passed the Second Conventicle Act; and we have observed elsewhere how the extreme harshness and injustice with which it was worked very soon produced a discontent, and in many districts a resentment which the King saw with an uneasiness bordering on alarm. I have referred to the vividness with which the facts were brought out in two pamphlets of the time, which had a wide circulation. The one was entitled 'A True and Impartial Narrative of some Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings . . . in and near the Town of Bedford'; the other, bearing a very similar title—'A True and Faithful Narrative of the Unjust and Illegal Sufferings of many Christians . . . in Devon.' The latter had been brought under the notice of the King himself; and, through the intervention of Colonel Blood, who just now was in high favour at Court, the King had had a personal interview with the author of the pamphlet,* John Hickes, of Saltash. The additional details given by

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* As is shown more at large, farther on, in the article on John Hickes.

John Hickes in this interview had evidently seriously impressed the King, and there is little doubt that Blood would deepen that impression by what he was able to tell the King of his own experience and the sufferings of many of his friends. All this convinced Charles that the natural attitude of the Nonconformists under this relentless persecution would make the foreign policy he contemplated full of special peril. It would almost necessarily make the Nonconformists abettors of the enemy, and more hostile than ever to his ally—the Papist King of France. He must, if possible, allay this resentment, and by some means change it into gratitude and loyalty. How could that be done so effectually as by showing his Nonconformist subjects that persecution was to him a 'strange' work, which he did not like, and that he was meditating seriously putting an end to it by abolishing or suspending all Penal Statutes against them?

Before he made the venture, however, he must get to know how far they would accept such overtures, and respond to them. He naturally turned to Arlington, his Home Secretary—by secret means, if necessary—to ascertain the facts by getting at the real feeling of the leading Nonconformists. This work Arlington, as usual, turned over to Joseph Williamson (not yet knighted), his chief secretary. Looking about for suitable agents for this work, Joseph Williamson seems to have lighted on two men—Dr. Nicholas Butler and Joseph Church. Dr. Butler, with whom he had formed a close friendship already, was pledged, by the favours he had received from the Archbishop, on the one side, and from the King on the other, to act in the interests of both the Church and the State; but his free and frequent intercourse with active and earnest Nonconformist ministers in the courageous and self-forgetful service they had both rendered to the victims of the Plague throughout the Visitation of 1665, would make it easy for him to sound the Nonconformist leaders. Of 'M^r^. Church,' Sir Joseph's second agent, I have found it difficult to get any satisfactory information.

It is natural to suppose that Williamson would try to enlist one of the Nonconformist ministers themselves, so as more readily to secure access to Nonconformists for his colleague Dr. Butler. And in Calamy's list of the Ejected there are two of the name Church—Josiah and Joseph.

Josiah Church was an Essex minister, who had subscribed the Essex Watchword in 1649, as Minister of Sea Church; had subsequently settled at Hackwell (or Hawkwell), and was ejected thence in 1662. There is no trace of his ever retiring to or living in London. So that there is no ground for suggesting that Josiah Church was Williamson's second agent.

Joseph Church, on the other hand, was a London minister. He succeeded a Mr. Wyrley (or Wirley) as Rector of St. Catherine-Coleman, Fenchurch Street,* and thence he was ejected in 1662. All that Calamy can tell us about him is: 'A worthy man, and of good 'substance till the fire of London consumed it. Afterwards he had but

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* Not (as Palmer has it, in trying to improve on Calamy) St. Catherine's, Coleman Street. The church in Coleman Street was dedicated to St. Stephen, not St. Catherine.

'little to subsist upon: and having many children, was in great straits. 'He had considerable offers if he would have conformed; but he chose 'to remain a poor Nonconformist, rather than hazard the peace of his 'conscience. Mr. Papillon* and his lady were great friends to him 'after his ejectment.' His church (St. Catherine-Coleman's) was situated in Fenchurch Street, near its junction with Leadenhall Street; and so was well outside the area of the Great Fire. The fact which Calamy mentions, therefore, shows us that he retired after his ejectment westwards, and so was living in a more central part of the City. This would make it easy for him to arrange tours of visitation with Dr. Nicholas Butler, whose home was in Little St. Helen's. The financial straits to which he was reduced, moreover, would make him the more willing to undertake this little piece of work, especially as he could view it as an opportunity of serving his Nonconformist brethren.

The information we possess on this point—I mean, touching Williamson's employment of Dr. Nicholas Butler and Mr. Church on this delicate but important business—is derived from the notes which Williamson was in the habit of making of the secret intelligence he obtained through his agents, informers, and spies. We should bear in mind, moreover, that the leniency of the chief magistrates in London in the years 1669 and 1671 had attracted to the Metropolis many who were hard pressed in the provinces as to a haven of comparative security; so that a considerable number of Nonconforming clergy, provincial as well as metropolitan, were living in and about town, presenting an unusual opportunity for feeling the Nonconformist pulse throughout the kingdom.

Dr. Butler is busily engaged in this way in the months of November and December of 1671. The first entry is under date November 2—when for the moment he was looking about for suitable agents in this matter—when Williamson notes that he met Dr. Butler at dinner, and found him already familiar with the inner movements of the Presbyterian party. This made him feel that Dr. Butler was the sort of man he wanted; and Williamson evidently at once set Dr. Butler to work to get the fullest information he could. There is little doubt, too, that Dr. Butler was very energetic in his movements and enquiries; for only nine days later (November 11th) we read Williamson's memorandum that: 'The meeting-house men have been viewed by the Doctor from 'house to house, and,' he learns, 'they are a stout, sturdy, dissatisfied 'people,' and 'fear they have still more heart and indignation towards 'the Government than some seem to tell us.' Dr. Butler, too, had evidently come to the conclusion that timely indulgence would do much to conciliate and win them back to loyalty to the Throne. Williamson's suggestive jottings are: 'Concludes whether not better for the King 'now himself to offer what is capable to content them. Less will do it 'now than hereafter, when stresses are greater with the King.' Shrewdly adding: 'This was the King his father's case. If you care to capitulate 'with the fanatics, they will never agree to reason.'

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* His friend Mr. Papillon was a wealthy City man. Evelyn refers to him in the Commonwealth time: '1656 May 7. In the afternoon I met Alderman Robinson to 'treat with Mr Papillion about the marriage of my cousin Geo. Turke with Mrs Fontaine.' And (in the period we are treating of) Pepys refers to him under date April 23, 1669 (about two years before Sir Joseph Williamson's employment of Dr. Nicholas Butler): 'I heard Mr Papillon make his defence to the King against 'some complaints of the Farmers of Excise' (so that he was probably one of the Commissioners of Customs, as Dr. Nicholas Butler, when knighted, afterwards became); 'but it was so weak, and done only by his own seeking that it was more to his injury 'than profit and made his case the worse (being ill-managed, and in a cause against 'the King).'

Dr. Butler seems to have greater difficulty—because less sympathy—with the Independents than with the Presbyterians. For on November 16, under the heading 'B.' (Butler), we find his report that 'They 'deceive the Independent party by making them believe that they shall 'have their pardons under the Great Seal without any kind of stipulation 'of loyalty, &c., on their part. So Lockyer,* so Rogers.† . . . Not 'above 6 or 7 all over England. Rogers took the oath before outlawed. 'All such promises to be made only to the King, and only to his person 'with some witnesses. Secretary Trevor he has found "is theirs." He 'was, before the Chancellor' (Clarendon) 'was cast out.' [This 'Secretary Trevor' was the Editor of 'Entry Book No. 27,' wherein some fifty licences under the Act of Indulgence are entered which do not appear in Williamson's 'Entry Book No. 38A.'] 'These people played 'the game into certain hands. If these people shall now have the 'principal instruments about the King. What will be the end? They 'blew up Oliver, R. Cromwell, the Rump, & all. So Rogers was. 'Jekell such a one.' By the end of November we find that Dr. Butler had come into touch with the notorious Colonel Blood.

At any rate, on December 4, he notes that 'Blood publicly claims 'Dr B. as his intimate.' It seems doubtful, however, whether he had done more than interview him, to see how far he can trust Blood or make use of him in his dealings with the Nonconformists. We know from other sources that Blood had interested himself in some Nonconformists already, notably so in his old acquaintance of Dublin days, John Hickes of Devon (for whom, we have seen, he had secured a personal interview with the King, with the happiest results); but so cautious and secretive a man as Dr. Butler would be only feeling his way with him at a time when Blood would recklessly claim his friendship, and so try to pledge him to connivance and co-operation. Indeed, Williamson under the same date reports that 'Ennys' (*i.e.*, James Innes senr), had already 'told Dr Butler that only 2 or 3'—presumably among the Dissenters—'support Blood,' that is, care to avow any connection with him, or to make any use of him.

It is clear, however, that Blood is trying to force Dr. Butler into this course; for the following day (Tuesday, December 5) he called upon Dr. Butler in Little St. Helen's, seeking to detach him from his patrons,

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* Lockyer, no doubt, is the Nicholas Lockyer, of whom Palmer's Calamy (I, 102) tells us that he was ejected from St. Benet Sherehog. Born in Somerset, he had been educated at New Inn Hall, Oxford; made Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell as Protector; in 1658 appointed Provost of Eton College, as well as Rector of St. Benet Sherehog and preacher at St. Pancras (Soper Lane), which were adjacent to one another in Pancras Lane. His provostship he lost soon after the Restoration, and from the rest he was ejected in 1662. He was a wealthy man.

† Doubtless John Rogers, the Fifth Monarchy man, only his biographer knows nothing of him after 1665.

Arlington and Clifford, and to enlist him for the strong Protestant party in the Government, Lauderdale, Ashley, and Buckingham, for under date 'Dec. 7, Thursday,' Williamson notes: 'That on Tuesday Bl. 'came to D^r B & Church at Butler's lodgings* magnifying Lord 'Lauderdale (who was James Innes's patron), saying they understood 'one another and he' (Lord Lauderdale) 'was the great man.' Dr. Butler, however, was in touch with two Scotchmen who were in town, who claimed to be kept acquainted with the course things were taking in Scotland, as well as with the tactics of Lauderdale; and their information was that Lauderdale was not heading an opposing party, and left his friends free to take what course they thought best. Williamson's jottings are: 'D^r B. says he knows from the two Scotchmen this day that Lord 'Lauderdale left them to do what they would. D^r James Stewart's son 'is one of the two. Neither are ministers.' His information, indeed, leads him to think little of the usefulness of Blood, for he adds: 'Bl. is 'quite lost amongst the phanaticks'; which is much the same as saying that the more spiritually minded of the Dissenters—the Independents and the Baptists—fight shy of him and place no confidence in him. Yet Blood is most certainly trying to press Dr. Butler on the point, as: 'He had appointed'—so Williamson writes—'two several people to call of him at D^r B's house,' that is, to call for him at Dr. Butler's house, so as to give the impression that he (Blood) was almost always there.

Under date December 13 [Wednesday—Ed.], there is a reference which is not easy to understand. He writes: 'D^r Butler's meeting had 'gone in the (this) next (?) day, if at their assembly on Monday they had not 'heard that Sir John Robinson' (the Lieutenant of the Tower) 'had 'made that search.' The only meaning which can be given to the first phrase, on the supposition that the 'D^r Butler' spoken of was our Dr. Nicholas Butler, is that it was the one particular congregation in which he (Dr. Butler), had confessed to having an interest, and which, perhaps, he had even sometimes attended. In that case it might well be the meeting held in Edward Bushell's house in Little St. Helen's, to which Peter Sterry preached. At any rate, in May 16 of the following year Sterry had himself secured a licence [**E. (117)**] for it. There is little doubt, however, that it was Dr. Samuel Annesley's, in Spitalfields, to the abortive search of which by a messenger of Sir John Robinson (Governor of the Tower), Sir Joseph had already made reference. Under that same date, December 13, there is a note, which seems to imply that Dr. Butler had gone a long way with Blood, for he writes: 'D^r B. maintained him (Blood) long'; but the facts which looked that way, probably meant simply that he held Blood in leash for some time to see how far he could trust and use him. And there follows a detailed account of the Presbyterian Conference held Monday, December 11, with most interesting thumb-nail sketches of the Presbyterian leaders in London which is referred to elsewhere. In this same day's jottings is a sentence, which very vividly shows in what an atmosphere of mutual suspicion these secret agents, informers, and spies, perforce spent much of their life and intercourse with each other. 'Ennys'

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* This was in Little St. Helen's.

(James Innes sen^{r}) is a man much cultivated by Dr. Butler's patrons, for he had the ear of Lauderdale, and was personally favoured by the King (though a recognized Nonconformist).* Yet 'Ennys and he' (Dr. Butler), Williamson notes : 'told one another at their reconciliation' that 'each other's friends had warned them to beware of one another'; and Williamson adds of the man he uses so much, 'Ennys a great rogue.'

It was only three months after this—almost to a day—for the Declaration of Indulgence was published March 15, 1671-72, that the King cast the die and issued that Declaration, by which, claiming supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, he suspended all the penal laws 'in 'matters ecclesiastical against whatsoever sort of non-conformists or 'recusants'; and three or four days later, the series of letters commence from Dr. Butler to Sir Joseph Williamson, which are preserved as an integral part of the 'Licence Documents' in Vols. **320** and **321**. Before passing to these, however, it is only just to him to observe that the references in Williamson's notes just quoted (p. 189), under date November 11, suggest, if they do not prove that Dr. Butler had an influential part in the negotiations and conferences which finally led to the action taken by the King in Council. That word 'concludes' followed by the question, 'whether' it would 'not be better for the King now himself to 'offer what is capable to content them,' by implication surely involves what I have ventured to state, that Arlington and Clifford had commissioned him to canvass the Nonconformist leaders, not simply to give his employers information as to the feelings and attitude of this important section of the King's subjects, but to base thereon some counsel or suggestion as to the course it would be wisest to pursue, to allay the Nonformists' discontent and secure their loyal devotion to the King.

The issue of the Declaration exactly embodied Dr. Butler's suggestion, being an unsolicited act of grace on the part of the King, an 'offer' made on his own initiative, and under the pressure of no Petition or Demand on the part of the Dissenters; so that I cannot think it attributing too much influence to him, to say that Dr. Nicholas Butler played an important part in bringing the King to take this step.

The earlier parts of the correspondence which follows confirms this conclusion, in the tone of 'responsibility' for the Declaration which marks them. On the one hand, personal satisfaction is expressed at the cordiality of the welcome accorded it in Addresses presented by the Nonconformists, both in oral and written form ; and on the other, he gives voice to a personal disappointment and alarm to which when the Act is worked grudgingly instead of freely, and the promise to allow public buildings to be used for Nonconformist worship is unfulfilled. More than this : one letter, chronologically anterior to the series preserved in **320** and **321**, proves directly that he had been consulted seriously on the mode in which the Indulgence was to be worked, and the actual form the Licences issued should take.

It is preserved in S. P. Dom. Car. II. 304 (47), and was written by Dr.

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* He was one and the same (despite the disguise of the strange spelling of his name) as Rev. James Innes. Ejected from St. Breock's in Cornwall, but long since resident in Westminster,

Butler to Sir Joseph Williamson only four days after the publication of the Declaration. It is endorsed in Sir Joseph's own handwriting: 'R. 20, 'Mar. at noon. Indulgence'; and addressed 'ffor S^{r} Joseph Williamson, 'Tuesday eleven o'clock.'* But it does not take the form of an ordinary letter. The paper has first a list or schedule of seven points (evidently points to be observed in administering the Indulgence just declared).

'1. That there bee some reasonable time given to the countries for taking licences.

'2. That where noe publick meeting house is y^{t} a private one bee allowed, but yet as publick, if they have not fixed it at present y^{t} time bee given for it.

'3. That they bee licenced to preach in any licenced place.

'4. That they be licenced on perticuler occations to preach in private families as for fasting or thanksgiveing.

'Neg.' [J. W.] '5. That all Nonconformist which have not a people, but preach occasionally may be licenced, being obliged to set the doors open, whenever they shall soe preach.

'Quaker 5 mono: '6. That soe far as with safty may bee, a connivance bee had to those whose wild principles suffers them not to accept this act of soe great grace.

'7. That the way of obtaining the licence bee not made burdensome nor troublesome.'

The letter follows below it:

'S^{r},

'I have sent the above sooner then agreed, y^{t} they may bee com̃unicated to theese two honor^{ble} persons † that since the longitude was not found, an early timeing of it, y^{t} it may be helped in its latitude. If they can add anything further y^{t} will oblige, I think they cannot do our King better servis. If the first perticular bee declared, then may be added y^{t} noe Nonconformist shall dare to preach after such time without licence, and that all bee freely invited to take licence, as well thoese without a people as with, & y^{t} from time to time it shall be free for any to take out a licence, and y^{t} such which have not a congregation shall give their habitation or usuall place of aboed; & when they shall at any time have a people, then bee obliged to give in the place.

'By this means, all will have a dependency upon his Majesty; all the ministers must be gratifyed or at least not Disobliged, if you will have a continued content—if you have the ministers you have all. If to this great act of grace were added a way for y^{e} people to come at justice in Law cases in a short time, I think it would bee beyond y^{e} power of the devill & bad men to give his Majesty any disturbance in his Kingdomes. If I mistake not theese things will abundantly please, and through some perverse laws (lovers may have leave to speak). Since I was 24 years which now is 20 moe, I have been in a maner wholy taken of thoughts of selfe, and have beene willing to busy my troubled thoughts in yᵉ consideration how I might serve god in my generation. Yet I know not why I should not have the same liberty Lord Ross enjoyeth. But I beg your pardon for this digression, & for what other things may bee amiss, assuring you if anything bee which pleaseth not, 'tis error in judgement, not in will

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* This Tuesday was March 19, 1671-72,

† Was it the two Secretaries of State, Lord Arlington and Sir John Trevor, or the two members of the Cabal who took most interest in the Indulgence, Arlington and Clifford?

‘Sʳ I am ever your unfeignedly

‘Haue a care of taking a second ring.
The declaration for war is much liked.
Your punctuall houre for tomorrow &
bee you soe :’

From a subsequent letter of Dr. Butler's to Sir Joseph [**320 (5)**, dated March 27], it seems that when on Friday, March 15, the King and Arlington actually issued the Declaration of Indulgence, they had generally arranged to give attendance at Whitehall for business accruing under the Indulgence once a week on Fridays, and had instructed Dr. Butler to draft a scheme of particulars as to the way the Indulgence would be most wisely worked to secure the end they had in view, which might be brought before them for consideration at their first ‘Indulgence’ meeting a week later, viz., Friday, March 22.

Dr. Butler had evidently set about the work at once, and having the draft complete by Tuesday he thought it wise to send the draft to Sir Joseph, to place privately in the hands of Arlington and Trevor or Clifford, ‘these two honorable persons,’ so as to be prepared to recommend them (or otherwise) to the King at the Council on Friday.

The reason given ‘for sending the recommendations sooner than ‘agreed,’ is expressed in metaphors not easy of interpretation. The reference to ‘the longitude’ of the indulgence not being found, probably means that as the ‘term’ of grace or opportunity offered—the number of days or months within which application must be made if a licence is to be granted—had not been decided upon, an early presentation of the propositions would be likely to hasten the date of their adoption, and help the latitude or breadth of their application. It is specially worthy of note that this document abundantly proves the point already urged, viz., that with the authors of this Indulgence, and most assuredly with Dr. Butler, the motive of it was much more one of policy than principle. It was not religious liberty that was aimed at so much as an increase of loyalty and devotion to Charles; and so in every particular the licences were framed as an act of Royal grace and favour to the individual, so that ‘all will have a dependency upon his Majesty’—and as they realize the sweetness of relief from persecution, they may feel themselves bound in common gratitude to their benefactor, to pledge themselves to loyal fidelity to the Throne.

The suggestions drafted by Dr. Butler were all approved except the fifth, which licensed occasional preachers (*i.e.*, those who had no flocks) binding them 'to set the doors open' of the house or meeting-place in which they preached. In this case, the negative was wider and more liberal than the affirmative, since every man who had a 'general licence' was licensed *not* to preach in his own house (as apparently is here suggested, provided that when he did so he left his doors open), but to preach in any licensed place. He could not therefore preach in his own house, unless he secured a licence for it as an 'allowed' meeting-place, and in that case it was open for all who cared to come, and for any licensed teacher to teach in. Though that was denied him, a larger liberty was accorded to him, viz., to preach in any allowed place where he might be asked or permitted to do so by the owner.

The first suggestion was carried out, but its provision was extended far beyond Dr. Butler's suggestion. Evidently the first idea was that a day should be fixed before which anyone who desired a licence must send in his application, and Dr. Butler was anxious that the day should be made a distant one, so that ample time might be allowed for the news of the Indulgence to reach the more secluded parts of the provinces ('the countryes,' or 'counties'), and for country Nonconformists to have time to make up their minds whether they would care to avail themselves of the Indulgence or no. As a fact, no time-limit was fixed at all; and as long as the Indulgence lasted it was open for anyone, whether they 'had 'a people' or not—*i.e.*, whether they were pastors of congregations or Nonconformist teachers without charges, to apply for a licence, and, if 'approved,' to get one.

The second point is notable, as presupposing that the number of meeting-houses or chapels already erected and regularly used for Nonconformist worship was considerable, and that it would be chiefly for these that licences would be asked when it was desired to license a meeting-place. No doubt there were many in and about London, and many more in Yorkshire and Lancashire;* but of the hundreds for which licences were sought and obtained, by far the greater proportion were private houses.

The third item simply described the scope of a 'general' licence.

The fourth item it is not at all easy to understand. Whose fancy or wishes was it supposed to meet? We see from the letter [**320 (5)**], which I have already cited (written eight days after this), that Dr. Butler's point was granted. The first sentence in the letter makes much of it: 'The words for y^t perticular is agreed as I gave it, viz. y^t 'they bee licenced upon exterordinary family occations, to keepe a day 'of fast or thanksgiving in a private family with a moderate number.' [The clause as drafted above is not verbally identical with this: in some respects being more definite, and in others rather laxer. 'That 'they be licensed on perticular occations to preach in private families as 'for fasting or thanksgiving.'] The one point in which this seemed a strange (and rather perilous) departure from the whole scheme of the Indulgence, was this, that by special licence Nonconformist services might be held with prayer and worship, and preaching in private houses with closed doors. Of course, one of the points strongly insisted on in the Declaration was that all of these licensed Nonconformist services must be public ; held with open doors, so that any passer-by, and any official of Church or State, might freely enter, to see what was done and to hear whatever was said, as the best safeguard that could be devised against anything seditious, dangerous, or heretical. Yet here that safeguard was to be remitted on particular occasions. The intention of it may have been simple and innocent enough ; that in case of sickness little services of sympathy and intercession, or a funeral service in the case of death, might be conducted by a Nonconformist minister in the house; or that in connection with a wedding, or the baptism of a child, a religious service might be held with friends or relatives, without throwing open the doors to the public. Still, there was the danger that in that special privacy, under 'pretence of religion,' a seditious gathering might be held.

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* As many as fourteen meeting-houses in Lancashire were licensed.

Or was it (as I have sometimes thought) an astute device for circumventing the clause of the Declaration, which made the Indulgence for public services apply only to Protestants, by giving the Roman Catholics a chance under pretext of some 'perticular occation' to hold a Papist service 'with a moderate number'—a very elastic phrase !—in the seclusion of a private house ?*

The sixth point showed the length to which Dr. Butler was prepared to go, or rather the *latitude* he would give to the Royal Indulgence. He knew that Quakers would never ask a licence, and he thought it probable that the Fifth Monarchy men would scarcely do so either, as well as some of the more 'fanatical' Baptists and Independents.

With regard to the letter which follows these 'Seven Points': the first part has been incidentally dealt with in my comments on the items of the scheme presented. Only it may be further noted, that in his suggestion, that to the first particular it might 'be added y^{t} noe 'Nonconformist shall dare to preach after such time without a licence.' Dr. Butler is echoing the last clause of the Declaration: and this also, that in the actual working of the Indulgence, no time-limit being laid down, from first to last, any Nonconformist who had not secured and could not shew a licence was liable to be 'proceeded against with all 'imaginable severity,' who 'dared' or 'presumed' either to preach himself or to allow Nonconformist services to be held in his house. No steps seem to have been taken to abbreviate the Law's delay, or to lessen its costliness. The sentence touching 'perverse laws' I cannot interpret as it stands.

The concluding clauses have a special interest in their bearing on Dr. Butler's personal career. We learn his age when he wrote it, and hence the date of his birth. As to the crisis which he professes to have passed through when he reached his twenty-fourth year, any comment must be conjectural. But two things are worth noting. The year 1652, to which this crisis belonged, was the year in which the Puritan, Arthur Barham, was presented by Sir John Langham to the living of

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* Rev. A. Gordon suggests that this clause simply proposed licences *ad hoc* for special occasions, though neither teacher nor place was otherwise licensed.

St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, a sphere in which he exercised a powerful ministry till his ejection in 1662. We know that Nicholas Butler was living in the parish in 1665. If, then, he was living there, as early as these Commonwealth times, it may well have been that 'his being in a 'manner wholly taken off all thoughts of self' was due to the powerful preaching of the Puritan vicar, though it must be added that the facts of his after career show that any critical change which he dates from that time was a very superficial one. For him to profess that for ten years past he had been living a 'selfless' life, looks very much like 'cant' and 'hypocrisy.'

If he had really learned to live a 'selfless' life, troubling himself only about serving God in the service of others, that noble stage of his life-history must have reached its 'grand climacteric' in 1665, and expended itself in his heroic ministry to the poor victims of the Great Plague. For, as early as 1669 he was working this 'unselfish ministry' for all it was worth to secure a degree from Cambridge, and a licence as a physician. The only principle which can give the changing phases of his after career any coherence or consistency is that after 1665 he was wholly taken up with thoughts of self, and that he was willing to do anything or undo anything, to say anything or unsay it, which would procure his advancement in society or in the body politic. It is a hard thing to say, but facts seem to call for it, that, after 1665, he seems to have been sure that he was serving 'god' in his generation only when he was serving self, gaining wealth and 'kudos' by eager professions that all he cared for was to serve the King, the Church, and the State.

That sentence about his 'liberty' and 'Lord Ross' shows that thus early in the year (March) he was troubled by comments and whispered slanders about his second marriage, and was brooding over the way in which he could put his case in a petition to the King. The case of Lord Ross is referred to in a very vivid and illuminating fashion by Evelyn in his Diary. Under date March 22, 1670, he writes:

'I went to Westminster, where in the house of Lords I saw his Majesty sit on his throne, but without his robes, all the Peeres sitting with their hatts on; the business of the day being the divorce of my lord Rosse. Such an occasion and sight had not been seene in England since the time of Hen. VIII.' The footnote runs:

'When there was a project, 1669, for getting a divorce for the King, to facilitate it, there was brought into the House of Lords a bill for dissolving the marriage of Lord Rosse, on account of adultery, and to give him leave to marry again. This bill, after great debates, passed by the plurality of only two votes, and that by the great industry of the Lord's friends, as well as the Duke's enemies, who carried it on chiefly in hopes it might be a precedent, and inducement for the King to enter the more easily into their late proposals; nor were they a little encouraged therein, when they saw the King countenance and drive on the bill in Lord Rosse's favour. Of 18 Bishops that were in the House, only two voted for the bill' [Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and

Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester], 'of which one voted through age, and one was reputed a Socinian.'

To Sir Joseph's own second marriage, too, he must be alluding when he appends that postscript warning: 'Have a care of taking a 'second ring.' Was it because Sir Joseph was already showing too eager attentions to Lady O'Brien, whom he actually married on her husband's death in 1678?

It was early days to comment on the reception of the news of the declaration of war. It was only on the 16th of March that war was declared against the Dutch, and he is writing but three days later. The last sentence bespeaks no doubt a good point in his character, which must have very much helped his advancement, though it says little for the clearness of his composition. 'Your punctuall houre for tomorrow' means, of course, that he would keep his appointment with Sir Joseph to the minute: 'bee you soe' is his bungling way of pressing Sir Joseph to do the same.

Whether they met on the 20th or not as arranged we have no documentary evidence. Yet either then or on the following day, 'suggestions were made to modify or add to his 7-points'; and he was afraid that Sir Joseph might offer the King a draft, 'mutilated' or 'amended,' in directions which he did not approve, and for which he did not wish to be held responsible. So on the morning of Friday the 22nd (the date on which the King, Arlington, and Clifford, were to meet at Whitehall on this Indulgence business), he wrote Sir Joseph the following note:

320 (3)

It is endorsed in Sir Joseph's handwriting:

'22 Mar. 167½
'D^{r}. B.
'Indulgence.'

It is addressed:

'For Sir Joseph Williamson,' and reads:

'March y^{e} 22th, 7½.

'S^{r},

'I humbly desire his majesty and thoese two honourable persons may see the whole I writ, and noe more; since I was with you I had severall with mee & as confident I am as y^{t} I am alive all will bee well for y^{e} glory of god, the good of his majesty & people & still hope & doubt not y^{e} church of England will still flourish if they bee but prudent. pardon this trouble & I shall ever bee, as you have abundantly obliged mee

'S^{r}.
'Your most faithfull
'most unfeigned frend
'to love honour & serve you

'I shall not continue
thus to trouble you
forgive this.'

The council was duly held that same afternoon; but evidently they could not come to complete agreement in their conclusions.

Already there were some who wanted to restrict the issue of licences to those who 'had a people,' so lessening the number of the licences issued. There might be this added reason, that those who had yielded to the pressure of the prosecution under the recent penal legislation, and had left their flocks, many of them finding refuge in London, would by this restriction be permanently silenced, and so the poison of their influence be lessened. So he writes the very next day, to press his point, that unattached ministers should be allowed a general licence, if they so desired. He does it, too, in terms which in their growing freedom and humour show that he feels surer of his ground with Sir Joseph, and is becoming, or that he fancies he is becoming, more intimate and influential with him.

Here it is:

320 (4)

It is endorsed again in Sir Joseph's own handwriting:

'23 Mar. 167½ R.
'D^{r}. B.
'Indulgence.'

Addressed: 'For S^{r} Joseph Williamson,' and reads:

'March y^{e} 23th 7½

'My dear S^{r} Joseph,

'I have not neither shall ever desire to have any besid(e)s your selfe to com̃unicate with. therefore for a little time, till this great matter bee fixed you must take y^{e} trouble instead of y^{t} one which I may yeild is not soe consistent as it ought to bee. I offer y^{t} all nonconformists which have not a people if they desire it may have licence to preach in any licenced place. I have three reasons to enforce it which I think when I tell them will seeme good & soe prove. I have spread his majesties pleasure amoung the severall perswasions, which will bee I doubt not effectually answered soe soone as possibly can bee, & for licences they will readily come after there address is made.

'I am,
'Yours whilst my owne,
'

'I am not free
(according to the quakers)
to write my reasons.'

Dr. Butler's anxiety to preserve secrecy in these negotiations, and his *incognito* does not give us a very favourable impression. Who 'that 'one' may be whom he treats with a *neuter* gender, as though he were 'a 'thing' instead of a person, insinuating that he was not 'soe consistent' as he ought to be, we should extremely like to know. Was it 'Blood'? or was it 'Church'? of whom we have not a word in all these Indulgence documents, although Dr. B. was closely associated with him in all the preliminary negotiations.

He is evidently in pretty constant intercourse with Whitehall, for he notes in his next letter what proves the large success attending his draft-suggestions. The fourth point is now agreed upon. What critical comments seemed necessary have been already passed upon it (p. 193).

The second part of the letter takes a 'begging' form; sure proof that Dr. Butler is beginning to feel assured of his ground with Sir Joseph.

The postscript shows that he wishes to keep his visits to Whitehall, and his activity in this matter as private and secret as may be. The 'N' was his cryptic signature in his correspondence with Sir Joseph, or rather the cypher .

Who was the 'ould friend' who had better keep aloof? Is it 'y^{t} 'one which,' in his previous letter, 'he yeilds is not soe consistent as it 'ought to bee?'—*i.e.*, either 'Mr. Church,' or Colonel Blood? In that case, is not 'our frend' who with him was to 'waite' upon Sir Joseph 'on the other side the water' the other of the two? May I suggest that it was 'M^{r}. Church' who had better not 'meddle' any more with the affair? and that Colonel Blood went with him to see Sir Joseph in Southwark?

This next letter is **320 (5)**, and, singularly enough, is not endorsed. Was it that because of its peculiarly confidential character he did not intend it to be docketed with the other letters?

It reads:

'Mar. 27: 72

'S^{r},

'The words for y^{t} perticuler is agreed as I gave it, viz^{t} y^{t} they bee licenced upon exterordinary family occations, to keepe a day of fast or thanksgiving in a private family with a moderate number.

'Thursday morn. they meet generall(y) to subscribe, &, suppose, friday waite upon L^{d} A's soe forwards.

'Soe I am necessitated to beg one favor, liberty for one Thomas King. hee is a house carpenter married our chambormaid 3 years agoe. by her hath 2 children which all live upon his labour. I was her father at mariage. I know you cannot be loather to bee troubled then I am to doe it, but you shall have my word I shall scarce doe y^{e} like againe. I suppose hee meanes S^{r} John Robinson's[*] man is master of y^{e} vessel

'I most unfeignedly
'your true lover

'I doubt not but this
day will bee well kept.'

321 (5 I.)

'Let your meeting N[†] bee kept private & let it not bee mentioned to our friend. if there should bee further occation which should necessitate a meeting againe then our true & ould frend shall bee tould, but as I hinted 'twill bee advantage that hee meddl(e) not, when our friend & I waite upon you remember 'tis the other side y^{e} water. is S^{r} Robert Carr a Chymist. I like Chymist acquaintance

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[*] Sir John Robinson was Governor of the Tower.

[†] N. is Dr. Butler's cryptic symbol for himself.

'burne this.'

One would like to know how Dr. Butler came to know Sir Robert Carr. Both Evelyn and Pepys allude to him, and their notes suggest the true solution of the problem.

In 1664 Evelyn, on May 5th, notes that Sir Robert Carr was courting Arlington's sister (Arlington was then only Sir Henry Bennett, but already Secretary of State). In 1667 Pepys (under date July 29) refers to the fact that it was at Sir Robert Carr's house that Sir H. Bellasses and Tom Porter had been spending the evening, when, inflamed with wine, they picked a quarrel and fought a duel, severely wounding each other (though they had been life-long friends). Pepys explaining that at Sir Robert's Carr's 'it seems all people doe drink 'high.' In 1668, too (under date April 25), Pepys mentions him as speaking hardly of Lord Sandwich. But the most interesting allusion is the one made by Evelyn this very month of March, 1672.

It was the 12th of the month, when Shaftsbury was deprived of the post of Lord High Treasurer. The King was inclined to give it to Clifford, and in the end did so, but Arlington wanted the King to put the Treasurership in commission, that the honours and emoluments might be divided, and that Arlington's brother-in-law, Sir Robert Carr, Bart., might be made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. Arlington engaged the good services of the Duke of York to further his project. But it did not succeed, and in consequence there was always a coolness between the two after Clifford had received the appointment as Lord High Treasurer. It was no doubt through Sir Joseph Williamson that Dr. Butler had been brought into Sir Robert Carr's company.

That sentence, 'I like Chymist acquaintance,' is very natural to one who like Dr. Butler was 'doctor of physic,' and was probably also a dealer in drugs and medical preparations. In such professional and commercial connection he would of necessity form many 'Chymist 'acquaintance.'

The last clause, 'burne this,' confirms my conjecture as to Sir Joseph's reason for not 'endorsing' this letter. He meant perhaps to observe Dr. Butler's request; but spite its not being endorsed for 'docketting,' it had got folded and tied up with Dr. B's other letters for preservation and reference.

The paper which follows is a note addressed to Lord Arlington on the morning of the next Council at Whitehall.—Friday, March 29.

Dr. Butler is anxious that Lord Arlington should know authentically how well the movement had begun. The previous day the King had granted the Nonconformists of London two audiences for the oral presentation of their thanks for the Declaration. From Sir Joseph Williamson's Diary we learn that the King received 3, if not 4, Congregationalists in the morning, and 4 Presbyterians in the afternoon; both in the Chief Secretary's Rooms at Whitehall. The entry, of course, is very condensed and bald. It runs as follows:

'Thursday 28.
'Nonconformist Ministers thanked y^e^ King
'in y^e^ morning —Dr. Owen
Griffith
Palmer
Sim
'in y^e^ afternoone—Manton
Bates
Jacombe
Seyman
'both in Lord Arlington's Lodgings.'

The above were the leaders of the two parties in London.

(1) 'Dr. Owen' was Dr. John Owen, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, now resident in Charterhouse Yard; 'Griffith' was George Griffith, who had been minister of the Charterhouse and lecturer at St. Bartholomew's Exchange and was now minister in Addle Street; 'Palmer' was Anthony Palmer, who had been ejected from Bourton-on-the-Water, but had come up to London in 1664, and preached both in Broad Street and on London Bridge. All these were decided Congregationalists. 'Sim' must be Wm. Simms, Kingston-on-Thames, or could it be Dr. Singleton of Queenhithe? The latter was a Congregationalist. [W. Simms was a Presbyterian who had been ejected from Leicester, but had retired to Wimbledon; while there was reported in '69 as preaching at Ewell; and this year '72 was licensed as a Presbyterian teacher in Kingston-on-Thames.]

Of the Presbyterian deputation, 'Manton' was Dr. Thomas Manton, who ministered still to many of his old parishioners in Covent Garden; 'Bates' was Dr. William Bates, unattached to any definite 'place' or 'people,' but the silver-tongued preacher, who had been ejected from St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street; 'Jacombe' is Dr. Thomas Jacomb, who had been ejected from St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, and who was now chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Exeter, living with her in Little Britain; and 'Seyman' was Dr. Lazarus Seaman, of Hammersmith.

The first three of this Presbyterian quartette were known to Williamson as the leaders of the 'Dons'—men who had more influence with the gentry, had taken the Oxford oath, and assumed pre-eminence among the Presbyterians of the Metropolis; and were opposed by the 'Ducklings'—men such as Annesley, Vincent, Watson and Janeway—who had not forsworn the endeavour to effect changes in Church and State, were reckoned of less account socially, but did not fear the water, and 'who thought that they made up' for their lack of social influence 'by their popularity and interest of the middling people' (Williamson's notes, Dec. 13, 1671).

Sir Joseph does not say in this bald entry how they were received by the King, or how he took their Thanks. But Dr. Butler had evidently interviewed them afterwards, and found that Charles had been very courteous and generous to them, expressing himself as well pleased with their loyal gratitude; while they were delighted with the King's reception—quite effusive in their rekindled loyalty to him. He had gone at once to Sir Joseph Williamson to tell him how well all had turned out; and Dr. Butler was anxious, wrote to Lord Arlington to tell him that he had seen Sir Joseph; and to urge upon him the most liberal interpretation of the Indulgence and the most generous issue of licences under it. Here follows the note itself.

It is reproduced in Vol. I. as **320** (**6**), and is Endorsed (in Sir Joseph's handwriting.—Ed.).

'29 Mar. 1672
'D^{r}. B. My L^{d}.
'Indulgence.'

It is addressed: 'For y^{e} Right Hon^{ble} Lrd. Arlington'; and reads:

'Mar: y^{e} 29th 1672

'Right Hon^{ble}

'I did last night acquaint S^{r} Joseph Williamson, with what abundance of Kindnes y^{e} dissenters received his majesties acceptance of a verball thankes. I only further offer y^{t} there is noe thing can bind them in Loyalty more to his Majesty then to let their Licences bee large & free from intanglements. A little love obligeth more than great severity.

'I beg your honors pardon for this bouldness.

'Your Honors most humble
'most faithfull servant,
'JB'

The project is now well launched. The Licence forms were all settled (the actual drafts are preserved in **320**) and printed by the following day, March 30, and on Monday, April 1. Many were filled in and ready for signature next day, April 2.

This date—Tuesday, April 2, 1672—is memorable in the annals of Nonconformity, as the day on which the first Licences were issued under the Declaration of Indulgence. Sir Joseph Williamson specially notes it in his Diary:—

'April.
'Tuesday 2.
'Mr. Jenkins takes out his Licences to preach
the first that was taken out.
'Tiverton }
Exeter } licences to Congreg^{ll} way sent down.'

As a matter of fact, the half-dozen Sir Joseph notes were only *primæ inter pares*. For no less than seventy-five licences are entered in **E**. as issued that same day, and no less than forty-two of them for London. 'Mr. Jenkins' was William Jenkins, who had been ejected from Christ Church, Newgate Street, and was now a Presbyterian minister of Horne Alley, Aldersgate Street. To both Tiverton and Exeter a pair of licences was sent: for Tiverton, a Licence for Theophilus Polewheile as Teacher, and one for the house of Peter Bere; and in the case of Exeter, a licence for Lewis Stuckley as Teacher, and another for Nicholas Savery's house as the meeting-place for him to preach in.

The next letter in the series belongs to the day following this first issue of licences—viz., April 3.* It is addressed (like most of the series) to Sir Joseph.

Before citing this letter, however, we must note that **320** (**25**) is really one of Dr. Butler's memoranda. It is not in his hand-writing, but it must have been 'put in' by him. It is an application for six licences; and appended to the Entry of each of them on **E.** (**3**) and **E.** (**4**), we have the note 'Desired by D^{r}. Butler, &c.' They are for Edward West (person and house) in Ropemakers' Alley, Little Moorfields; D^{r}. Samuel Annesley (person and house) in Spittlefields; and for John Milward and Robert Chambers (general licences).

The letter I now cite shews Dr. Butler's eagerness to make the project succeed:

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* Under this date we have an interesting entry in Sir Joseph's Diary which calls for explanation:

'3 Wednesday.

$$\text{`Licences 2 preach}\begin{cases}\text{Madockes}\\\text{Vincent}\\\text{Sharp}\\\text{Blackey}\\\text{Cawton}\end{cases}$$

to Sims.'

[The curious abbreviation of 'to' to the numeral '2' is worth noting, as belonging to an order of abbreviation rather characteristic of that day, which in the names of the months gave '7^{ber},' 8^{ber},' '9^{ber},' '10^{ber},' for September, October, November, and December.] The licences to the first five names are all entered as dated the previous day (April 2), so that their mention thus, followed by the words 'to Sims,' would naturally mean that Sims—doubtless the W. Sims who himself was licensed for Kingston-on-Thames—was staying the week in town, called for them at Whitehall, and that by Sir Joseph's instruction they were handed over to him ('to Sims'). From the notes in the Entry Book, however, it would appear that it was only his own two licences which were handed 'to Sims' (see notes on **E.** (**3**), 'delivered M^{r} Sims himselfe'), and the rest were handed 'to y^{e} partyes Themselves' (see note just above).

The first two on the list, 'Madockes' and 'Vincent,' were both of Bartholomew Lane (City). 'Madockes' is William Maddocks; and 'Vincent' is Thomas Vincent (not his younger brother, Nathaniel), whose meeting-place is Mr. Broome's house in Hand's Alley, Bishopsgate Street Without. Of their application we have no record. The application for the other three is preserved in **320** (**24**). Unsigned and undated, it is yet evident that the applications from these Londoners were considered of special importance, as the endorsement is in Sir Joseph's hand; and he has appended to the entry of five of them on p. 3 of **E.** the note, 'Delivered These above to y^{e} partyes Themselves Ap. 3: 72' (the date of this entry in his Diary). 'Sharp,' we see, is Thomas Sharpe, of King's Head Court, Beech Lane, Cripplegate; 'Blackey' is Nicholas Blakey, of Blackfriars; and 'Cawton' is Thomas Cawton, of St. Ann's, Westminster.

The sixth (a meeting-place for Mr. Blakey) was not forthcoming, and Mr. Blakey seems to have returned to Whitehall for it, under the ægis of Colonel Blood; for so I interpret the note appended to the entry by Sir Joseph on **E.** (**4**): 'desired by 'M^{r} Blakey, who was brought by M^{r} Blood.'

320 (**31**).

Endorsed: ‘**R.** 3 Apr. 1672
‘Dr. B.
‘Indulgence.’

Addressed: ‘For Sir Joseph Williamson.
‘Apr: ye 3rd 1672

‘Deare Sr.,

‘I desire by this bearer you please to send mee a coppy of licences, & appoint when I may not faile to waite upon you this night or tomorrow night in order to take licences for some frinds & to communicate some thing farther: out of sight out of mind. Where is yr p(ro)tection. I will not be knowne to get licence for any therefore I pray secrecy.

‘I am
‘ever your most unfeigned
‘frend to love honor & serve you

The copy of licences (of each of the three kinds) I presume he wanted to show ‘enquirers,’ that they might see the particulars which were required duly to fill them in. The last sentences show that he was anxious that his friends in the Establishment should have no inkling of what he had been doing hitherto, and specially anxious that none of them should know that he was actively engaged in making the Declaration a success.

But of his energy in this direction—the next letter [**320** (**33**)] gives ample evidence.

It is Endorsed by Sir Joseph himself.

‘4 Ap. 1672.
‘Dr. B.
‘Harrison: Essex.
‘Marshall: Yorkesh;’

is Addressed: ‘For Sr Joseph Williamson,’ and reads:

‘Apr: ye 4th, 72

‘My dear Sr Joseph

‘pray by this bearer send thoese licenses & ye originall of thoese two addresses, & by this post, I will god willing, send coppies into severall parts & returne ye originalls.

‘Oh! yt some thing could bee done as to civills would set, though not a triple, yet a double Crowne upon his Majesties head. pray send mee a licence also for John Harrisson presbiterian—licence for his house Pedmash in Essex, hee is Mr West father-in-law. as alsoe for Mr Martiall for an house in Topliffe in Yorkshire presbiterian.

‘I will promote Addresses by all friends.

god bles(s) his Majesty for his act which undoubtedly will prove an healing to his nation. You know

‘Protection.
I will not say

‘I am
‘Yours most unfeignedly

'tis forgetfulness but many busines(s)
but may bee I am charitable beyond reason.
I am free to pay y^e^ porter and hope you beelieve
I doe not expect to be repaid by any.'

[On the back.]

'When you have leisure to spend halfe an houre with noe leave I may shew you some thing worth y^e^ view. burne this.'

'Thoese licenses' he asks Sir Joseph to send by bearer must be the six he 'put in' for in **320** (**25**), and this letter shows that beside these four London 'clients,' he now has two further clients in the 'countries' or provinces: John Harrison, of Pedmash in Essex, and Christopher Marshal(l), of Morley and Topliffe in Yorkshire (West Riding).

The odd thing is, however, that both are entered as already issued, 'Ap. 2.' They must have been applied for by some one else: but not having been secured (*i.e.*, taken away from Whitehall) he is asked, no doubt, to use his influence to get them. They were made out at once, and handed to his messenger with the other six. Hence Sir Joseph Williamson's notes in the Entry Book, appended to each of these eight 'entries, 'Desired by D^r^ Butler and sent him, Ap. 4^th^.'

The two addresses referred to in this letter are, I imagine, the addresses sent from Tiverton and Exeter: in response to which the four licences I referred to just now had been sent down.

Dr. Butler apparently wanted the originals of them that he might have them before him while sketching a model preamble to send to those who were at all inclined to give this proof of the loyalty and gratitude to the King, which had been evoked in the hearts of Nonconformists by his Declaration of Indulgence. The 'protection' he had 'queried' in his previous letter he refers to again in the postscript to this; and meant evidently the protection from the prying criticism of his Anglican friends which 'secrecy' alone could secure him.

He seems to think that Sir Joseph had 'forgotten' his pledge, and had inadvertently referred to him by name. In that last sentence of the postscript, urging his generosity to the 'porters,' and his own 'cleanness 'of palm,' I can hardly refrain the fear that he 'protests too much.'

This same day—the 4th of April—(two days after the first batch of Licences were issued) Dr. Nicholas Butler wrote a letter indicating his willingness to act as Agent for those in the provinces.

It is cited by Dr. B. Nightingale in the Introduction to his 'The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland, their Predecessors & Successors,' p. 57. He extracted it from Jerom Murch's 'Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England' (p. 378). It is headed:—

'Letter from Mr. Butler of London to a Dissenter in the County,' and Mr. Murch says that 'in all probability this Dissenter lived in 'Lancashire.'

'Lond. Ap. 4^th^ '72

'I am not unmindful of friends, and therefore thought good to offere my service to you and any of your brethren, in order to procuring licenses. [They] shall cost nothing. Our London ministers have returned thankes, and most have already taken out their licences. Its expected that someth: by way of addresse be sent from those in the countrey. 2 examples I have sent you, coppyed by my men from the originall: the places must be mentioned and so licensed, the name of the minister and his Persuasion, and so he wid [would] not only be licensed to this place, but to all places whatever we have licensed. If you please you may direct your letter to mee in little St. Hellens in Bishopsgate Street

'I am
'Sr
'Your loving friend
'NICHOLAS BUTLER.'

This letter shows how promptly and eagerly he is fulfilling his promise to Sir Joseph. It is written the very same day.

The next letter in the Whitehall series was written four days later. It has somehow got misplaced in the volumes of State Papers. It is bound up in **321**, as **197A** in that Volume because of the erroneous date prefixed to it. Dr. Butler has by a slip of the pen written 'Feb. ye 8th 72.' (O.S.); and this has been interpreted as meaning, in N.S., Feb. 8, 1673, and so is placed in **321**.

It is accordingly calendared **321 (197A)**; but its proper date is given in the Endorsement:

'8 Ap. 1672,
'Dr B.
'5 licences
Slater
Pedger
Winke
Marshall
Swinhow.'

It is addressed: 'For Sir Joseph Williamson.'

'[Apr]
'Feb. ye 8th 72

'Indeed you bee a naughty man to send mee foure of six unsigned—pray returne them mended. I pray licence for

'1. Mr Samuell Slater Mr of Arts, for his house in Walthamstow a generall licence
2. for Mr Elias pedger Mr of Arts of London
3. the same for Mr Peeter Winke Mr of Arts of London & forget not him in my last
4. Mr George Swinhow his house in Weedred in the parish of Ammersham in Bucks. all presbiterian
5. Mr Christopher Martiall is congregationall which I mistooke, & you may alter, if you please

'I have an address, which I think best to deliver you and not to send.

I would speak with you at your leisure as to M^{r} Chambre. I thank you for your long looked for,

'and am most certainly
'Yours in sincerity

'I have ordered my boy to
your leisure—all theese are as done
by our friend W his friend unknowne
'I must send for two more,
both out of Essex, to be signed.
I have sent you the letter to ly by you.'

The 'four out of six' which had been sent unsigned—must have been four out of the six London licences applied for in **320** (**25**). As to which they were we have no indication. Was one of them Chambre's about which he says he would like to speak privately? or were they the four (two pairs) for Dr. Annesley and Mr. West?

As he speaks of Christopher Martial having been misnamed Presbyterian—it was his own (Dr. Butler's) mistake—he must have sent it back with this letter by 'his boy,' to be altered while the boy waits Sir Joseph's leisure.

The reference to 'Mr. Chambre' is of special interest.

There is little wonder that Dr. Butler wants a quiet word with Sir Joseph about him. He is the Robert Chambers who had lost his preferment in Dublin, in 1662, and, like so many more who felt the cruel injustice of the Act of Uniformity, had given Colonel Blood his active sympathy in the plot which Blood headed in 1663 to surprise Dublin Castle, seize the person of the Duke of Ormonde, and right the wrongs of the persecuted Puritan Protestants.* When the scheme failed, he escaped, as did his friend Blood; and appears to have come direct to London for asylum. Under the *alias* of 'Mr. Grime,' or Grimes, he had lived in seclusion but not in inaction. In 1665 he was one of the noble band of Nonconformist ministers who braved all the perils of the Great Plague to supply the lack of service to the sick and dying of the Church of England clergy when they fled from the city to preserve their own precious lives. In 1669 he was one of those reported by the Bishop of London under the name of 'Mr. Grimes' as holding a Conventicle in Horne Alley in Aldersgate Street [**R. 220**]; and now, in 1672, in response to Dr. Butler's application on his behalf, he obtained a licence 'to be a Presbyterian Teacher in any place licenced & allowed 2. Apr. '1672,' under the name of 'Robert Chambre.' The licence was sent to Dr. Butler April 4, and conveyed by him to his mysterious friend [**E. (5)**].

The next document is another note to Sir Joseph, dated April 12, 1672. He sends it, not by a servant, or his 'boy,' but by one whom he calls the mutual friend of Sir Joseph and himself, 'our friend'—

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* His name appears third on the list (preserved in S. P. Dom. Car. II. 75, 161) of eighteen, to which is appended the note, 'They were all in this night's action.' The first is 'Capt. Blood a parliam^{t} man'; and the third appears in this form, 'M^{r} 'Chambers a minister presb.,' with three others similarly described.

although he was an ejected minister, and one who in 1669 was reported as holding a large Conventicle in Wapping—and is spoken of by the Bishop in anything but complimentary terms—Mr. Edward Veal. It is very short, but the exact meaning of the allusions in it is not very easy to determine.

It is calendared **320 (61)**, and is endorsed : ‘Middlesex’ by Benson. It is addressed : ‘For his honored friend S^r Joseph Williamson.
‘Th(ese) psent.’
and reads :

‘Apr: y^e 12th 1672

‘Deare S^r

‘If it bee not over great a trouble I desire you will bee pleased to send by this bearer (our good friend M^r Veale) the licences I desired or at least let me know when I may send for them.

‘I am,
‘Ever yours

These must be the licences he had mentioned in **321 (197A)** four days before (viz., for Samuel Slater, of Walthamstow ; Elias Pledger, of Whitechapel (for Margetting) ; Peter Vinke,* of London ; Geo. Swinhow, of Amersham ; and Chr. Marshall, of Topcliffe, York).

Now it so happens that licences for the first four had been issued the previous day (April 11, 1672) [**E. (10)**] ; and Christopher Marshall's had been issued in the very first batch of licences issued—on April 2, 1672 [**E. (4)**]. So that they were all ready for Mr. Veale to take away with him.

Though they were ready, however, it is clear from the terms of the next document that Mr. Veale did not bring them away, and they were still lying ‘dormant’ at Whitehall five days later, when Dr. Butler writes to Sir Joseph, complaining that they have not reached him.

It would appear that, whether Mr. Veale first offered to take them away or not, Sir Joseph had promised to send them to Dr. Butler, and so save Mr. Veale the trouble ; and it seems more likely that Mr. Veale did not offer this courtesy, as in the note addressed to Sir Joseph on Mr. Wilmott's memorandum, he asks him to send them to their mutual friend ‘D^r Butler.’

This, and much more, comes out in the following letter by Dr. Butler [**320 (110)**].

It is endorsed : ‘Yorkeshire, Kent, Bucks, London, Middlesex, Somerset’;
is addressed : ‘For Sir Joseph Williamson’; and is one of the most carefully and legibly written of the whole series.

It runs :

‘Lon: Apr: y^e 17th: 72.

‘Dearest S^r,

‘Would you say this were a trouble, I would not com̄it y^e like error. I expected licences according to your ꝑmis to our frend Mr. V. I am as freely ready to give as you can rec^e gr(ace) of allowance upon y^e^ account of the multiplicity of busines. if you can or will, pray send licences as followeth & if it bee the least inconvenience to you I will trouble you noe farther than to tell you allwaies that I am

---

* In the licence-entry spelt ‘Winke.’

'Yours in most sincerity

'Samuel Slater M.A. his house at Walthamstow Pres:
Nich: Thorowgood his house in Canterbury pres: MA
Edward Veales his meeting house in Waping pres: BD
Tho: Burdsall MA: Licence generall. pres:
Matt: Sylvester MA Licen: gen: pres: of London
Thomas Harocks his house in Battersey MA presb:
Elias Pledger MA Licen: gen pres: of London
George Swinhow of Woodred parish Amersham his house in Bucks:
Oliver Heywood MA pres his house in y^e^ parish of Halifax Yorkshire.
Francis Sale MA pres: his house in Leeds.
Tho. Sharpe MA pres: his house in Leeds.
Not inserted
or y^e^ School house there for y^e^ too last teach^rs^ are helpers of Each other.'

[In margin, written along side of paper]
'I beg theese may bee sent by this bearer & pray thee soe.
for 'tis lawfull sometimes to bee troublesome.
I am weary myself of this worke, but cannot deny W.'*

Of the nineteen or twenty licences asked for, and which he hopes his messenger will be able to bring away with him, eleven had been ready for some time—five of them since the 11th of April, and six since the 13th. The others were fresh applications, two for Battersea (Thomas Harrocks's) and six for Yorkshire [Halifax (2) and Leeds (4)].

There was no reason, therefore, why Dr. Butler's messenger should not have taken away all the former eleven. Even yet, we shall see, that was not done. With the fresh applications there was no attempt to deal at once. They were not issued till April 20, though they are all entered as issued on that date.

His protestation, 'if it bee the least inconvenience to you I will 'trouble you noe farther,' if it meant anything beyond the civility that he would not *press* Sir Joseph to do anything that day, had no practical worth; for two days later he is begging licences again.

April 17 (the date of [**320 (110)**]) was a Wednesday. **320** (**152** or **153**), which is the next letter bearing Dr. Butler's cryptic signature is dated 'Frid. morn'.'

It is endorsed: 'London, Midd.,' and runs:

'Frid. morn'

'My dear S^r^ Joseph,

'Send mee this one time & ille vow and swear I'll send for noe more, for any man's pleasure. I have sent y^e^ blanck fill. y^e^ porter waits your leisure. I will be very vext noe moe. let ould . . . get licences for these for me. Yet still & ever shall I bee

---

* 'W' must mean 'Mr. West,' Edward West, of Ropemakers' Alley, Moorfields

‘Yours as much as you will
‘or can wish
‘

‘Pray let patron signe these
I could make you laugh but I will not
good now if you have any goodness in you
send me all I send for.’

It must be confessed that Dr. Butler is a little impatient. He has allowed only two days to pass since he applied. But the Whitehall officials apparently are not inclined to put themselves out to meet his wishes. His messenger has to go away without the fresh licences asked on the 17th (for Surrey and Yorks). They are not made out until the following day—Saturday, April 20. [I imagine it is these he refers to in the postscript.] And for any new ones he will surely have to wait—those referred to in the sentence, ‘let ould . . . get licences for these ‘for me.’ What ‘these’ are, the letter gives no indication. But Benson's endorsement—‘London, Middlesex’—would lead us to suppose that a list accompanied the letter of places in these districts, which has disappeared. The next letter, which is undoubtedly from Dr. Butler's hand, is **320 (170)**. But **320 (163)**—an application from William Hooke (the friend of John Davenport of New Haven—and the ex-master of the Savoy) for a licence for himself and John Langstone his assistant to preach at Richard Loton's house ‘in Spittle yard at present and the ‘next year at his howse in Angell Alley in Whitechappell’—seems to have been put in by Dr. Butler; for the note (applying to the erasure of the last clause), ‘I have crossed what I thought not practicable,’ seems to be in Dr. Butler's hand.

But here is an undoubted production of the Doctor's hand:

320 (170)

Addressed: ‘for Sr Joseph Williamson’

‘Apr. 22th 72

‘A posset take you my dear friend. cannot you bee a sufferer, but you must make me a fellow feeler, because you give licences for noe thing. must I bee thus troubled Why doe you not beg my pardon what? have you lost goodnes & good manners all at once fy, fy. in truth I must ring[*] you not because you root[*] but beecause you do not well however whether in jest or earnest you must conclude I am & ever shall bee

‘Dear Sr
‘Yours most unfeignedly
‘in all faithfulnes.
‘

---

[*] The allusion must be to Dr. B.'s reproach of Sir Joseph Williamson that he does not ‘grub’ about in the pockets of licence-seekers for money in the shape of fees, as swine ‘root’ about in the mire for filthy food if their snouts are not ‘ring'ed.

'there bee five beehind
for which you bee a naughty man.
I can heare all have them imediately,
but if you take mee for your frend I
wil have you to make bould
pray fill up y^e^ blanck with for his
house at Walthamstow.'

The body of this letter shows that a point has been raised by Sir Joseph as to the conditions on which Dr. Butler is obtaining these licences similar to that which, about a month later, was raised in so awkward a form about Colonel Blood.

Dr. Butler at the outset protested that in this matter he was quite willing to serve God for naught, and that it was mainly, wholly, the interests of the King and the Church which he was working for in taking up this Indulgence. Here he frankly avows, or at least very clearly implies, that he does not mean to get these licences for nothing; hinting that in his opinion there should be some fee officially charged, to be paid at Whitehall by the applicant whether in person or by proxy: in the latter case, the agent being allowed to charge a little extra as his personal perquisite. Sir Joseph evidently does not agree. The allusions in the postscript are not all equally clear. The last sentence can scarcely mean anything but that he had found the licence for Samuel Slater imperfect, or Samuel Slater himself had discovered it. The 'meeting-place' was not filled in, and he wished it filled in 'for his 'house at Walthamstow.' The first sentence of it means that there are still five licences which he has applied for, but has not yet received. What they are it is not easy to ascertain.

Having let off this steam of 'familiar' wit, he begins again. The very next day (April 23) he writes him, as though he had never written before.

He begs for licences by an unnamed 'bearer' and for 'persons & 'places' unnamed, and asks him to accord a private interview to Mr. Edward West, of Little Moorfields.

320 (185)

It is endorsed by Sir Joseph: 'Indulgence.
'23 Apr. 1672. **R.**
'Dr. B.'

It is addressed: 'These for S^r^ Joseph Williamson': and reads:

'Apr. y^e^ 23^th^ 72

'Most honored & dear S^r^,

'I humbly pray y^t^ you would give licences to y^e^ bearer heareof for such persons & places as hee shall offer to you, & bee pleased to take noe notice to the bearer of mee for hee knoweth not from whoese hands this cometh & alsoe bee pleased to favor M^r^ West as mee with an opportunity for one half hower to waite upon you at your time &

place, which if you please you may intimate by a line by this bearer to bee delivered to ye party hee comes from. but not superscribe it comes from Mr W:

‘Sr,
‘I am in all manner of faithfullnes
‘Yours to love honour & serve you
‘ .’

The next letter is addressed to Lord Arlington, and concerns an important question in the working of the Indulgence (touching the details of its application)—viz., whether licences should be granted for large Buildings and Public Halls.

Evidently the High Church Party were using their influence at headquarters to prevent it. Anything which gave the Nonconformist services prominence and good public standing they feared would injure the Church of England; and they had in many cases already secured the official refusal to made such application. Dr. Butler had not been asked to obtain licences for any such buildings, but Colonel Blood had. Colonel Blood had made application for several, evidently considering that no possible objection could be taken to issuing licences for them, wherever those responsible for the maintenance of such buildings were willing that they should be used for this purpose.

His application, and a number of similar applications on the part of others, had met with a curt refusal, rousing considerable resentment in many quarters. Blood was evidently nettled, and in a letter to Lord Arlington on public affairs (touching the Dutch fleet), had urged that such refusals were bad tactics as well as unfair. That was on the 24th of April (S. P. Dom. Car. II. 306, 63A).* It is more than probable that he had seen Dr. Butler about it—after writing, if not before; and Dr Butler fully concurred with his judgment, though in his own letter to Lord Arlington he makes no illusion to Blood, and bases his remonstrance on what he has personally heard on all sides.

The letter is dated April 26, 1672, the day on which Sir Joseph endorses Blood's letter as received, and is reproduced in Vol. I. as:

320 (196)

It is endorsed by Sir Joseph Williamson: ‘Ye Indulgence
‘26 Apr. 72. R.
‘Dr Butler,
‘ye use of Halls.’

It is addressed: ‘For ye Right Honble Earle of Arlington’; and reads:

‘London, Apr: ye 26th 1672

‘Right Honble

‘I should not bee faithful should I conceale ye dayly growth of Jelousies, Protestant dissenters conclude this there (*sic*) liberty soe graciously soe freely granted by his Majesty will bee short lived in regard 'tis soe stiffled in ye birth. publick places was declared should bee allow'd now refused, & they licenced to noe more than what thoese of y^{e} Romish perswasion freely enjoy. they say why not Halls Schooles or chappells not endowed. they beeing by declaration only debarred church benefices. let others supply unendowed chappells with preaching ministers. dissenters desires off them presently ceaceth, otherwise they conclude wheare God hath his church y^{e} Devill must have his chappell, it beeing his great worke to keepe y^{e} Gospell from beeing preached.

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* *Vide* account of Blood (pp. 234, 235).

'Every day allmost affords tidings (as I can show some) from y^{e} countries of y^{e} many frequent and fervent blessing of god & y^{e} King. tis great pitty y^{t} anything (by lessening his Maj: soe mercifull grant) should bee done to hinder soe good soe advantageous a worke as y^{e} getting y^{e} harts of the people which now as y^{e} hart of one man begin to say long may your majesty live & rule over us. these are weighty reasons (I humbly conceive) rather of choice to allow them theese publick places.

'but I have troubled your honor too much already. yet I had your encouragement for it, but I am loath to abuse my liberty, therefore only further beg to bee accounted

'Right Hon^{ble}
'Your honors
'Most unworthy yet most
'faithfull servant
'HB'

The same day he writes to the Under Secretary in the same vein as he has written to the Chief Secretary of State.

320 (**197**)

Endorsed :

'25. Apr. $\overline{72}$ **R.**
'D^{r} B.
'Halls to N-Conformists.'

Addressed : 'For S^{r} Joseph Williamson.'

'Aprill 26th 72

'Most honored & dear S^{r},

'had I seene you I should further discoursed this point, I am confident you beelieve I intirely love you, without self ends of anything from you or by you. I am sorry to heare it said. who is y^{e} author of this Stop of halls etc. : my ears are daily boared with theese complaints loath I was to trouble you but rubs are easiest removed at first, a plain frend is not to bee despised noe one is privy to my writing but I did see a necessity of it. Our friend G is well had hee knowne of my writing hee would kindly remembered (*sic*) to you. I constantly let him know all my actings if not before, yet after

'I am,
'ever without all doubt
'Your truly loveing & endeared frend

The counsel tendered by both him and Blood was not accepted. Though some large mansions and public halls, which were the legal property of trustees, were 'allowed,' a greater number were refused; and the refusal was unhesitating and without exception in the case of all ecclesiastical property—property belonging to the dignitaries or clergy of the Church of England.

The number of such cases was much larger than would perhaps be supposed; and the details connected with each case are full of interest. The reader will find them discussed in Chapter VI. of this Second Section.

This was, however, a side issue, and is not allowed by Dr. Butler—as it was apparently by Colonel Blood—to check his efforts to make the Indulgence a success.

The very same day on which he had penned this double remonstrance, he writes again to Sir Joseph Williamson, though quite late in the evening.

The letter is reproduced as:

320 (198)

It is endorsed by Sir Joseph's clerk, Fr. Benson:

'D^{r} Butler
'**R** 27 Ap. 72'

It is unaddressed, but was evidently meant for Sir Joseph; and reads:

'Apr: y^{e} 26th 72

'Most honoured & deare S^{r}

'These came this evening to my hand by which you may see my readiness to promote what may bee most acceptable to his majesty theese beeing y^{e} effects of writing downe and if theese please I will not offer to obtaine for any but upon such account I most humbly beg y^{t} this bearer may bring y^{e} licences fully according to y^{e} petitions.

'I am
'most deare S^{r}
'Your most unfeigned frend
'loveing to love, honor, & serve you

The 'these' in the first sentence of the above must be two Petitions (from Eccles and Winwick) which accompanied the letter, and are reproduced in Vol. I. as **320 (198 I.)** and **320 (198 II.)**.

Their preambles are practically identical, being evidently variants of a model form drawn up, and sent to the intending petitioners by Dr. Butler, when writing *down* to suggest this course. The following note to Mr. Benson, Sir Joseph's head clerk, must have been penned the same night or following morning:

320 (199)

It is addressed: 'For M^{r} Francis Benson,' and reads:

‘S^{r}

‘There were two peticcons sent by mee to S^{r} Joseph : y^{e} one from Eccles y^{e} other from Winwick in Lancashire.* y^{e} persons names I have forgot, but hope this may direct you to find them other wais I must bee forced to send to Lancr: for the names againe which would reflect much upon my credit. I should bee truely thankefull to you for y^{e} finding of them.

‘I am,
‘S^{r}
‘Yours
‘NButler’

It should not escape notice that, in writing to the subordinate, Dr. Butler does not feel the need for secrecy, which he observes when writing to Sir Joseph. He signs—not in cypher—but under his usual ‘sign-manual’; but still with that confusing method of making the second stroke of the ‘N’ do duty for the first stroke of the ‘B’—thereby making the signature appear more like J. Butler than N.Butler.

In the course of the next three or four days two other Petitions reached his hand; the first from Wrentham, Essex, dated April 29 [**320** (**204**)], and the second from Lewes, Sussex, dated April 30 [**320** (**209**)].

The letter which follows asks attention to these Petitions :

320 (**210**)

Endorsed : ‘30. Apr. 1672. **R**
‘D^{r} B.
‘Licences
‘Milward’s house
‘Rent
‘Rathbone’

Addressed : ‘For S^{r} Joseph Williamson.’

‘Apr y^{e} y^{e} 30th 72

‘Most honored & deare S^{r}

‘I most humbly beg licences for thoese two peticions according as therein desired. I alsoe pray a licence for y^{e} house of M^{r} Georg Milward at Farincomb in Somersetshire for M^{r} John Milward to preach in whoe already hath a licence in generall. there is yet alsoe two beehind of y^{e} ould ones I formerly desired which were for Kent. Rathbone was one of them, the other I have forgotten. I intreat you, deare S^{r}, to let mee have theese. I get nothing by this but expense of money & time. I am, for ever,

‘Dear S^{r},
‘Yours in all truth

John Milward’s personal licence had been ‘desired’ by Dr. Butler as early as the 31st of March or 1st April. The memorandum of application is preserved in **320** (**25**). It had been made out (in the first batch issued) April 2, and sent to Dr. Butler April 4 [*vide* Sir J. W.'s Notes on **E.** (**4**)]. The licence he now asks for George Milward's house is granted at once, as well as a second licence for himself there, although (as already licensed to preach in 'any allowed place') it was quite unnecessary. Both are entered on **E.** (**67**) as issued the very next day (May 1). Rathbone (or Rathband)'s licence was applied for first April 17 [(Benson's Official List) **320** (**115**)]. The application was repeated [**320** (**162**)]. In each case it was to preach in 'Richard Day's house.' This doubtless is the name Dr. Butler had forgotten. Both licences were made out and entered [**E.** (**34**)] on '20 Apr. 72.' for Presbyterians in Horsmonden.

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* ‘Both townes there’: marginal note by J. W.

The next letter of Dr. Butler's which we come to is **321** (**65**).

This letter is neither signed with Dr. Butler's cypher nor 'addressed.' Still, there is no reason for hesitation in assigning it to Dr. Nicholas Butler—the handwriting is so manifestly his; and Benson has endorsed it: 'Dr Butler, 9 May 72. Essex.'

'Sr,

'Pray send mee the licence for Constantine according to ye peticion, and theese following

'A licence for ye house of Mr Harris called Chennills in Margeting Essex, Elias Pledger is to bee teacher but hath already a generall licence soe needs noe more.

'John Oakes of Little Baddow in Essex M:A: presbi: for him selfe & his owne house

'Christopher Wrage M:A: presbi: for him selfe & his house called Foxtons hall in Litle Waltham Essex

'John Reeve M.A. Presb: for him selfe and ye house in Chelmsford Essex know by the signe of ye King's head'

In the above 'Constantine' is Robert Constantine, M.A., 'formerly 'minister of Oldham'; and 'ye peticion' is a Petition which is preserved as **321** (22), 'To the Kings most Excellent Maitie,' from 'a number of 'Inhabitants of the Parish of Oldham,' to permit him to preach in 'A 'Barne belonging to Robert Wylde of Heaside.' The licences were ready—having been made out the previous day, May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**86**)].

Mr. Harris's house at Stenvills (here 'Chennils'), had been applied for the previous day (May 8) by William Mascall, of Romford [**321** (**27**)].

Elias Pledger's licence had been applied for by Dr. Butler as early as April 8 [**321** (**197**A), and on another memorandum [**320** (**49**)], Elias Pledger had long before that been described by Sir Joseph Williamson or his clerk, Fr. Benson, as 'usually living' at Whitechapel, and had been granted a general licence April 11, 1672 [**E.** (**10**)].

The applications for John Oakes (person and house), and Christopher Wrag (person and a friend's house), are new applications.

John Reeve had already secured licences for himself to preach in his own house at Springfield (near Colchester), probably on the application of John Burgis. Issued on April 30 [**E. (45)**], it had been taken away by John Burgis on May 1 [**320 (244)**].*

But Dr. Butler now applies for another licence to preach in Chelmsford itself, 'at the signe of the King's Head' (was it an inn ?).† All these are secured at once, and are entered [on **E. (94)**] as issued on the very day of this application, May 9, 1672.

The next letter of Dr. Butler's, in order of numbering, is **321 (197A)**, but that we have seen reason to place much earlier, because it was palpably by a slip of the pen that Dr. Butler dated it February 8, 1672—which has been interpreted by the Editor as February 8, 1673—whereas Sir Joseph's endorsement, April 8, 1672, is clearly an accurate correction. So that it ought to have been placed in Vol. **320**, somewhere between **33** and **61**. [As **34** is dated April 6, it might well immediately follow that.]

The next and last of this most interesting series of letters is—

321 (333).

It is endorsed : 'the houses not fild up in this note.'

The lines containing the names are by a different hand. The note is undoubtedly Dr. Butler's, and is remarkable as being signed with his full surname, not the familiar cypher . The whole document reads:

'Mr Samuel Statham a Presbyterian of Loughborough in Leicester-shire.'

'The house of Mrs Mary Statham widow of Loughborough in Leicester-shire for Presbyterians to meet in,' etc.

'Mr Benson

'Pray doe mee the favour as to send mee licences as above desired by this gentleman & you will much oblige

'Sr

'Your obliged frend

'NButler'

'Pray let me know by him
what news from ye fleet.'

This note, it will be again observed, is clearly and fully signed NButler, doubtless because it is addressed to the subordinate, and not to Sir J. W., the responsible public official. The date is not appended. But the licences asked for were granted and entered June 10, 1672 [**E. (153)**]. This shows that the note must have been written within a month of that last quoted. The enquiry in the P.S. for 'news from ye fleet,' moreover, shows that it must have been less than three weeks ; for on May 28 the great battle was fought in Southwold Bay, in its issues, equal and indecisive.

The whole correspondence of the Doctor—preserved in these two volumes—therefore ranges in date between March 19 and June 10, and covers less than three months of this eventful year.

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* This document is defective. Two licences were issued ; and John Burgis speaks of only one. The name of the preacher also is omitted (viz., the same John Reeve for whose house a separate licence was issued), John Burgis's silence on the point implying, to the unwary, that he, John Burgis, was to be the preacher.

† In the entry it is simply called 'the howse of John Reeve in Chelmesford, 'Essex.'

Of course, it has to be borne in mind that all the similar notes or memoranda relating to the applications for licences or their receipt after the middle of June, were not preserved. So that we cannot say that Dr. Butler gave up this licence-agent work with this date. He evidently was genuinely interested in the whole Indulgence project, though it would involve too great a draft on our credulity to believe that there was no thought of self in it. Too palpably he was hoping thereby to convince both the King and his brother that he was devoted to the cause of their personal popularity, and would do anything to promote the welfare of the Stuart dynasty.

COLONEL BLOOD.*

He was an Irishman by birth, but a strong Protestant, and a Puritan by religious education. He was born in 1628 on his paternal estate at Dunboyne, county Meath, about ten or twelve miles north-west of Dublin. Until his marriage to a Lancashire lass in 1650, we know little or nothing about him; but we may well recall the facts of British history belonging to that period of his life, which would be graven deep in his memory, and which must have had great influence in moulding his sympathies and character.

He was twelve years old when the Long Parliament assembled at Westminster, and began its memorable work by impeaching Strafford for his attempts to introduce personal government, and for several instances of personal oppression, in Ireland, following it up by compelling Charles to assent to his execution, as well as to that of Laud.

He was thirteen, when the whole of Protestant Ireland was thrown into consternation by the frightful massacre of Ulster, and no doubt the horrors of that brutal butchery were deeply imprinted on his mind.

As a lad of fourteen he would hear that Charles had raised the Royal Standard on Nottingham Castle, and afterwards how the country was plunged into the long miseries of a four years' Civil War. None of the military forces at that time in Ireland owned any direct allegiance to the Parliament, as opposed to the King. Ulster was being garrisoned (or protected) by the Scotch under Munro, and Ormonde's army—around Dublin—was hot for the King.

The 'Life and Adventures' does not hesitate to identify Blood's father with the Royalist cause, suggesting that young Blood, when he entered the army, joined Ormonde's forces. The view of Kaye and others, however, is much more probable, that Blood's father was a

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* I had prepared a much fuller account of this remarkable man, citing verbatim all the original documents which are my warranty for the statements made. This would have made the monograph of a length altogether disproportionate to the importance of Blood's connection with our theme. I therefore present only a condensed summary of it.

Puritan, and was in secret sympathy with the popular cause, so that young Blood's military service would from the first be in the army of the Parliament.

Not long after the Civil War had begun, Charles astutely struck a truce and afterwards made a Treaty with the Irish rebels. This set Ormonde free to transport his troops to Wales; later marching them into Cheshire to the assistance of the King, with Monck as one of his officers.

It was this that brought the Parliamentary army for the first time near to Ireland. Fairfax, marching a strong detachment from Lincoln, met this Irish contingent, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Nantwich, amongst other officers taking Monck prisoner; and not six months later, reinforced by 'the Association troops organized by 'Cromwell,' inflicted a still more crushing defeat on the Royalists at Marston Moor. Surely Blood was not then too young (he was now sixteen) to have joined the Parliamentary army!

But Mr. Kaye does not introduce him to his military service till two years later, by the purchase for him by his father of a lieutenancy in Fairfax's troop. The year 1646, however, is an unfortunate date for Kaye to have selected, for by that time the Civil War was practically over, with the fall of Bristol and the surrender of Oxford. True, another two years later still, the war broke out afresh, with the march of the Scotch into England on Charles's invitation.

Blood was then (1648) just twenty; and it is a very probable suggestion Kaye makes in his little romance, that it was in the short and sharp campaign in the southern half of Lancashire, that being quartered with other of the Parliamentary troops in Holcroft Hall, he first saw, and fell in love with, his future wife.

Cromwell had reduced Wales, and, dashing north through Cheshire, joined hands with Lambert, in time to inflict a ruinous defeat on Hamilton's Scotch army at Preston, in Lancashire. So brilliantly did young Blood distinguish himself in this encounter that the vigilant eye of Cromwell noted the dashing young lieutenant; and when after the death of the King at Whitehall, January 29, 1648-49, Cromwell was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he took Blood with him there. At that time all the partisans of the English monarchy in Ireland were arrayed in full force against Oliver—the navy under Prince Rupert, and the army under Ormonde. But Jones, who had held Dublin against great odds for the last two years, at this critical moment destroyed Ormonde's army at Rathmines (August 2, 1650), and made the way clear for Cromwell to make Dublin his headquarters.

Blood accompanied the force which Cromwell took with him when he and Jones advanced against Drogheda, and Kaye makes Blood the choice of both Cromwell and Jones to lead the third desperate assault, which captured the citadel, though it had been deemed impregnable, alike by its natural position and by its skilfully planned fortification.

For these distinguished services Thomas Blood was honoured with a colonelcy (though we have no hint as to the occasions on which he had been elevated from his lieutenancy to the intermediate ranks), and he remained in Ireland till by the capture of Kilkenny and Clonmel Cromwell had completed the conquest of Ireland. When the army was released on the return of Oliver to England in May, 1650, Blood went over to Lancashire to claim his fiancée, Mary Holcroft, obtained the consent of her father, Squire Holcroft of Holcroft Hall, and was married in the parish church of Culcheth, June 21, 1650.*

Returning to Ireland, the young wedded pair settled in the vicinity of Dublin, enjoying the revenues of a fair estate; Oliver having rewarded Thomas Blood's faithful and distinguished services, as he did others of his Irish army, by conferring on him part of the sequestered estates of the Royalist landowners. When Henry Cromwell, too, undertook the government of Ireland, he thought so well of Thomas Blood that he made him Justice of the Peace.

The four or five years preceding the Restoration, then, we may call the halcyon days of Blood's career, though the whole of the first ten years of his married life in Ireland were happy and peaceful. Probably three of his children were born in Ireland. There seem to have been six of them: four sons—Thomas, his namesake, the eldest; Holcroft (his mother's maiden surname), William, and Charles; and two daughters—Mary, his wife's namesake, and Elizabeth.

With the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, this domestic happiness was destined to become a thing of the past. The loyal Irish gentry clamoured for the restoration of their sequestered estates, and Charles was obliged, in part, to accede to their demands, though he disliked the work of ejecting from their landed property men who had welcomed, or at any rate had acquiesced in, his return, quite as much as he disliked the work of ejecting loyal ministers from their livings.

Still, it had to be done; and among those who lost their lands was Thomas Blood. We may be sure, too, that Ormonde on his return to power in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, would at once cancel Blood's commission as Justice of the Peace. These circumstances were not likely to foster in him a spirit of devotion to the new régime; and when Blood saw the Roman Catholics openly favoured, all the Puritan Protestant clergy removed, and only the highest Anglican clergy acknowledged, we are not surprised to learn that Blood assumed an attitude of restless discontent which rapidly ripened into revolt against the new order.

Many of the dispossessed ex-soldiery of Cromwell's army, and many of the ejected ministers (of Puritan and evangelical convictions) shared his discontent, and more or less definitely were formed into a brotherhood pledged to attempt any project that would unsettle this new settlement, and restore to the despoiled some, at least, of their ancient rights.

This was the case not only in Ireland, but for different though allied reasons, in Scotland, and in many parts of England; and through the next ten years or more we find Blood a moving spirit in this disaffected party, ready to organize any enterprise which was likely to disturb the security of the restored Royalists, or seemed to promise in any, even the most remote or indirect way, spoil of material treasure by which they might reimburse their material losses.

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* For this fact and date we have first-hand documentary evidence in the entry of the marriage in the parish register of Culcheth.

It is in this light that we ought to view Blood's many romantic, almost quixotic, enterprises. They were not the wanton crimes of a wicked, cruel, unprincipled adventurer, rebel, highwayman, and robber, but the daring deeds of one never afraid to risk his life in any object that either commanded his sympathy or held out the hope of solid gain; and they were all in the interests of the Protestant against the Papist, of the Puritan as against the Prelatist, and of the people as against the aristocracy or plutocracy.

The first of these enterprises was a well-considered scheme, planned soon after the passing of the English Act of Uniformity in 1662,* which miscarried only through the treachery of some women concerned in it to capture Dublin Castle, secure the person of Ormonde as Lord-Lieutenant, and so acquire a position from which they could make their own terms with the authorities in England. That was in May, 1663.

The plot was prematurely treacherously disclosed to the Lord-Lieutenant, and he was able to secure the persons of some twenty-four of the ringleaders. But Blood with some of his friends escaped. Robert Chambers and Mr. Cormack, both Puritan ministers, were associated with him, and the former found asylum in London under the *alias* of Mr. Grimes.

Exasperated by their escape, Ormonde published a proclamation, declaring Blood and his associates rebels and traitors against the Crown, and pronouncing them outlawed, in case of their non-surrender within twenty-four hours.

Under that ban of outlawry, Thomas Blood lived for the next eight years, ever eluding the vigilance of all the King's officers and all the King's men, whether in Ireland, or Scotland, or England, keeping them all in a constant state of nervous apprehension, and yet as constantly gaining some little irritating advantage in his guerilla warfare against the Royalist authorities, though rarely succeeding in his immediate object. For a time, according to the 'Life and Adventures,' his hiding-places were in Dublin and its neighbourhood, amongst his old friends and the native Irish in the mountains [of Meath and Kildare and Wicklow].

R. H. (in his remarks) also alleges that not long after he managed to slip over to Holland, gaining the confidence of the De Ruyter family [a proof, surely, that he was not the unmitigated rascal which he has generally been supposed to be]. On recrossing the Channel, he appears to have remained in England; and in the autumn of this same year 1663, is credited with giving active help to another daring project whose centre was in Yorkshire, though its secret organizing committee sat in London. It aimed at nothing less than a general rising in England on the part mainly of the disbanded Cromwellian soldiers. The informers tried to persuade the authorities that many Nonconformist ministers were involved in it; and several ejected ministers were arrested on the merest suspicion, though no evidence to convict them could ever be obtained. It evidently had no active sympathisers in any of the Nonconformists of position, and the scheme fizzled out when a few hundred were surprised at their rendezvous.

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* Was it not largely the sense of injustice produced by the similar ejectments in Ireland, all effected, illegally, in or by 1661, which led to the movement in Dublin?

Yet Blood is informed against, as being often present at their secret council in London. During these times of fitful residence in England he passed under the *alias* of Mr. Allen, a medical man. The year 1664 was not over before the Irish authorities were startled with rumours that he was back again in Ireland fomenting fresh trouble there. The only foundation for this scare, however, was their nervous fear. The scare was repeated in November of the following year (*vide* letter from the Earl of Orrery to Sec. Arlington [S. P. Dom. Car. II., 319, 318]).

The following year, the year of the great plague in London (if the paper is rightly dated by the calendarist of the Record Office), we find him with infinite daring addressing a petition to the King, to secure to him property due to his wife on the decease of her father. Was he presuming on the contentious point that an outlawry in Ireland had no force for England? or was not the paper displaced by the calendarist by at least seven years, really belonging to 1672?—like another which shows him interceding for the liberation of three imprisoned Conventiclers (two in Norfolk, and one in Westminster)?

What seems more probable is the statement, in a State paper of later date, that he actually chose this year of civic panic to plan a scheme somewhat similar to the one he had planned two years before in Dublin, to seize the Tower of London.* In 1666 we have some glimmering of doubtful information that he was back again in Ireland with his wife and family in the neighbourhood of Dublin; possibly with other comrades planning some new plot. Whether there was any truth in that, however, it seems certain that when he heard of the rising of the Covenanters against their oppressors in the Western Lowlands, Thomas Blood did not hesitate a moment, but got away to Scotland, cast in his lot with them, and was engaged with them in their last desperate battle (and crushing defeat) upon the Pentland Hills. Again he seemed to have a charmed life. Though so many fell, he escaped, and by the beginning of 1667 had slipped away through Westmorland to South Lancashire, and was securely living in disguise in the neighbourhood of his wife's old home at Culcheth.

To the informer, who conveys this fruitless information to Lord Arlington at Whitehall, we are indebted for the following vivid word-picture of Blood's personal appearance: 'He is of full body, indifferent 'tall, broad shoulders, and stoops in the shoulders, big-boned, of blackish 'brown hair, not very long, and sometimes wears a periwig coal-black; 'full-faced, with many pock-holes, grey eyes; commonly in plain clothes, 'and a countryman's riding coat of a grey colour.'

Again, the Dublin authorities are scared with rumours that he is in Ireland plotting serious mischief against Ormonde, and that he is lying in hiding in the Coombe in Dublin (his headquarters in the attempt of four years before). Of course, it is just possible that it was so, but it more probably was a false report, set afloat purposely to put the authorities off the scent as to his real whereabouts.

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* If he did, the governor was too vigilant to give Blood any chance of carrying his scheme into effect.

What is certain is that in July he was in England, and carried through with brilliant success one of the most daring exploits of his adventurous life. This was the rescue of a friend, who was being taken under military escort to York for trial, which would certainly have ended in his execution. This friend was Mason, who had taken part with him in the Yorkshire Rising of October, 1663, and in the winter of 1666 had joined Blood and many more English sympathisers to give chivalrous help to the poor Covenanters of Lowland Scotland. In this latter venture, when Blood escaped, Mason was taken. He had been incarcerated first in the Tower of London, but it had been decided to send him to York Castle for his trial. Blood gained intelligence of the facts, learned the exact route the escort would take, took with him some eight or nine comrades (doubtless discharged Cromwellian soldiers, as safe seats, and as careless of their lives in any good cause, as himself), lay in ambush near Darrington, on the great North road from London to York, surprised the escort by dashing on their rear from a side lane, and though they made a good fight of it for the space of half an hour (according to the personal narrative sent to Whitehall by their captain), completely outclassed and overpowered them, and carried Mason off in triumph. Nor were they captured, though the 'hue and cry' was raised against them.

The King at once published a Proclamation, offering £100 to anyone who would secure Blood's person or that of any of his companions, so outlawing him as distinctly in England as Ormonde had outlawed him in Ireland in 1663. The Proclamation was barren of result.

It is true an informer volunteered them the comforting news that Blood was dead. It is clear 'the wish was father to the thought.' Other birds of like feather with 'Fryer,' the man who gave this information, knew otherwise. For in the beginning of 1668, Levinz (a man who was being taken down to York Castle with Mason, at the time that Blood rescued him, and had then turned 'King's evidence'), asked for a warrant (which was promptly given him) to arrest any one or all of fifteen persons named by him or to search their houses for arms. Thomas Blood was one of those named. Warrants were issued March 2, 1667-68.

The warrants were useless. It needed a man of more pluck and resource than Levinz to track and capture Thomas Blood. For the next two years and more he was living quietly in the Western portion of Kent, under the *alias* of Allen or Ayliffe. Still he kept himself in touch with the metropolis, which had acquired for Thomas Blood an added interest since the Duke of Ormonde had been relieved of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and had come to live in London.

In October, 1670, the Prince of Orange had come over to see his uncle the King; and on December 6, the City gave a magnificent banquet in his honour. Ormonde was living then in Clarendon House, the mansion built by his friend Clarendon (his intimacy with Clarendon was largely responsible for his withdrawal from Ireland), and he had been one of the guests in the Guildhall.

Thomas Blood had always looked on Ormonde as the incarnation of all the evil principles in the government of Ireland, which had wrought such cruel havoc amongst the Puritan Protestants there, and had been long awaiting his opportunity to turn his previous failures to humiliate and injure Ormonde into success. Such opportunity he thought he had now found. He got information of the time and of the route by which Ormonde would be returning from the City to Clarendon House. It would probably be along Fleet Street, the Strand to Charing Cross, and along Pall Mall to St. James's Street, and thence by St. James's Street to the late Chancellor's mansion, which looked right down St. James's Street on to St. James's Palace. With a few trusty and trusted friends he waylaid the Duke's coach, disabled the servants attending him, seized the Duke's person, and tied him on a horse behind one of his companions. Vowing that he would take him to Tyburn, and hang him there like the common felon he was, he was conducting him in procession thither, when the Duke managed to unhorse his guard, and some of his servants having been roused to Blood's pursuit, and their master's rescue, came up just in time to make it dangerous for Blood to pursue the matter further. So Blood and his companions clapped spurs to their good horses, dispersed into the safety of the night, and left the Duke in all his frightened disarray to be escorted to his lordly lodgings by his servants.

Probably Blood was quite content to have thoroughly frightened Ormonde, for it is more than doubtful whether, had he got him to Tyburn, he would have really hanged him. This fresh exploit would, of course, make the authorities keener than ever to obtain possession of his person. With his usual skill, he evaded all pursuit, and none could track or lay hands upon him. There is every reason to believe that he returned from this adventure to his safe seclusion in Western Kent, though many of the Government spies fancied that he had returned to Lancashire only a month after Ormonde had so luckily escaped [in January, 1670-71].

While they were gravely befooling the Whitehall authorities with the fascinating fancy that they were on his track and would soon have him safely in their toils, he was quietly arranging the details of a scheme which was to startle not London alone, but the whole of England by its nearly successful audacity. It was nothing less than to seize and carry off the Crown Jewels which were kept in an inner chamber of the Tower of London. On May 8, 1671, disguised as a priest, and with the aid of his eldest son and namesake, with one or two more, he managed to gag and to render senseless the aged custodian of the Jewels, and had got clear of the building with the Regalia safely in possession, when the custodian's son-in-law unexpectedly appeared upon the scene and roused other officials in the Tower just in time to overpower the little party, arrest and secure them, and recover the treasure which was on the point of being carried off.

Thus after eight years of immunity, Colonel Blood was secured at last. The natural conclusion of every one who heard the news was that with all promptitude, and without mercy, the outlaw would suffer the extreme penalty of rebellion, high treason, and robbery with violence.

In those days it was often thought that to spare a criminal, provided he could be enlisted in the King's service, was a wiser thing, and would pay better in the end, than to execute him out of hand. It must have been with some such idea that the authorities simply incarcerated him (with his son and another of his companions, Perrot, or Parrot) in the cells of that Tower of London which had been the scene of this last exploit; for they seemed to be in no haste at all to proceed to extremities with him. The King seems to have been rather fascinated by the brilliance of his daring than angered by the thought that this man had nearly filched from him his crown. Only three days after his capture, Charles had him brought from the Tower to Whitehall, and examined him in the presence of his brother the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham. He could be brought to Whitehall, and sent back to the Tower by water, so quietly and secretly that the public would know nothing about it; so that no popular excitement need be created, and no popular demonstration made.

In this interview, his demeanour was so fearless and free that the King and his courtiers were favourably impressed, and he left the Royal presence with the conviction that he was sure of the pardon of his prince. The details of the interview, whether as narrated with a touch of melodrama by Hume, or as we may gather them from the State papers, must not detain us here. We may stay to note that he confessed to an intention not long before to waylay the King himself and shoot him when bathing in the Thames above Battersea; and alleged as his reason—a statement which goes far to establish his Puritan connections and sympathies—that 'the cause of this resolution was the severity 'exercised over the consciences of the godly, in restraining the liberty of 'their religious assemblies'; and that, with astute flattery of the person of Charles, he assured him that he was restrained himself, and was constrained to divert his associates from their purpose by 'an awe of 'majesty,' reminding us of David's care to spare the life of Saul when Saul was helpless in his hands. As further confirming the view we have taken of this remarkable man, a newsletter sent to Bristol, conveying intelligence of the event, describes 'old (*i.e.*, the elder) Blood as a 'professor in the late times'; that is, one who in the Commonwealth period claimed to be one of the godly party. Clearly his Puritan sympathies (and even profession) were a matter of common talk, even in face of all the obloquy cast upon him in connection with his daring enterprises in Dublin, Yorkshire, Scotland, and London.

With regard to the attempt to steal the Regalia, it seems that Blood told the King he had no ulterior political purpose in his action; it was not dictated by any personal hatred of the King, but simply 'to make 'their own advantage by the Jewels.' He considered himself aggrieved by the confiscation of his Irish estates, and would reimburse himself (and his friends) to some substantial extent by the sale of their booty.

R. H. concludes his account of the interview at Whitehall by saying that at its close the King asked him this single question, 'What 'if he should grant him his life?' to which Mr. Blood is said to have replied, 'That he would endeavour to deserve it.'

The pardon was not readily given. There would be many doing their utmost to dissuade the King from granting it. A week later Thomas Blood wrote a letter to the King (which has been preserved in the Record Office)* from the Tower, laying the blame of the design upon two of the Treasurers for the Navy, roundly charging them with heavily bribing him to undertake the enterprise. Such charges could not have been baseless, for Blood was too astute not to realize that if without foundation only to make them would certainly seal his fate.

Evidently the matter was not readily cleared up, for it was not till more than two months after, that the King's first inclinations were confirmed, and Blood's pardon was issued. During these months of close confinement, the health of his son and of himself began to suffer, and at the end of June they both petitioned Lord Arlington for some relief, and that his wife might be allowed to come and minister to them; Mary Blood sending in a petition herself to like effect. Whether this boon was granted or no, there is no documentary evidence to show.

We have the evidence of a letter from the Governor of the Tower to Williamson, that Lord Arlington took the Warrants for the release of Blood and Perrot, his associate, on Thursday, July 13; though Blood's son was left still for a time in closer confinement than before.

Thomas Blood, then, passed out from the Tower into freedom on that Thursday evening, July 13, 1671, or the following Friday morning, discharged from all fear of penalty for his last bold attempt. It was not for another fortnight, not till August 1, 1671, that he received the King's pardon for all and any crimes of which he may have been guilty since the Recall and Restoration of Charles to the Throne ['of all 'Treasons, Misprisions of Treason, Murder, homicide, Felonyes, 'assaults, batteryes, & other offences whatsoever at any time since the '29th day of May, 1660, comitted by himselfe alone, or together with 'any other person or persons &c.' The date mentioned May 29, 1660, was Charles II.'s birthday, the day chosen for making a 'Triumphant 'Entry into the City of London'].

From August 1, 1671, to the day of his death, August 24, 1680, the man who for the past eight years had lived as a hunted fugitive walks the streets of the city and the liberties of Westminster a free man. More wonderful than that, he passes from the rigours of close confinement in the Tower to the ease and influence of a trusted habitué of the Court and of Whitehall.

Having once made up his mind to pardon Blood, the King is resolute to confide in and honour him; and Buckingham seconds the King in this 'abandon' of grace and favour. Nor can anyone allege a single fact to show that Thomas Blood, having once accepted the King's pardon, was other than unswerving in his loyalty, or faithful in his devotion to the interests of the King. Hume puts it strongly: †

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* S. P. Dom. Car. II. 293. 12. Of course, the question is a legitimate one—whether the latter is a genuine one, and was ever delivered to the King.

† Vol. VII., 482.

'Charles carried his kindness to Blood still further: He granted him an 'estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his 'attendance about his person; he showed him great countenance; and 'many applied to him for promoting their pretensions at Court.'

Carte (in his 'History of Ormonde,' II. 420-23) puts it more strongly still: 'He was admitted into all the privacy and intimacy of 'the Court. No man was more assiduous than he in both the Secre-'taries' Offices. . . . He was perpetually in the Royal apartments, and 'affected particularly to be in the same room where the Duke of Ormonde 'was, to the indignation of all others, though neglected and overlooked by 'his Grace.'

Whatever our final judgment of his character may be, it is clear that he stepped from the Tower to a position in the Court and at Whitehall —in which he was courted by many and feared by all.

Two of the first writers of the day cannot forbear to notice him, though naturally from different points of view. John Evelyn, the Loyalist, was invited to meet him at dinner by Sir Thomas Clifford, the Papist Commissioner of the Treasury (who by the end of the following year (1672) was made Lord High Treasurer), with several distinguished Frenchmen, whom Evelyn had known in Paris, while Charles was there an exiled Prince; and Evelyn was naturally much disgusted to have such an adventurer brought between himself and such gentility; and Andrew Marvell, the 'patriot' Member of Parliament, who was distinctly republican and anti-prelatical in his sympathies, uses the incident of his adventure in the Tower as occasion to discharge the shafts of his satire against the priestly order in a Latin ode, celebrating the mercy Blood showed in sparing the custodian's life as the one fatal inconsistency between his conduct and his disguise; suggesting that had he been true to his rôle as priest, he would have despatched the old man and secured the Crown.

And even Lord Holles was not ashamed to try to bribe him out of the country by the offer of the governorship of one of the convict settlements.

One circumstance that is much to his credit, and invests him with special interest and importance to us, is that from the first he consistently used his newly acquired influence to further the cause of the persecuted Nonconformists.

One of the first things he was able to do—if not the very first—was to secure an audience with the King for John Hickes, the ejected minister of Saltash, who after the Five Mile Act had gone to live in Kingsbridge, and became the 'heart and soul' of a little colony of Nonconforming ministers there. The details of the case are given in the account of John Hickes in the last section of Chapter IV. Suffice it, here, to say that the Second Conventicle Act had been applied in the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge with almost savage energy—and by unscrupulous men whose main object was to secure their share of the fines levied on convicted Conventiclers. John Hickes had published an Account of these proceedings, some copies of which had been circulated in London, and one put into the hands of the King. Warrant of arrest had been issued against him; but he had adroitly extricated himself from the officers sent to seize his person, and ridden up to London to plead his cause in person to the King himself. He had been a student in Dublin at the time that Thomas Blood was a Justice of the Peace in the neighbourhood of the City, and had got to know him as a person of some importance in that district in those early days. He had probably heard scraps at least of Blood's remarkable career, and all the world was ringing with his latest attempt in the Tower, his capture, imprisonment, release, pardon, and elevation to the favour and confidence of the King. By the advice, or at least with the concurrence, of friends, he sought out Thomas Blood in Westminster, put his case before him; and promptly secured his mediation. That mediation was successful. The King granted John Hickes an audience, by the introduction and in the presence of Thomas Blood.

The King's indignation was stirred against his too zealous officers in Devon, acquitted Hickes of the unscrupulous charges against him, gave him full pardon for any breaches of the penal statutes against Nonconformists of which he might have been found guilty, and freely remitted 'the King's third' of the fines which had been extorted from him and his friends in the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge. So that Thomas Blood sent John Hickes back to his friends in Devon a happy man, with the King's pardon in his pocket, and inward confidence of early mitigation, if not the complete repeal, of the penal statutes against Nonconformity.

To this period, too, there is little doubt, must be attributed his intervention on behalf of three Conventiclers, who had long lain in prison. Two of them (Edmond Sconce of Hilderston or Hindolveston, and Nicholas Breeston of Briston) were both of Norfolk, and the third, Jonathan Jennings, was of London. The document presenting their case is preserved as S. P. Dom. Car. II. 140, 93; and that he was successful in his intervention for them is made fairly clear by (Sir) Joseph Williamson's endorsement: '3 Conventiclers to be discharged—M^r^ Blood.' He had so much influence, indeed, at this time that he was able to thwart the persecuting purpose of so powerful a prelate as Seth Ward, now Bishop of Salisbury. [The completeness of the reports he had sent in to Archbishop Sheldon, in 1665, of the ejected ministers in his then Diocese of Exeter, and only two years before this (in 1669), of the 'Conventicles' held in his present Diocese of Sarum, have already commanded our notice—as proof of his energy and ability as a persecuting prelate.]

Seth Ward's biographer (Dr. Walter Pope) quite candidly states the facts. On the strength of John Hickes's case, and the King's arrest of further proceedings in the Diocese in Exeter, Thomas Blood brought a verbal message from the King to Bishop Ward not to molest the Nonconformists in his Diocese of Sarum. Dr. Pope goes on to say that the Bishop 'was not willing to take instructions from such a one, and went 'to wait upon his Majesty, and humbly represented to him that there were 'only two troublesome Non-Conformists in his Diocese, whom he doubted 'not, with his Majesty's permission, but that he should bring to their 'duty'; and adds: 'Then naming them, the King at once gave evidence 'of the influence Blood had gained over him by saying, "These are the '"very men you must not meddle with"; to which he obeyed, letting the 'persecution against them fall.' Nor was his influence limited to this country. Political and Puritan exiles he persuaded to return, guaranteeing for them the pardon and freedom the King had accorded to himself. 'He persuaded Desborough, Kelsey, and other disaffected persons 'to return from Holland, and surrender to his Majesty,' says R. H., 'and 'it was publickly taken notice of that M^r^ Blood was dayly with the said 'Persons at M^r^ White's Coffee House behind the Royal Exchange, where 'they met in a Room by themselves.' Further, he is employed through them to feel the pulse of the City as to foreign affairs; to get at the feeling of City men as to the alliance with France, and the contemplated rupture with Holland.

It is clear that he found an ally ready to work with him in James Innes, who had been minister at St. Breock in the same county (Cornwall) to which John Hickes belonged, but on his ejectment had not lingered in the neighbourhood of his old living as John Hickes had done, but had come up at once to London, and had been living in Westminster through the nine years that had elapsed since. Innes had found a personal friend at Court in the person of Lauderdale, one of the Cabal ministry; and through him he had been admitted to the favour of the King. Innes (called 'Ennys' or 'Ennis' by Joseph Williamson in his 'Notes') had been active in a secret sort of way before Blood got his liberty, enabling Richard Cromwell (whose sympathies were strongly with the Nonconformists) to evade the officers of the law and Court, and getting him safely out of their reach.* It is therefore more than possible that Innes had something indirectly to do with the grace accorded to Blood; at any rate, a few weeks after Blood's release we find him in conference with Blood, heartily sympathizing in his desire to secure liberty to the Nonconformists.

The effects of the pitiless persecution of the Nonconformists which followed the Second Conventicle Act—in London and in the country—had produced a strong revulsion of feeling in the minds of many, was rapidly strengthening Charles's inclination to try the effects of Indulgence instead of rigour, and by the late autumn was creating quite a stir of hope in the minds of the Nonconformists in the Metropolis. Many of them gained confidence enough to resume their worship in Conventicles which had long been closed, and negotiations were recommended by agents of the Court, through employés of Lord Arlington, with their leaders. The Presbyterians were divided into two parties: those who had been actually ejected in London—taking a more moderate line, and in 1665 taking the Oxford Oath—were nicknamed 'The Dons'; and the less compliant, who had refused to bind themselves not to attempt any change in Church or State, and who were for stronger claims and more immediate action, were called 'The Ducklings.' The Independents and Baptists sided rather with the latter than the former, and judged that the King would respond to decisive demands far more readily than to cautious proposals. It is in the month of October that we first find these negotiations actively going forward.

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* Williamson notes under date September 21, 1671: 'Ennys is a shrewd fellow: 'corresponds with the Dutch as he and Blood did. Has shuffled away Richard 'while Blood was in hold.' The form 'Ennis' is an old, but authentic, alternative of 'Innes.'

Blood takes part in them—rather more casually, perhaps, than his associates, because he has so many other matters in hand; while Dr. Nicholas Butler was employed wholly on this business, holding strongly the view that the Church of England would gain rather than lose by kindlier treatment of the Nonconformists. And with him was closely associated a 'M^{r} Church'—probably Joseph Church, who had been ejected from St. Catherine-Coleman's, Fenchurch Street.

Early in November (Nov. 2) Williamson notes: 'Only Ennys' intimate acquaintance are gone into their meeting.' [Were these his brothers-in-law, Thomas Vincent in Bishopsgate Street, and Nathaniel Vincent in Southwark, with the band of eager men who worked with him South of London Bridge?] 'Blood's not at all yet'—as though he had his special set. [Perrot, who was one of his comrades in his attempt upon the Crown jewels, was possibly the Baptist Robert Parrot, who was hanged in 1685 for his part in the Monmouth Rebellion. Were the Baptists specially trying to work through him? or was it the Independents, and the Fifth Monarchy men?] Nine days later, Williamson expresses the 'fear that Blood makes matters better towards the King 'than they are,' and adds, 'Blood disgusts his two friends by disappoint'ing them.' Surely these are Dr. Butler and Mr. Church—who are much more assiduous than Blood ever could be in anything. 'They 'think him too high, and values himself too much.'

The whole question is made more difficult and delicate by the private ambitions of the several members of the Cabal. Buckingham had his strong views, which certainly were not favourable to the Roman Catholics as were those of Clifford and Arlington, though they all were favouring this policy of leniency to the Nonconformists. Blood entered on his new career distinctly as a protégé of Buckingham; but Williamson wanted to annex him as an agent for Arlington and Clifford; and for a time Blood is evidently complaisant enough to him and his patrons. Innes, naturally enough, is working for Lauderdale; and is trying hard to engage Blood to strengthen Lauderdale's influence in London. Lauderdale was strong for an exclusive Protestantism, but his cruel persecution of the Presbyterians in Scotland made him a *bête noire* to the London Nonconformists. It was therefore a very unhappy move on the part of Blood when he began to 'cry up' Lauderdale. The complaint also grows that he is spending too freely and does not pay his debts, and is overweening in his boastfulness. We know that he had been victor in a bout with the Bishop of Sarum; and now he seems to be courted by Ward's chief, Archbishop Sheldon, as Blood goes about boasting that he dines once or twice a week with the Archbishop of Canterbury; while he mixes freely with the extremists ('phantasies,' Williamson calls them, or fanatics—meaning, I suppose, Baptists, Fifth Monarchists, and Independents [?]). If 'jack of all trades and master of none,' the friend of all parties is trusted by none. By the end of the year, evidently, Williamson is inclined to drop him, and trust more entirely to Dr. Butler and Mr. Church, as the Nonconformists had lost their confidence in Blood. So that Blood begins to be a little anxious; and feels it wise to call on the Governor of the Tower, and assure him that all his many-sided activities and conferences were in the interests of the King, and prompted by his devotion to his Royal Master; and to write to Lord Arlington (Dec. 28, 1671) of a matter touching an agent in Holland to show how vigilant he is about foreign as well as home affairs.

In this unsatisfactory way does the year 1671 end. Though what Blood had done in connection with the Nonconformists had been wholly for them and not against them; it is clear that his concern for them was by no means his chief concern, much less his only one. Though his religious connections were certainly Protestant and anti-Papist, and Puritan or Nonconformist, and not Prelatical or Episcopal, they were not specially deep or spiritual. They were rather the sort of Puritanism which distinguished the rank and file of the Parliamentarian Oliverian armies—a Puritanism of the Old Testament type, which justified and revelled in deeds of military daring and was brave and active to the point of a reckless carelessness of life. The more cautious, scholarly, and spiritual of the Nonconformist leaders would not be, and were not drawn to Thomas Blood. Any connection with him they feared would compromise their cause. So that though such men as Hickes would do what they could to get him trusted, they did not succeed; and all active connection on Blood's part with the events which moved so rapidly in favour of toleration, and in the end issued in the Declaration of Indulgence, ceased with the year 1671. In the movements and conferences which marked the first ten weeks of 1672, Blood's name does not once appear: the only traces he has left in that period on the State Papers being of quite a secular character (connected with the Navy).

Nor when the Declaration had been issued by the unanimous consent of the Council, and the Indulgence was in full swing, did he take any prominent part in its administration. He was apparently willing to do what he could without too much sacrifice of time or exertion; but even then was not very eager to do anything gratuitously, taking up any case brought to him with the expectation of some pecuniary remuneration, even when he had made no clear bargain with his applicants. Only twelve of the memoranda in Vols. **320** and **321** bear his name, or are in his easily recognized, slipshod handwriting.

If I am right in attributing **320 (261)** to Thomas Blood, it ought to be put much earlier in the volume—somewhere between **(64)** and **(70)**; for his application in it is for two Southampton ministers: Henry Cox and Gyles Say; the former to preach in John 'Puckuridge' (*i.e.*, Puckeridge)'s house in Romsey, the latter in his own house in Southampton. Now licences were granted for the former, Henry Cox, in April 13, 1672 [**E. (19)**]; so that Blood's application must have been as early as that, if not earlier still. Licences for the latter, Gyles Say, were not issued till May 2, 1672—*i.e.*, nearly three weeks later; and if this application was made just before, the paper is placed in its proper position. In that case, however, this application for Henry Cox is much belated and utterly unnecessary.

I am by no means clear, however, that **320 (261)** is to be attributed to Thomas Blood; and it would be safer, perhaps, to drop it out of this list. In that case, the first application to be attributed without question to Thomas Blood is **320 (142)**; and it is not without interest to find that it is for Anabaptists, the 'extremists' or 'fanatics' of Kent, London, and Berks. It was 'given in by Mr. Blood, 18 Apr. 72'; for Richard Gun to preach in two houses in Cranbrook, Kent; for a Mr. Martin's house in White's Alley, Coleman Street, London; and for two Baptist ministers of Maidenhead—Mr. W. Ruthey and Mr. E. Gillett, to preach in two houses in Cookham, Mr. Jeffrey's, and Mr. Josie's.

Licences were granted promptly for all of these, save two; being issued two days after Thomas Blood's application—viz., on April 20, 1672. The two exceptions were—the houses of Mr. Josie in Cookham, and Mr. Martin, in White's Alley, Coleman Street, London. For the former, no reason is alleged, but no licence is entered in the Entry Books for it; the application for the latter is marked 'not appr.', and so we know that it was refused though applied for by Blood. Was this 'Mr. Martin' a member of Mr. Venner's Fifth Monarchy Church?

320 (151) must have been put in, either the same day as **320 (142)**, April 18, 1672, or the day following, April 19. This number **(151)** covers (or applies to) two pieces of paper—in different handwritings—neither of them Blood's. The first is annotated by Mr. F. Benson 'given in 'by Mr Blood.' As there is no such note appended to the second memorandum, we can deal with the former alone as that in which Thomas Blood interested himself. The application is for Mr. Wells, a Presbyterian, to preach in Mr. Weston's house in Sheepe Street, Banbury, Oxon. We are enabled to follow its fortunes.

It was written by Mr. Wells himself and sent up to his nephew in London, as is clear from the address written on the back of it (now erased, but still quite legible): 'To my very loveing Nephew Mr William 'Welles Hosier at the signe of the Talbot in Watling Street neere 'Broad Street.' This Mr. Wells (Samuel Wells, M.A.) (Cal. III., 120) had been ejected from Banbury; had been compelled in 1665 (by the Five Mile Act) to retire to Deddington, but had now returned to Banbury.

His nephew evidently applied to Blood to secure the licences for him. Blood's application is promptly attended to, and the licences were both granted on one or two days later—viz., on April 20, 1672 [**E. (35)** and **E. (36)**]. In quite characteristic fashion, however, he does not complete his task by fetching the licences from Whitehall, and giving them to Mr. Wells's nephew. That he leaves to another, the distinguished Presbyterian minister and close friend of Philip Henry, Richard Steele [**320 (242)**].

Two memoranda follow one another in **320**, which may probably have been presented at an interval of a fortnight or more—viz., **320 (268)** and **320 (269)**. The former is signed: 'Tho: Blood'; the second is unmistakably in Blood's handwriting.

320 (268), in date, really comes between **320 (261)** and **320 (142)**; so that if **320 (261)** is *not* Blood's, **320 (268)** would be the first memorandum put in by him, and **320 (142)** would be the second.

The former, **320 (268)**, is an application for 19 licences: 4 for Northumberland, 3 for Lancashire, 9 for Essex, 1 for Middlesex, and 2 for Kent.

The four Northumbrian ones are all for Newcastle—and all four for ministers, without naming any place for them. Three are described as Presbyterians: Henry Lever, Richard Gilpin, and Mr. Pingell (or John Pringle); the fourth is 'Congregationall'—Mr. Durrant (*i.e.*, William Durant).

These Northumbrian licences are made out promptly, and are entered in **E. (23)** and **E. (24)**, as issued April 16, 1672. They are made out, not for the persons only (*i.e.*, as a 'general teacher' licensed to preach in any place 'allowed' or 'licensed'), but for the persons to preach in a particular place, the place being entered as being separately licensed and John Pringle ('M^{r} Pingell') is entered as an Independent, not a Presbyterian. The four persons have only three places assigned them: one place having two licences made out for it, one as a Presbyterian meeting-place, the other as an Independent or Congregational one. All three places are important public buildings in Newcastle: two of them Episcopal Chapels, (1) 'the Chapell at the Bridge end 'joining to Magdalen Hospitall,' being licensed for Henry Lever; (2) 'the Chapell in Trinity howse,' being licensed for William Durant. The third is a municipal building, 'the Moothall in y^{e} Castle Garth,' and is licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place for Richard Gilpin, and as an Independent meeting-place for John Pringle.

Though the entries are dated—showing surely that they were not only made out but signed both by the King and by Arlington—in the margin, where we usually have a brief summary (of name, person, or place, and denomination), Benson has written the fateful words, 'not 'approved nor given out.' It would seem that Blood had been instructed by his clients as to the 'places' they 'desired,' although in the application memorandum he had only given their name and residence; so that the 'places' would be filled in by verbal instructions from Blood in the Office: and then, at the last moment, when the licences were all ready but no one had called at Whitehall for them, objection was made by 'the authorities'—on the urgent pressure of the Church party—and all eight licences were withdrawn.

The three for Lancashire were all for Toxteth ('Toxtel') Park: one personal licence for Thomas Crompton, a second for his house, and a third for a 'Meeting house' there. Blood would be interested in these, which belonged to the South-Western corner of the county—in the immediate neighbourhood of Liverpool—as in the district where he had found his wife, and as a fugitive had found safe asylum more than once. These were not attended to for some time—indeed, not until Gilbert Aspinwall, a Lancastrian barrister, now resident in London, had made a second and elaborately formal application for the licences, and then no licence was granted for Thomas Crompton's house.

The Essex nine have such special features that I pass first to the one for Middlesex and the two for Kent.

The Middlesex one is for a Presbyterian meeting-house in Kingsland; and this, we learn from a second application which he has to make much later, is the house of a Mr. David King there (? called 'King's house') [**321 (55)**]. It is not very promptly attended to. It is in fact the last of this batch to be issued, the licence being dated May 13, 1672.*

The licences for Kent are for Mr. James Simmonds, a Presbyterian, and the house (which we learn from **320 (267)** is Mrs. Porter's, and called Court Lodge) in Lamberhurst ('Lamberhurt'), in the South-Western border of the county (possibly therefore in the district in which for the last few years he had found a shelter in the disguise of a physician, and under the *alias* of Mr. Allen, or Ayloff). These, again, had no attention for a fortnight at least.

Licences were not made out till May 1, 1672.

And now we come to the batch of nine for Essex, which gather round them a delightfully intricate network of difficulties and controversy. On this memorandum Blood makes application for:

M^r^ Kitly (Keightly) for his person and howse (we learn from the following mem. [**320 (269)**]) of Abary Hatch.

M^r^ Willis for his own howse at Burntwood (*alias* Brentwood). [The clause 'Mr. Wills person licenced' was mistaken as it was ill-spelt. Mr. Willis's person was licensed at the same time as his house, May 2, 1672.]

M^r^ (Thomas) Gilson for his person & howse at the same place, 'Burntwood': as well as for the houses of George Locksmith and William Maskall at Romford, and that of John Maskall at Morris.

These were none of them attended to till the beginning of May. The delay may have been due to the violent 'cheek' given to applicants for licences, and to the agents through whom their applications were made, when, as in these four Northumbrian instances, the applications were for 'Public Halls.'

It is clear that many were taking these refusals very ill. And Blood is quick to raise his remonstrance against it. There may have been a touch of personal pique in his feeling, as the eight instances at Newcastle were cases in point; indeed the cases had been made the more pointed as the licences had actually been issued, and, after issue and entry, had been revoked. On Wednesday, the 24th of April—only eight days after these eight licences had been entered—having occasion to write to Lord Arlington on another matter—viz., the movements of the Dutch Fleet—he says,† 'I perceive y^t^ y^e^ forbiding licences for y^e^ Halls to Non-'conformists gives to(o) much occasion to persons y^t^ are disafected to 'his maieties indulgence to raise ielousies. I humbly conceive it had 'bene a strengthening of his Maiesties Declaration y^t^ so many corpora-

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* This case is more fully gone into in Cap. IV., sect. i., under the name Wills or Wells.

† S. P. Dom. Car. II. 306, 63A.

'tion besides y^{e} ministers had so actually seconded it. But I shall leve 'it to y^{r} Lord^{ps} consideration.' This letter of Blood's (as shown by its endorsement) was not received till two days later—viz. April 26; and it is a significant coincidence that on that day Dr. Nicholas Butler writes both to Lord Arlington and his chief Secretary on the same subject and in the same strain [**320 (196)** and **320 (197)**]. In the first, to Lord Arlington, he uses just the word 'jelousies' which Blood had employed: 'I should not bee faithful should I conceale y^{e} dayly growth of Jelousies. 'Protestant dissenters conclude this there (*sic*) liberty soe graciously soe 'freely granted by his Majesty will bee shortlived in regard tis soe 'stiffled in y^{e} birth: publick places was declared should bee allowed,—'now refused, &c., &c.'; and in the second, to Sir Joseph Williamson, he writes: 'I am sorry to heare it said, whoe is y^{e} author of this Stop 'of halls &c: my ears are daily boared with theese complaints &c.'

The complaints of the public generally, however, seem not to have had any great effect, nor even the remonstrances of these advisers and intermediaries of the Whitehall authorities, Dr. Butler and Thomas Blood. In a separate chapter I have dealt with the whole question of large Buildings and Public Halls,* and there the reader will see that the facts and the numbers applied for, granted and refused, are of very various significance.

Thomas Blood is not pleased to find his applications neglected, and it appears that his Essex friends pressed him with enquiries which he could not answer, for he applies again about the end of April. This second time his memorandum is wholly occupied with applications from Essex [**320 (269)**]. It repeats the previous applications for nine licences (making the application for Mr. Willis, of Burntwood, as distinctly as for his house), and he heads the list with a new application for Samuel Deaken, of Romford (making it clear that his previous application for George Locksmith's house was for Samuel Deaken to preach there); another for 'M^{r} Wiston, Presbiterion minister' (who must be the Edward Whiston who had been ejected from Little Laver [Cal. II. 205]); and two for Mr. Erly, of 'Cogles' (? Coggeshall), both person and house. This time they are all promptly issued, as the entries show in **E. (72)** and **E. (73)**.

With the exception of the first two mentioned (Samuel Deaken, of Romford, and his friend Locksmith's house there) they are all entered as issued May 2, 1672 (the first two being dated May 1). Yet Thomas Blood does not trouble himself about them. [He has so many irons in the fire that this licence-business is by no means of *first* importance with him, and he had probably forgotten all about them, or thought that the applicants themselves might look after them, and go to fetch them; or at any rate distinctly ask him or some other friend to go to Whitehall for them.]

And on May 8—a week later (less a day)—we find that Mr. William Mascall, surgeon, of Romford [one of the applicants whose name appears both on **320 (268)** and **320 (269)**], had come up to London specially to make (or 'put in') a separate application, on

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* Cap. VI. of this Section.

321 (**27**), for his friend Thomas Gilson, of Burntwood (former Rector of Little Baddow). Mascall's application is for licences for Gilson to preach at his own house, and at three other houses in different villages in the district; and has a note appended to it: 'To be called ffor by William Mascall of Romford.'

He is not able to go to London for some time, and meanwhile Thomas Blood is exerting himself afresh. It is not more than three or four days later (May 11 or 12) that Blood is at Whitehall, leaving another application-memorandum, calendared as **321** (**55**).

The Mr. William Wells, Hosier, of Watling Street—who got Blood to apply for licences for his uncle (Samuel Wells, of Banbury)—is plying him again, as also a Mr. Sharpe, who is interested in two applicants in Kent (at Wittersham and Goudhurst). He seems also to have been appealed to by two ejected ministers: the one Richard Chantry, of 'Smisby, in Derby' (*i.e.*, Smithsby, in Derbyshire), and the other George Larkham ('Larkom'), of Bridekirke, in Cumberland.

More, and perhaps more insistently than any of these, the four Newcastle ministers for whom he had applied nearly a month before, and had applied in vain—convinced probably that it is useless to press their applications for Public Buildings—have sent him word to apply at once for '*general licenses*,' and the last four lines in the memorandum are for them. The licences thus applied for are granted, being all but one entered, as issued May 13, 1672.

The exception is George Larkom's, which had been issued five days earlier (May 8, 1672)—the very day on which W. Mascall left his application at Whitehall. But for this there had been put in a separate application **321** (**51**), written on a scrap of paper, on which the Preamble of some Proclamation or other had been begun, but never finished: 'Whereas by vertue of an Act of Parliament in the 14th yeare of our 'Reigne Our Court of Admiralty is empowred to proceed upon Suites 'for Prize-Goods . . .'; the memorandum itself reading, 'George 'Larkham in his owne howse at Hameshill in the parish of Bridekirke.' George Larkham, apparently, had tired of waiting for his licences, either ignorant of the fact that he would have to fetch them himself or get some one to call for him, and so had asked Blood to try where his previous friend (as he thought) had failed. And Blood puts in an application, though he might have had the licences for asking, since they had been ready now four days past.

As all the other licences are dated May 13, it is more than probable that this mem. **321** (**55**) was put in May 11 or 12.

On some day subsequent to May 13—though it is possible it was late on the 13th itself—Blood calls at Whitehall, and takes away four licences—for he hands in a Receipt for them [**321** (**136**)]: two for persons, and two for places. The two place-licences are two for which he had just applied, on **321** (**55**), at Mr. Sharpe's desire for R. Tufton's house at Wittersham, and Sam Turke's house in Goudhurst—both in Kent, which are entered as issued May 13, 1672 [**E.** (**111**) and **E.** (**110**)].

The personal ones are those for Mr. W. Mascall's friend, Thomas Gilson, and Gilson's colleague and friend Keightly (Kitly), which Blood had applied for first, or **320** (**268**), as early as April 16; and which, with all the others applied for then, as well as the whole batch of Essex licences applied for in **320** (**269**), had been granted, and their entries in **E.** (**72**) and **E.** (**73**), dated May 2, 1672.

And now a curious thing happens. With these two personal licences in his pocket, or his cabinet drawers—and we know not how many more of the large batch of Essex licences, issued twelve days before, and ready ever since to be taken away on the very day after he had got these personal licences, viz., May 14, 1672—Blood writes a letter to Mr. W. Mascall, which has been preserved in duplicate at the Record Office as **321** (**143**) and **321** (**144**). The fact that the Whitehall authorities got and kept possession of it shows two things. First, that Mr. Mascall did not like what it involved and implied, so took it to Whitehall to show Sir Joseph Williamson; and second, that Sir Joseph asked Mr. Mascall to leave it with them. The importance of it in the eyes of Sir Joseph Williamson is further decisively proved by the fact that Benson makes a copy of it by Sir Joseph's instructions.

It is short and quite worthy citing entire, as it presents (in a form full of personal interest and value) the problem of the conditions on which applicants could obtain licences.

It is addressed: 'For Mr William Maskall Chirurgion at his howse
Romford these'

and runs:

'Sir,

'I have sent you here inclosed those Licencis you gave mee a note for if you need any other convenient placis to be Licenced you may have them. there is noe charge for them only it is agreed that 5*s.* apeece for the personall licences should be gotten and ye dorekeepers and underclarkes should afterwards be remembered by a token of love this is all at present from

'Yor frind,
'THO: BLOOD.

'May 14: $\overline{72}$.'
'My kind respects to all our frinds.'

Now we know that, besides the two which he had already in his possession, there was only one other personal licence applied for by Blood in the first memorandum [**320** (**268**)] which dealt with any Essex licences—viz., that for Mr. Willis, of Burntwood; though, in addition to these, he had applied for three more about a fortnight later, in **320** (**269**)—viz., those for Samuel Deaken, Mr. Edward Whiston, and Mr. Erly.

Those had all been issued by May 2. Yet Blood did not take any of them away (at any rate he has left behind him no acknowledgment of having received any) for a fortnight later, and then only these two, for Mr. Gilson and Mr. Keightly.

But these two are just those in which his correspondent, Mr. William Mascall, is most interested; and for one of them, Mr. Gilson's, he (Wm. Mascall) had personally applied on the 8th of May. So that Blood is distinctly holding back two personal licences, which he knows his Essex friends most ardently 'desired.'

The licences for places he despatches. What licences they are is a little doubtful. He does not name them, but describes them in these terms: 'those licenses you gave me a note for.'

Are they the places named in **321** **(27)** or those named in **320** **(269)**? Those mentioned in **321** **(27)** are only the four which Mr. Mascall 'desired' as places for Mr. Gilson to preach in (his own house in Brentwood), Mr. Reeve's house in Childerditch, Mr. Harris's at Margaretting, and Mr. Harroode's at Little Baddow. But it cannot have been these, as that for Mr. Reeve's house in Childerditch was not issued till July 16, 1672 (two months later), and the last (Mr. Harrod's) seems never to have been issued at all. (There is no entry of it in **E.**).

That for Mr. Gilson's house had been made out six days already, when Mr. Mascall left his paper, and it certainly is a singular thing that the officials did not give them to him. The remaining licence for the house of Mr. Harris of Margaretting was made out at once—for it is dated in the entry book, May 9, 1672 [**E.** **(94)**]—the very next day after Mr. Mascall applied for it.

It seems much more likely, therefore, that the places Mr. Mascall gave Mr. Blood a note for, are those named in **320** **(269)**. These were: Mr. William Mascall's own house, and Mr. George Locksmith's, at Romford; Mr. John Mascall's at Morrice; Mr. Keightly's house at Abary Hatch; Mr. Erly's at Cogles (Coggeshall?); and both Mr. Willis's and Mr. Gilson's at Brentwood ('Burntwood').

The last line of the memorandum, claiming Mr. Gilson's person and house, written on the back, is in Blood's hand, showing pretty clearly (if the rest of the memorandum is in another hand), that Blood added this request for Mr. Gilson, at the time he gave it in.

If this is a correct interpretation of the facts, it certainly makes it particularly 'unhandsome' in Blood to keep Gilson's back.

The facts, on any reading of these difficult points, are thus far clear. Though sending Mr. William Mascall a large batch of licences for 'places' in Essex, the receipts for which are not preserved, but which certainly included licences for the houses of Mr. Keightly and Mr. Gilson, he does not send the two personal licences for 'Mr Kitlye' and 'Mr Gilson,' the receipts for which are preserved. It is not easy to trace the fate of all the other personal licences, asked for on the same memorandum—viz., Mr. S. Deaken's, Mr. Whiston's, Mr. Erly's, and Mr. Willis's.

Mr. Deaken's was issued May 1, and was fetched the following day by John Hickes [**320** **(281)**]. Mr. Whiston's does not appear to have been granted, there being no entry of it either in **E.** or in **B.** All the others were issued May 2, though there are no memoranda extant to show when they were taken away.

What followed the despatch of this letter, with the place licences enclosed, is told in detail in the account of William Mascall.

Suffice it to say, that Mascall conveyed the licences to the Essex friends for whom they are made out; but that both of his ministerial friends, Mr. Gilson and Mr. Keightly, were nettled as well as disappointed that their 'personal' licences have not been sent with their place-licences.

Mr. Gilson, especially, had evidently debated the circumstance very fully with his friend William Mascall; trying to find some explanation for it which would not impugn the kindliness and honesty of Thomas Blood. But no sooner had Mascall left him, than suspicions which had suggested themselves in the course of their talk, stiffened into convictions he could not shake off. He therefore wrote at once to Mr. Mascall, telling him he felt sure that Blood had been acting an unhandsome and an illegal part to him and his friend Keightly: that he had received their personal licences at the same time that he had received the place-licences; but had kept them back to get his fees (of five shillings a piece) on them.

Mascall evidently is inclined to accept Gilson's view; but instead of writing to Blood about it (as Gilson suggests), decided to go to London and represent matters at headquarters. Accordingly he went to Whitehall, taking both letters with him (Blood's and Gilson's), showing them to Sir Joseph, and at his request leaving them with him.

There can be little doubt that Thomas Blood would be required by Sir Joseph Williamson to give up these personal licences, or to send them on without delay to Mr. Gilson and Mr. Keightly, and without any money payment. And surely there is as little doubt that these good ministers would see that Sir Joseph's clerks, etc., should get some honorarium, if they found it 'the usual thing.'

The next document bearing Blood's name is another memorandum of Receipt. It is calendared **321** (**194**).

But there are two scraps, each an application, numbered **321** (**191**) and **321** (**193**), which are both in Blood's handwriting.

1. The first is endorsed 'Glocester,' and is an application for a house in Marshfield, county Gloucester, for a Presbyterian meeting-house. Curiously enough the owner's name is 'Gloster.'

> 'The house of John Gloster Esq. of Marshfeeld in y^{e} County of
> 'Gloster Presbiterian.'

Marshfield is at the extreme south-east corner of the county, some five miles north of Bath.

The licence was issued (promptly, I fancy) on May 16, 1672. Only the name is strangely changed to 'Gostlett' (two other licences being issued for the name Goslett, John and Thomas).

2. The second is a torn fragment containing application for licences for two other houses, which are also issued the same day, May 16. But they are for the Midland County Stafford, in the small village of Longdon, quite near to Lichfield:

> 'The house of Christian Hood in Longdon
> 'The house of Edward Brughton in Longdon.'

In **321** (**194**) the licences acknowledged are all for the North; four for Bradford, Yorks, two personal—viz., those for George Ward and John Hall—and two for places—viz., George Ward's house and the house of John Balme; and one for (Toxteth Park) Lancashire—viz., one for James 'Brisco' (*i.e.*, James Briscoe). Though the memorandum is not dated, it was probably left at the same time as **321** (**191**) and **321** (**193**) on May 15 or 16; as all the licences were issued May 16 [**E.** (**126**) and **E.** (**127**)].

Some difficulty arose in connection with the last. Mr. Blood mentioned no 'place' in connection with James 'Brisco.' Very naturally, therefore, the licence was made out as for a 'general teacher' ('to be a 'teacher, and to teach in any place licensed and allowed'), and is entered on **E.** (**124**) with the date May 16, 1672. [The Bradford licences are entered for the same date.] But though Thomas Blood signs this receipt for James Briscoe, and must, therefore, have taken it away from Whitehall, the actual licence is still preserved in the Public Record Office as **321** (**165**), as though it had been never called for. It is every way complete, signed above by the King, at the foot by Arlington, and dated May 16, 1672. It must, therefore, have been rejected by the applicant, and taken back by Blood to Whitehall, with the request that it might be altered into a particular licence, allowing him to preach in the meeting-house already licensed eight days before (May 8) as a Presbyterian meeting-place (for Thomas Crompton to preach in); also on Blood's application [**320** (**268**)].

Of course, the licence could not be altered. The printed part of the licence for 'a teacher in a certain place' was different from that for 'a 'teacher in general.' So that a new one had to be made out: which evidently was done, though not for nearly a fortnight later, as we see on **E.** (**142**), where a 'Licence' is entered to 'James Briscoe to be a Congr. 'Teacher in the Meeting howse in Toxtell Parke, Lancastr. 29 May.'

Only two other licence-documents have been preserved bearing Blood's name. They are **321** (**210**) and **321** (**328**).

Both are applications. The first bears date May 19, 1672—viz., **321** (**210**). He applies on it for only three licences: two for Reading, Berkshire—viz., for Mr. Christopher Fowler (which he spells 'Fowlard') to preach in the house of Griffith 'Bubly' (should have been 'Bully')—and one for Leytonstone, in Essex, for the house of Alderman Andrews there. It is an utter failure.

The first part is attended to promptly enough. A licence was made out for 'Christopher Fowler of the Presbyterien perswasion to be a 'Teacher of the Congregation allowed to meet in a Roome or Roomes 'in the house of Griffith Bubby in Redding in our County of Berks'; but a similar fate befalls it to that which befell James Briscoe's; only further enquiry at Whitehall (? on the part of Thomas Blood) prevented the matter being carried so far. Though 'made out' (*i.e.*, the blanks in the printed form filled in by Mr. Benson), it was never signed nor dated, and it remains among the State Papers **321** (**257**) an imperfect document—a licence never issued and therefore never taken away. There is a mistake in the name of the house owner, 'Bubby' (instead of Bully); and that might have accounted for its being 'held up' at

Whitehall; but we have ample proofs that it was not completed for a more distinct reason than that.

On the one hand, Griffith Bully's licence for his house in Reading was granted. It is entered on **E. (135)** as issued May 25. John Hickes had applied for it—before Thomas Blood—on **321 (122)**.

And, on the other hand, Christopher Fowler himself withdraws his application for Reading (through Blood), by going up to Whitehall and leaving an application **321 (265)** for a licence to preach at his own house 'in the village of Kennington in the parish of Lambeth'; and his application at once has its result in a licence, entered on **E. (137)** 'to be a Presbyterian teacher in his house in Kennington, in the Parish of 'Lambeth, Surrey, and another for the house of Christ. Fowler there.'

I say, at once, though it is not dated, because all the rest of those entered on the same page are dated May 25, 1672. Another defect is that there is no separate licence entered for his house.

Blood had already put in an application for 'Allderman Daniell Andrew's hows at Laitonstone in Essex for a presbiterion meeting place,' as desired by Mr. Wells of Watling Street, London. But this second application on May 19, 1672, was altogether unnecessary. Two applications had been made on his behalf by James Innes, junr. [**321 (21)**] and [**321 (118)**], the first of them certainly before Blood's first application; and two licences are entered in **E.** as granted to him: the first entered on **E. (111)** dated May 13, 1672—only the name is wrongly given as 'Daniel Andrey,' and the second on **E. (114)**, dated May 16, 1672, which last was actually taken away by James Innes, junr., the day before Blood made his second application—viz., on May 18, 1672 [**321 (206)**]. So that in this case, too, Blood's efforts were not very happy or successful.

The last of Blood's memoranda is **321 (328)**: an application for two licences for Yorkshire, and one for Sussex.

The Yorkshire licences are for Thurnscoe—'Thursco' Blood calls it—for a 'Mr. Will Benton,' a Presbyterian who had been ejected from the living, to preach in his own house there, though excluded from his old pulpit. Though the memorandum is undated, it probably belonged to the month of June. The application was promptly attended to: and the licences issued June 10, 1672 [**E. (162)**].

The Sussex licence is 'for the Presbitter to mete and preach 'In the 'loft over the Markett place in Pettworth which they Hire.' The response to this is not nearly so prompt; and it is by no means clear that it had any response at all. Two houses in Petworth are licensed; and both are described as private property: (1) Jeoffrey Dautrie's, licensed July 22 [**E. (201)**] (the entry by a curious slip places Petworth in Essex); and (2) Henry Phillips's, which was licensed August 10. In my first classification I followed the lead of the Whitehall officials, and identified the former with the meeting-place applied for by Blood.[*] I am distinctly of opinion now, that the identification of the Index (**I**) is a mistaken one, and that Blood's 'loft over the Markett Place' is to be identified with neither; and that being, in a sense, a Public Hall (though hired by the Presbyterians), his application is refused. If that be so, Thomas Blood's career as a licence-agent ends as it began: by a futile application for a Public Hall. His first application was before April 16, for three Public Buildings in Newcastle, Northumberland; and his last is in June for a Public Building in Petworth, Sussex. And both are failures. Still it stands distinctly to his credit, that though the authorities are still swayed by a bigoted exclusiveness, against which he wrote to Lord Arlington in protest, he does not hesitate to put in another application for a Public Building.

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[*] For in **I.**—an imperfect Index of Licences granted, drawn up by direction of Sir Joseph, but never completed—the last of the entries under *Yorkshire* (Presbyterian) is *Petworth*—'A Roome over the Markett howse in Petworth belonging to 'Jeoffrey Dofty. Yorke, 25 July.'

The next document calling for special notice is one that chronologically comes between the last examined and the last but one. **321** (**210**) is dated May 19. **321** (**328**) probably belongs to the month of June. The document I proceed to quote is dated May 23.

It shows him as much more effective in larger enterprizes (enterprizes needing keenness of outlook and promptitude of action) than in the detailed clerkly work which is needed for effectual licence-agency. And we ought to emphasize the fact that it evinces a watchful regard for the welfare of persecuted Nonconformists. It has come to Blood's knowledge, either as the result of active personal enquiry, or by the report to him of those who have learned the facts, that many of those who have been incarcerated for their Nonconformity by the operation of the second Conventicle Act, are still languishing in prison, spite 'the suspen-'sion of all penal statutes against such as do no conform to the Church of 'England' published in the Declaration of Indulgence; men who, if at liberty, would without doubt wish to avail themselves of the Indulgence. And he writes to Lord Arlington asking him to see to it that their pardons be issued at once. It is evident, too, that his request is granted, as the endorsement in Sir Joseph Williamson's handwriting runs—'M^{r} Blood, May 23. 72. Prisoners in Graꝉꝉ Goales to be 'pardoned.'

It is numbered [**303** (**103**)] and is addressed: 'For the Right 'honor^{ble} the Erle of Arlington these.'
It reads:

'My Lord,

'According unto y^{r} Lord^{ps} direction I Inquered after y^{e} order of Councell for y^{e} relese of prisoners and find it to be no larger than upon letters sent to y^{e} Sherrifs of each county for an accompt of what quakers were prisoners upon y^{e} accoumpt of conscience and no other crime. that y^{e} Atturney generall should draw up a pardon for to contain them all, to which have bene added some others since, by order of Councell, but I cannot find any other Order of Councell that relates to prisoners, so y^{t} many are like to remaine still in prison y^{t} are of other perswasions than quakers. And understanding that y^{r} Lord^{p} by y Kings apoyntment hath by warrant releced some that petitioned hi

Maiesty I humbly offer to y^{r} Lord^{p} whither it be not y^{e} best way to petic̃on his Maiesty for these prisoners incerted in this inclosed, that they may be releced by spetiall warrant conditionall that they be in for no other crimes then such as are mentioned in y^{e} sayd list of prisoners. but if y^{r} Lord^{p} thinke it not a convenient way, I humbly desire y^{r} Lord^{ps} directions. these are prisoners recomended unto my care, and I would willingly have my reputation kepte up that I may be the better inabled to sarve his Maiesty.

'If yo^{r} Lord^{p} think fit to signify your pleshure herein by M^{r} Bridgman or any other way, it shall be obsarved by

'Yo^{r} Lord^{p} most obliged servant

'May 23. 72.' 'THO BLOOD

[The Mr. Bridgman, mentioned in the last sentence, is probably the Clerk of the Council, who is twice referred to by Evelyn in his Diary: the first time in 1676 (under date Aug. 15); and the second time in noticing his death on May 11, 1699.

The list of Prisoners is added in a separate document, calendared as **303 (103 I.)**:

'Edward Ebdon[*] John Bennett[†]	prisnors in Southgate Exon on excommunication
Tho. Egbeare[‡] Elizabeth Gine	prisnors in Stoke Canon[§] in Devon on excomũnication
Samuel Hart Henry Forly[‖]	prisnors in y^{e} King's bench for non | conventicling
Alexander Edwards Walter Trincomb[¶] William Lob[**] John Dier[††] Charles Coek Will. Steevens	pirsoners in Bodmin Cornwall upon excomunication

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[*] *I.e.*, Edward Ebdine, licensed May 22/72 as Congreg^{lt} to preach at Dame Drake's house, Topsham, Devon. Rec^{d} by Rich^{d} Prowse, May 25/72 [**E. (129)**].

[†] There was an Edw. Bennett, ejected from W. Morden, Dorset (Cal. II., 139-140), and a John Bennett E. fr. Whitwick (Leic^{r}) [Cal. III., 524], but was in London till 1672.

[‡] Licensed for Asburton, Devon (end of Oct^{r}), 1672 [*al.* 'Egbeale'; also *C.*] [**E. (266)**].

[§] Stoke-Canon, 4½ mm. north-east of Exeter, belongs almost wholly to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral. The Bishop must have had his own special prison there.

[‖] A John Forly's ho: in Totness, Devon, was lic^{d} Ap. 30/72 [**E. (46)**], and taken away by John Hickes. (Was Henry F. a bro. in London?)

[¶] A Nathaniel Tincombe is reported in 1665—as ej^{d} fr. Lascelles and living at Fowey [**R. 308** and **413**]; and Theophilus Tincombe was lic^{d} (t^{r} and ho:) at Lostwithiel, May 29/72 [**E. (148)**].

[**] Richard Lob's house in Knewyn (called 'Treworder House') was lic^{d} Ap. 16 72 [applns. **320** (**99** and **100**); lic. entries **E.** (**24** and **25**)]; and another house of his, called 'Falmouth House' in Mylor, was lic^{d} the same date—Stephen Lobb was lic^{d} to preach at *both*.

[††] John Dier (Dyor) was lic^{d} (on appl. of John Hickes [**321** (**53, 54**)]) to pr at Martock, May 13/72 [**E. (103)**], and later at E. Chinnock (Som^{s}) [**E. (285)**].

Samson Lark[*]
Will: Facy[†]
John Adams[‡] } prisoner in the com̃on Goal at Exoñ for ꝑmunire
Roger Rowe[§]
Francis Hart

'Tho. Gower—prisoner in Durham Goalle on excomunication

'These are all presbiterians, Independents, and Annabaptists.'

From the identifications given in the notes it will be seen that the first two pairs were probably Congregationalists of Devon (generally speaking) in the Exeter district—Topsham being on the estuary of the Exe, and Ashburton in the valley of the Yeo, an affluent of the Dart; that the third pair were Baptists of Totness, Devon: that the Bodmin prisoners were Presbyterians of Cornwall; that Sampson Lark was a Baptist of Dorset (Lyme) and Will Facy a Baptist of Tiverton, Devon; and the rest probably belonged to Somerset and Wilts.

A second appendix to Blood's letter was a list, identical in its 'personel' with the above—only arranged somewhat differently. It is calendared [**303** (**103** II)]; and endorsed: 'M^{r}· Blood's paper.'

'Alexander Edwards
William Lob
John Dier } prisoners in Bodmin in Cornwall upon excomunication
Charles Cock
Will. Steevens
Edward Ebdon } prisnor in Southgate in Exon upon excomunication
John Bennet
Samuel Hart } in y^{e} Kings bench for Nonconformity
Henry Forly
Tho. Egbear } in Stoke cañon in Devon for excomunication
Elizabeth Pine
Samuel Lark
Will Jacy[||]
Roger Rowe } in y^{e} Comon gole in Exon excomunication
Francis Hart

'Mr. Tho. Gower, prisoner in Durham Gaole upon excomunication—there is a certificate from Sir Gilbert Garrat y^{e} for y^{t} only hee is a prisoner.

'These desier by y^{e} King's warrant to be discharged.'

This is the last document which shows any active interest on the part of Blood, in the working of the Indulgence of 1672. At the close of the year he was deeply engaged in trying to get possession of his confiscated Estates: appealing to the Earl of Arlington to get the King to issue a writ of error, and so secure a reversal of his outlawry. This was done, and after other intermediate legal processes, the King's Warrant was issued May 27, 1673, and received in Dublin June 10, 1673. 'For Thomas Blood to have a writt of Error for reversing the 'Judgment against him for high Treason.' The actual document is preserved in the MS. department of the British Museum (Stowe Collection, Vol. 202, p. 81). Blood went to Dublin to see the matter through, taking the King's warrant with him. He stayed in Ireland long enough to discover a hoard of stolen plate valued at £1,500, which he petitions the King may be handed over to him as 'treasure trove' in the King's gift. We do not know whether he actually secured it. The only other glimpse of him we have in the State Papers, is through a Report he sends to Sir Joseph Williamson of the proceedings in Parliament against the shattered remnants of the Cabal ministry. On the passing of the Test Act both Clifford and Arlington had resigned. Clifford died soon after by his own hand ; Buckingham and Lauderdale were impeached; but an attempt made to impeach Arlington failed, and he was astute enough to secure a snug berth at Court as Lord Chamberlain.

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[*] Sampson Lark was a Baptist of Lime Regis (Lyme—Town Records).

[†] William Facy was lic^{d} as a Baptist teacher at Tiverton in Martin Dunsford's house, May 25/72 [**E. (141)**].

[‡] A 'M^{r} Adams' was reported in 1669 as teaching at conv. in West Monkton (Som^{s}) [**R. 143**].

[§] A Tho: Rowe was lic^{d} (both t^{r} and ho:) for Wimborne, May 8/72 [**E. (76)** and **E. (77)**]; and John Rowe's house in Shobrooke, DV, Ap. 21/72 [**E. (103)**]; John Rowe is rep^{d} in 1669 as teach^{g} conv. at Barwick-Bassett in Wilts [**R. 250**].

[||] Facy.

Though with the withdrawal of the Declaration (Feb. 1673) and of the licences granted under it in 1675, the hopes of help from Blood were all blasted, and in their bitter disappointment, the Nonconformists, and especially the Presbyterians, poured the vials of their wrath upon Blood's head ; he remained true to the cause of Protestantism to the end. When he broke with Buckingham (on what ground we do not know) he was relentlessly persecuted by his former patron ; and most astutely, Blood's dealings with Roman Catholics, conducted in reality in the interests of the Government, only to worm their secrets out of them, were represented by Buckingham as proof of his treachery to the Protestant interest. It was a sincere trouble to Blood ; and Dorman Newman (a great Puritan printer, who in 1672 was active in securing licences for his friends under the Indulgence) published a Book in 1679 to expose these tactics: 'With an Account of their particular Intreigues carried 'on to insnare Mr. Blood, and several other considerable Persons, with 'the happy Discoveries thereof.'

His health was shattered, and these proceedings preyed much upon his mind ; and he died at his house in the Bowling Green, Westminster, on August 24, 1680. His will showed that he died 'in the 'faith of the Lord Jesus Christ'; and that he preserved an equitable love to all his surviving children.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPLETED SCHEME

I. Whitehall: Its Buildings and Officials.

As hinted in the last chapter but one, the essentially 'personal' or 'individual' character of the 'Indulgence' of 1672, had necessarily the most direct consequences on the mode of its administration. The King was its one source; and to him every would-be recipient of it had to apply.

Before the Indulgence could be of benefit, Licences had to be secured by the individuals 'indulged'; so that, if challenged, they might show them to any properly constituted authority. The 'Licences' were of three classes: (1) For a Teacher to preach in a specified 'place'; (2) for a Teacher, to preach in any licensed place (often described as a 'General Teacher'—or 'a Teacher in General'); and (3) for a 'Place' (*i.e.*, 'for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England').

They were partly printed and partly written. The printed form declared on the part of the King what was common to every licence of its class—giving 'approval' to the Teacher, and Royal authority to preach and conduct Nonconformist Worship; or 'allowance' for a 'place'—which was also Royal authority to the owner to open the doors of his or her house for public Nonconformist Worship. Blanks in these printed forms were left; (i) in all three classes for the name of the Sect to which Teacher and worshipper belonged—the phrase used was 'the Perswasion 'commonly called'; (ii) in those of the first class, blanks also for the name of the Teacher, and the name and description of the 'place' where he may hold services; (iii) in those of the second class, an additional blank for the name of the Teacher alone; and (iv) in those of the third class, one also for the name and description of the 'place' allowed.

Among the documents reproduced in Vol. I., two or three in **320**, give us incidental information as to when and how these forms were decided on. The final decision was probably given by the King in Council; but the preliminary processes were under the control of Lord Arlington; who left all the details of work in his department to his Chief Secretary, Sir Joseph Williamson.

It further appears, from these documents, that Sir Joseph largely consulted Dr. Nicholas Butler, whom he had employed (in conjunction with Mr. Church and Colonel Blood) in the pourparlers and conferences with leading Nonconformists which had issued in the Declaration of Indulgence on March 15.

These documents also make it evident that the Declaration was issued some days before details were arranged as to the precise forms to be used, and the procedure to be followed, in administering the Indulgence.

In **320** (**3**) we find Dr. Butler writing to Sir Joseph, with regard to a scheme which he had suggested. He says, 'I humbly desire his 'Majesty and thoese two honourable persons'—probably Lords Arlington and Clifford—'may see the whole I writ, and noe more.'

The scheme (as I have shown in my account of Nicholas Butler) sketched the procedure generally to be followed—both by the King in granting the Indulgence, and by those who sought it—including forms of 'licences' to be issued to the 'indulged.'

This letter was dated Friday, March 22nd—exactly a week after the Declaration had been issued.

Seeing that the King had declared war against the Dutch only two days after issuing the Declaration, one can hardly avoid the conclusion—that the King had been thus 'previous' in the publication of the Declaration because he was eager to declare war against the Dutch. The Declaration of Indulgence must precede the Declaration of War, so as to quiet and distract the Nonconformists; and though matters were not properly ripe for it, and details were not yet settled, the Declaration of Indulgence must be issued so as to clear the way for the Declaration of War.

The very next day (Saturday, March 23rd) he writes again to Sir Joseph [**320** (**4**)]. The sketch submitted was not distinct enough on one or two points. Apparently only two classes of licence were contemplated at first: one for the Teacher in a certain defined place, and the other for the 'place' where he was to hold the service: the presupposition of this being that the applicant for licence as a Teacher was the minister of a congregation, which in spite of the penal statutes had met regularly in a definite place (either in a private house, or in a building erected for the purpose). In the interval between presenting the sketch scheme and his writing this second letter, it had occurred to him in further conference with Nonconformist leaders* that there were many Nonconformists who had 'gathered' no conventicles about them either in their former spheres, or in London whither they had fled, so that they could not mention any specific 'place' in which, or 'people' to whom they would desire a licence to preach. Yet the very fact that they had so far observed the law, instead of breaking it (as was the case with those who could claim a congregation and a 'place' as peculiarly their own), was a reason why they should be specially provided for rather than excluded from the scope of the King's Indulgence; and Dr. Butler accordingly suggests that a third class of licence should be added (*i.e.*, one for 'a general teacher'): 'I offer,' he says, 'that all nonconformists 'which have not a people, if they desire it, may have a licence to preach 'in any licenced place.'

In the very next document, too [**320** (**5**)], Dr. Butler, writing on the following Wednesday (March 27), refers to some other special arrangement—evidently connected with the Indulgence, but so cryptic in its phraseology that any interpretation is scarcely more than a guess. On a review of the whole situation, however, I have little hesitation in suggesting it must partly refer to the way Roman Catholics may be treated under it. 'The words for that particular is agreed as I gave it—'viz., that they be licenced upon extraordinary family occasions, to keep 'a day of fast or thanksgiving in a private family with a moderate 'number'—and partly to services held at weddings or before private baptisms or funerals for Protestant Nonconformists as well.

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* It will have been noted that in his previous letter [**320** (**3**)] he had said: 'Since 'I was with you I had severall with me.'

If I am correct in the interpretation, the suggestion came to nothing as far as the testimony of any of these licence-documents is concerned. There are no special licence-forms for exceptional meetings in Roman Catholic houses; or, indeed, in Protestant houses on any particular occasions.

The result of these conferences was that three licence-forms were decided on of the three classes already described. [**320 (7)**-(**17**)] (Vol. I., pp. 198-203).

Of these we have no less than eleven samples in **320**.

(i) **320 (7)**, (**8**), (**9**), and (**9a**) are of the Form for a Teacher in a specific place.

320 (7) is printed in Vol. I. so as to be a replica of the actual printed form, in which, though it is much smaller in size, the type of the Licence-forms actually issued is reproduced as nearly as possible. [The same, of course, is true also of **320 (10)**, and **320 (13)**.] **320 (8)** and **320 (9)** are written forms almost identical, though a close examination will disclose slight variations in spelling and the use of capitals. In (**9a**) the salutation is abbreviated, and instead of the blanks left in the other copies (as in the printed form) for the name of the Teacher, the name of the place, and the name of the Sect or 'Perswasion,' we have capital letters: A B for the Christian name and surname of the Teacher, C for the name of the place, and D for the name of the Sect.

(ii) **320 (10)**, (**11**), (**12**), and (**12a**) are forms for a General Teacher. The printed form comes first; and, as in the previous case of the written copies, the last is abbreviated and capital letters are used instead of blanks: A B (as before) representing the name of the Teacher, and C representing the 'Perswasion' to which he belongs.

(iii) **320 (13)**, (**14**), (**15**), and (**15a**) gives forms of a Licence for a Place. As in the other two cases, the first is the printed form, the other three are written copies, only in the last, the salutation is not abbreviated, the capitals A and B are not used; but C is employed for the Place and D for the 'Perswasion.'*

Of each of these three series the last seems to be in the handwriting of Sir Joseph Williamson's principal clerk, Francis Benson.

In addition to these, we have two large sheets, numbered **320 (16)** and **320 (17)**; each containing drafts of all three forms of licence. In both of these the salutation is prefixed to only the first of the three forms. But in other respects they differ.

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* It is interesting to note that Sir Joseph has used the back of **320 (51)** to jot down a memorandum of Henry Godman's application for a licence to preach in 'a certaine 'place in ye Upper Towne of Deptford.'

In **320** (**16**), which seems to be in Benson's handwriting, the description of each form is prefixed to it as a title, and the order of the forms differs from the order in which copies of each of the three have already been given.

In that, the form for a Teacher in a given Place comes first; for a Teacher in General, second; and for a Place, last. In this we have 'Licence for a Teacher in Generall,' first; 'Licence for a Place,' second; and 'Licence for a Teacher,' last. In all of these, however, instead of Capital letters for the blank spaces, we have dotted lines. [The endorsement of the paper is curious, 'Forme of Licences for 'Teachers' (although the second is the form of Licence for 'a Place'), 'Apr. 1672.']

In one way **320** (**17**) is the most interesting of the whole series, as it is all in Sir Joseph Williamson's handwriting.

Here the Salutation—common to all—is given separately at the head of the three different forms in a fashion much more logical than that of his clerk, who prefixes it to the first of the three forms.

The description of each, moreover, is given in a marginal indented note, at the left hand of each of the three forms. But the order is different, alike from his clerk's summary **320** (**17**), and of the four sets of copies of each. They are as follows, both in form and order: (1) 'Y^{e} Teacher of a certaine Congregation'; (2) 'Y^{e} Place'; and (3) 'Teacher in generall & at large.' The document is endorsed quite correctly, 'Forme of Licenses.'

Most probably we have in **320** (**17**), the actual document which would be given by Sir Joseph Williamson to Lord Arlington to present to the King in Council for their approval.

The separate sets would probably be drawn up in writing as the result of conference and discussion of details with Dr. Butler; and these drafts in **320** (**16**) and (**17**) were almost certainly drawn up, the one by his clerk, and the other by Sir Joseph himself.

In the printed forms, preserved in (**320**) (**7**), (**10**), and (**13**), we have the exact skeleton of licences as actually issued, and with them before us we can reproduce the actual form of the licence issued in any particular instance. We have simply to fill in the blanks in accordance with the facts as known (and we may add, as preserved for us in the Entry Books, **B.** and **E.**).

[This does not appear to have been realized by historians who have reproduced the licences granted to their heroes which have been preserved. They often cite them as though the form were special to the case they are dealing with, suggesting that, in any other, the form might considerably vary.]

When we examine carefully the form of each kind of licence finally adopted, we find that its phraseology is largely and intentionally reminiscent of that of the Royal Declaration.

The Salutation reminds us of the list of persons who, in the third paragraph of the Declaration, are commanded to 'take notice of,' 'and 'pay due obedience to' the Royal will and pleasure therein declared (viz., 'that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters 'ecclesiastical against whatsoever sort of non conformists or recusants be

In theory, of course, that might be done, wherever King and Court happened to be, whether in St. James's, in Whitehall, at Windsor, at Newmarket, at Portsmouth, or at Dover.

Yet it was only in one particular spot, and from one particular place, that practical facilities existed for the purpose.

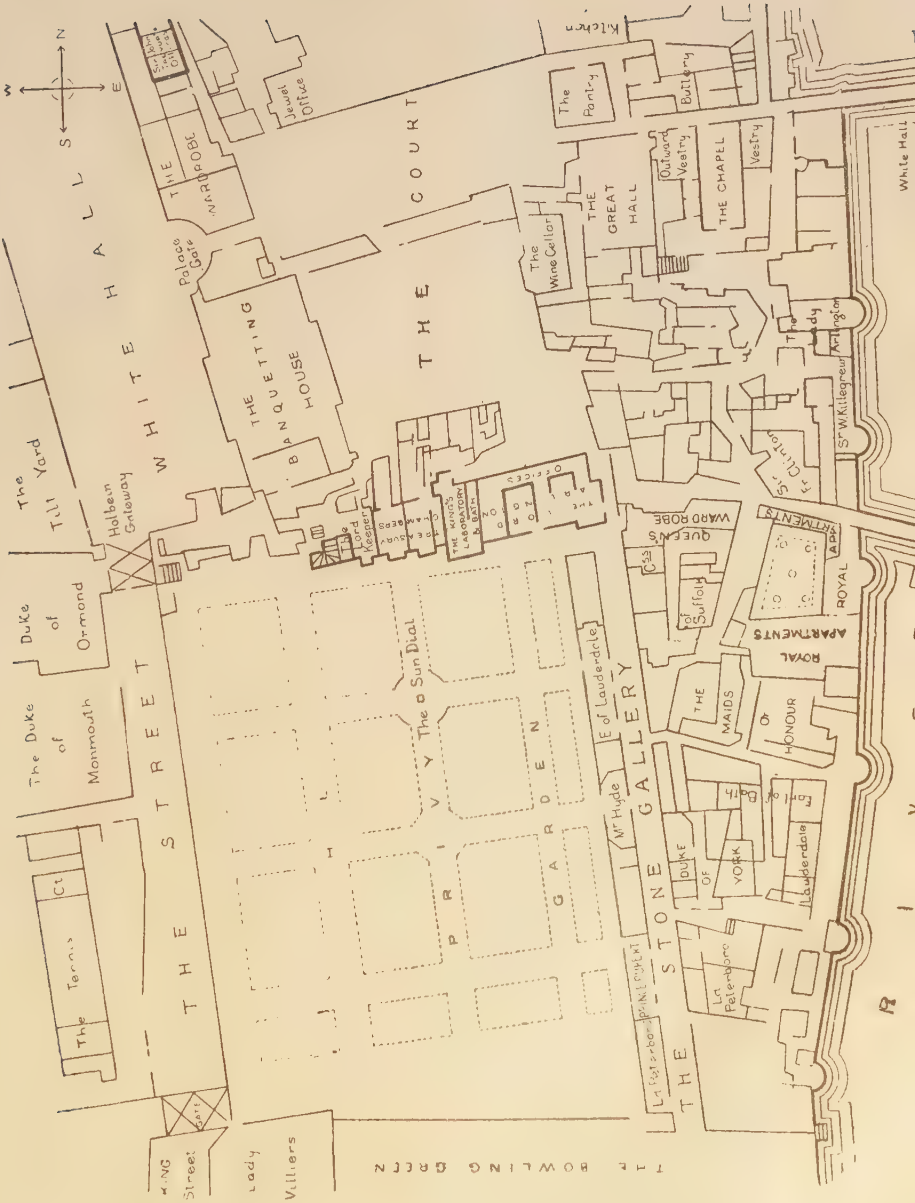
For Charles II., London was the settled place of his abode, and Whitehall was his favourite Palace. It was in Whitehall that his Court was mostly held; and it was in Whitehall that were found the offices of those most closely associated with him in the administration of the Indulgence. It appears that any Cabinet Minister was authorized to act for him, or with him, in 'allowing' a 'place' or 'approving a 'person,' but of the five who formed the Cabal, neither Buckingham nor Ashley (Shaftesbury) ever exercised this power.

Buckingham, through his levity, did not care to be troubled with it. It remains a problem, which calls urgently for solution, why Shaftesbury, so stalwart a Presbyterian, and soon to become once more the champion of popular rights in matters both civic and religious against the oppression of either Church or State, all through this period should have remained so silent and inactive, that his name never once appears in the State Papers as taking any part in the furtherance or working of this measure, and that he should never once have used his great influence to secure the benefits of the Indulgence for those who 'desired' them. Lauderdale, too, acts in this business, but very intermittently, and that only through his secretary. So that Clifford, Trevor, and Arlington were left usually to work with the King, or in the King's behalf.

Clifford was, at this time, the presiding genius at the Treasury, though he was not created Lord High Treasurer till the November of this year. He had so little to do with the issue of licences under the Indulgence that it was almost wholly left in the hands of Trevor, Arlington, and his subordinates.

Whenever the King was in Town, he resided either in St. James's Palace, or in the warren-like buildings of the Court and Palace of Whitehall. It was these which naturally became the local centre and headquarters of those who worked the Indulgence, and issued the Licences granted under it.

The buildings and grounds, collectively known as Whitehall, covered the space between what is now Whitehall Place on the North and New Scotland Yard on the South; being bordered by Whitehall on the West, and by the River on the East. The present Embankment occupies what was then the 'foreshore,' covered only at high-tide, and a bank of oozy mud at low-tide, over which the piers and steps carried passengers, at any state of the tide, to and from the Whitehall buildings and the boats or barges. These 'piers' and steps were called respectively Whitehall Palace Stairs, at its northern end (near the Chapel and the Great Hall), and leading from the river to very near the Northern corner of the Great Courtyard; and the Privy Stairs, about the centre of this area, leading from the river, directly to the Royal Apartments, and past the Queen's Wardrobe. Along the irregular southern side of the Great Courtyard lay a block of buildings, which at its north-western corner joined the southern end of Inigo Jones's great Banqueting Hall,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W
E
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WHITE HALL
The Tilt Yard
Holbein Gateway
Duke of Ormond
The Duke of Monmouth
The Tennis Ct
THE STREET
Gate
King Street
Lady Villiers
THE BOWLING GREEN
Sir John Trevor's Office
THE WARDROBE
Jewel Office
Palace Gate
THE BANQUETTING HOUSE
THE COURT
Kitchen
The Pantry
Buttery
The Wine Cellar
THE GREAT HALL
Outward Vestry
THE CHAPEL
Vestry
White Hall
The Lady Arlington
Sr W. Killegrew
Sr Fr Clinton
The Lord Keeper
TREASURY CHAMBERS
THE KING'S LABORATORY & BATH
COUNCIL OFFICES
THE
QUEEN'S WARD ROBE
APARTMENTS
ROYAL APARTMENTS
ROYAL
of Suffolk
The Sun Dial
PRIVY GARDEN
E of Lauderdale
Mr Hyde
THE STONE GALLERY
THE MAIDS OF HONOUR
Earl of Bath
DUKE OF YORK
Lauderdale
Ld Peterboro
Ld Peterboro's Privy Garden
Ld Peterboro
R
I
V

the only part of the ancient Whitehall which now remains. It is this block of buildings in which we are most interested.

Running almost East and West, it had the Great Court Yard behind it on the North, and the spacious 'Privy Garden' in front of it on the South. Broadly speaking, it consisted of four sets of apartments. The western end of it contained the office of the Lord Keeper, where was lodged the 'Great Seal.' Next to this, eastwards, were the Treasury Chambers. The largest and easternmost block contained the 'Lodgings' and offices of the Chief Secretary of State; and between these last two, in the centre of the building, was the Royal 'Office,' known as 'The 'King's Laboratory and Bath.'

In this year of 1672, Sir Orlando Bridgeman occupied the smaller apartments at the western extremity of the block; Lord Clifford presided at the Treasury; and the easternmost part of the block was occupied by Lord (later, the Earl of) Arlington. These were the buildings in which the details of the licence-scheme were wrought out by Sir Joseph Williamson, with the assistance of Dr. Nicholas Butler. Here Sir Joseph was the resident authority and presiding genius, and it was from this building alone that the Indulgence Licences could be obtained.

It is well, therefore, to realize as vividly as possible their position, and the means of communication between them and the great world outside. In the centre of its southern front one door opened on to the north-eastern corner of the Privy Garden, but this was the private entrance of Lord Arlington, and possibly of Sir Joseph Williamson—as his confidential secretary. It is from this door that Lord Arlington, and Sir Joseph, would have easiest access to the King's 'Laboratory.'

The door most used, however, was one in the eastern-end wall opening almost directly on to the road leading to the Privy Stairs, and communicating by a sort of courtyard with the Great Court behind the Offices. It is not likely that any save the King and Court were allowed to use the Privy Stairs, so that, for the general public, access to Lord Arlington's offices would be from the Great Court of Whitehall, through the courtyard just described, whether they came by land through 'Whitehall' street, or by water to the Whitehall Palace Stairs.

Between the two doors in Lord Arlington's Lodgings, was the entrance to 'The Stone Gallery,' a sort of Piazza which extended almost due north and south, flanking the Privy Garden along its whole extent on the east, and dividing it from the various suites of apartments, which communicated with one another by labyrinthine passages and courtyards—much after the fashion of the Pensioners' Lodgings at Hampton Court—and were bordered on the east by the river bank. This Stone Gallery appears to have been used as a 'rendezvous' for men who had public business in Westminster, whether in connection with Court or Parliament: and it is of especial interest to find that in one of the Licence-documents Arlington's Office is addressed postally as 'in Stone Gallery.'

321 (**153**) is an application for six licences, all for Congregationalists in the East Riding of Yorkshire (Hull and its immediate neighbourhood), made May 15, 1672, by one 'Robert Collier', and is addressed :

'Sr Joseph Williamson,
'At the Earle of Arlington office, in Stone Gallery.'

All this, and much more, may be gained by a glance at Fisher's excellent plan (here reproduced), which is almost contemporary with our period, having been 'taken in the reign of Charles II. in 1680'—only eight years after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence.

Further, by the aid of the Indulgence Documents, we are enabled to form a fairly complete idea of the Whitehall staff, who were concerned with the preparation, the granting, drawing up, and issue of the Licences.

Beside the staff in Lord Arlington's office—where by far the greater part of the work was done—note should be taken of the fact that Sir John Trevor, as one of the Secretaries of State, was fully qualified to sign and issue Licences. His offices were situated in a blind alley, the southern end of which opened out from the north-western corner of the Great Courtyard, their back-yards being separated from 'Whitehall' Street by a high wall which was unbroken by any entry or door along its whole length between the two entrances to Scotland Yard on the north and the great Palace Gate on the south.

This he did to a limited extent, and he might have continued to do so for a much longer period had it not been for his premature death in this year of 1672.

1. *Sir John Trevor.*

Sir John Trevor was born 1626, at Tremlyn, Denbighshire. In 1646, when not twenty-one, he entered Parliament as Member for County Flint. He is described as of Channel Row, Middlesex, and of Plas Têg, Flintshire. In 1654 he was again returned for Flint. In 1655 he was placed on the Committee for Trade, and in 1657 on the Commission for the Survey of Forests. Politically both he and his father were 'moderate' Parliamentarians: and early in 1660 (Feb. 23) he was admitted to Monk's Council of State. In the Convention Parliament, 1660, he was M.P. for Arundel in Sussex. In 1661 he was elected for Great Bedwin, Wilts.

In 1663 he had some responsible employment in France.

In 1667 he was admitted to the Council of State. Pepys refers to this under date Dec. 30. In alluding to the many changes which followed the fall and exile of the Earl of Clarendon, he speaks of 'The King being going to put out of the Council so many able men'—and among them 'Secretary Morrice—to bring in Mr. Trevor.'

From February to May, 1668, he was again in France, going to Paris on a special mission, and on May 2 to St. Germain's to ratify a Treaty with France.

On his return to England he was knighted. In the month of September, Pepys twice refers to his rapid rise in the Royal favour. 'Sep. 9: 1668. Mr George Montague . . . talked and complimented 'me mightely . . . who, for news, tells me for certain that Trevor do 'come to be Secretary at Michaelmas, and that Morrice goes out, and, 'he believes, without any compensation.' Ten days later he harps on the same string. 'Sep. 19: 1668. All the news now is that Mr. Trevor is for certain to be Secretary in Morrice's place, which the Duke 'of York did himself tell me yesterday.' The appointment was actually made in 1669—Trevor having bought Morrice's Secretaryship for £8,000 or £10,000—so that rumour had been wrong in saying Morrice was to have no compensation. Under date March 22, 1669, Pepys writes: 'Sir W. Coventry told me that he was going to visit 'Sir John Trevor, who hath been very kind to him.'

According to Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir John had Nonconformist leanings, which we can well believe in view of his Parliamentary connections in the 'Interregnum.' In 1671, January 18, he was appointed on the Committee to report on the petitions of Irish owners of property who had been dispossessed by Cromwell.

Under date May 26 of that year (1671), Evelyn refers to Sir John Trevor as 'the other Secretary'—his allusion being to the 'Earl of 'Arlington, Secretary of State'—as amongst those who inaugurated the work of 'the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, . . . in the 'Earle of Bristol's house in Queene Street [Lincoln's Inn Fields].'

In July 2, 1671, he was appointed Commissioner to report on the settlement of Ireland, and early that same year was associated with Ashley, Clifford, and Arlington in the negotiations with the States General for alliance with them.

In 1672, when the Indulgence was in full swing, he took his share in issuing Licences, which he treated as items of Royal Patronage in Ecclesiastical Affairs and entered accordingly in his Entry Book No. 27. This volume is entitled on the back—'27. S.P. Dom. Entry Books, 'Ecclesiastical and Universities 1667-1678'; and on the side, 'Church.' The book is written from both ends. The end following the side-cover, which bears the word 'Church,' contains all the Ecclesiastical appointments in the patronage or gift of the King; and it is in this half of the volume that some fifty of the licences granted under the Declaration of Indulgence are entered.

The following are specimens of the kind of benefice thus entered as in the Royal Gift:

July 2, 1667.—A letter to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral commending Dr. John Wilkins (who was the following year appointed Bishop of Chester) one of the King's chaplains, to a Canonry in the Cathedral in place of Mr. Naylor whom they had elected.

July 17, 1667.—A Congé d'Élire of Dr. Francis Davis to the Bishopric of Llandaff.

August 10, 1668.—The Royal Permission to the Lord Mayor and Alderman of the City of London, to remove the stone rubbish from the ruins of St. Paul's to the lower parts of Fleet Street to raise the roadway to a proper level.

January 1, 1669-70.—Dr. Tillotson is presented to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester Cathedral for the next Canon Residentiary.

June 9, 1670.—Dr. Edward Stillingfleet is presented by the King to the next Prebend of St. Paul's, London.

June 10, 1671.—A Royal Commission is issued to Humphrey (Henchman), Bishop of London, to 'visit' his Diocese.

Jan. 8, 1671-72.—The King appoints William Wenslow to be Vicar Choral of Sarum Cathedral.

February 5, 1671-72.—The King appoints William Hoare Master of Lutterworth Hospital.

Mar. 18, 1671-72.—He presents John Cradock, M.A., to the Rectory of St. Peter's, Walpool, Norfolk.

And on *March* 27, 1671-72.—The King presents Joseph Sedgwick, M.A., to the Rectory of Allthorp in the Isle of Axholme, Lincolne.'

These last two appointments were made after the Declaration of Indulgence was issued; the first only three days after it, and the second, twelve.

It is after this that the entries of Licences granted under the Declaration of Indulgence commence. The very next entry (on p. 30) is of four Licences under the Indulgence: but they are followed at the foot of the same page, by a 'Corroboration of William Wade M.A. to the 'Rectory of Broadwater in Sussex.'

The nine pages next following this 'Corroboration' are wholly occupied with Licences to Nonconformists; but on p. 35 appointments to benefices in the Established Church are resumed—in the Recommendation of John Wood, B.D., to the Dean and Chapter of Sarum—for the next place of Canon Residentiary in Sarum Cathedral; and these are continued to the end of the volume.

With regard to these Licence-entries one or two things may be noted. (1) As in the case of Lord Arlington's Entry Book 38A, the continuous series of licence-entries in 𝔅. commences with two specimen-licences entered in full—viz., those issued to Henry Lukin of Matching, Essex, for a general licence; and to Edward Casse, of the same place, for his house there [𝔅. (**30***b*)]. (2) Of these the first is signed 'J. Tr.' So also is the Licence granted to William Wallace of East Deane, Sussex [𝔅. (**32**)]. And one entry—at the head of p. 31B—for the two licences for Nathaniel Robinson to preach in Mrs. Knight's house in Southampton—is signed in full, 'J. Trevor.' (3) The house-licences are entered in the briefest terms, as merely supplements or appendices to the preaching-licences. (4) In these Licence-entries there is a curious chronological irregularity. The first entered is for April 9, and the third [𝔅. (**30***b*)] for April 11. But on the following page [𝔅. (**31***b*)] April 17 is followed by April 12; and further on April 13 follows April 17; and again it follows April 15. It suggests that Sir John had given no definite instructions to his clerk at the outset, and that the memoranda which had been preserved were entered in the haphazard order in which they were taken up for entry.

The last licence entered [on 𝔅. (**34***b*)]—that to Jerome Gregory, of Little Marlow, Bucks—bore date May 17, 1672.* Sir John's mortal illness must have followed immediately afterwards, for he died of fever May 28, 1672, and was buried at St. Bartholomew's,† Smithfield.

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* This licence is preserved in the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, London.

† This is given, in Wood's 'Fasti,' as Church of St. Bartholomew's, and should mean St. Bartholomew's the Less, the other being known as the Priory (see Stow).

Only for two months, therefore, after the issue of the Declaration, had Sir John any part in the administration of the Indulgence. For these two months, moreover, the great bulk of the work was done at Arlington's office as was the whole of it after May 17.

Only one other member of the 'Cabal' beside Lord Arlington took any active part in the matter. Shaftsbury—the one Minister whom we should naturally suppose would be most energetic in securing this 'liberty' for Nonconformists—did absolutely nothing. In the whole of these Indulgence-documents his name does not once occur. Lauderdale, too, appears only, mediately and on one or two occasions, through his secretary. But Lord Clifford, the Lord High Treasurer, occasionally does show an active interest.

In view of the fact that, though very occasionally he actually countersigned licences, as did Sir John Trevor, a brief account of him may not be out of place. Indeed, the reason of his active intervention in certain instances, can be understood only in the light of his public career.

2. *Lord Clifford.*

Thomas Clifford was the eldest son of Hugh Clifford, Esq., of Ugbrooke (near Chudleigh), in Central Devon; was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and chose rather to share young Charles's exile than remain in England and acknowledge the Commonwealth. In the first two Parliaments of Charles II.'s reign he was member for Totnes, the nearest borough to his native place. In 1664 he was appointed, in conjunction with Sir John Evelyn and two others, Commissioner for the Sick and Wounded and Prisoners of War; in 1665, he served with great distinction in the Fleet, under the Duke of York, in the first war against the Dutch, and was knighted for his conduct; and henceforward he made rapid advance in the King's service through the active influence of Lord Arlington. In 1666 he was appointed Comptroller of the Household; in May, 1667, was made one of the Lords Commisssoners of the Treasury; in the April of this year, 1672, was created Baron Clifford of Chudleigh; and on November 28 of this same year was made Lord High Treasurer of England.

For some time before this he was the most active and influential of the Treasury Commissioners, so that he was often, and officially, called 'Mr. Treasurer' before the Office had been actually reinstated.* Throughout our period the Treasurer's Lodgings, therefore, were really his Office, though he was not formally installed there till November, occupying the block west of the King's Laboratory, as Arlington did the block east of it.

Five documents in these volumes contain his name, and show his influence in this Indulgence business; two of them directly proving his authority to issue the licences.

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* Thus in 1671, in the month of May, Evelyn twice 'Dined at Mr Treasurer's' (Sir Thomas Clifford): the first time (May 10) with a motley company, including, besides M de Gramont and several French noblemen, 'one Blood, that impudent 'bold fellow, etc.'; and the second time, May 17, in which he suspected him to be a little warping to Rome.

1. First, we have a letter, directly addressed to him, reproduced as **320 (42)**, asking him to grant two licences.

Although clearly addressed: 'For the right hon^{bl} S^{r} Tho Clifford,' it is, most unfortunately, unsigned. It reads:

> 'May it please you S^{r},
>
> 'M^{r} Francis Whiddon of Totnes desires his Ma^{ties} Licence to 'preach to a people of the Non Conformitye.
>
> 'The place his owne house in Totnes.
>
> 'Hee is of the Presbeterian Judgm^{t}.'

One is tempted to suggest, and is free to suppose, that it was written and sent up to London by Francis Whiddon himself.

The appended postscript, however, makes it more likely that it was some resident in London personally known to Lord Clifford who acts for his friend in Devon.

'Your Honour,' he adds, 'is desired to mind M^{r} Wood—M^{r} 'Stenning's friend.'

Clifford's connection with Devon, both as a native of the county, and specially as Member for Totnes, most naturally explains Francis Whiddon's somewhat unusual course. In the Commonwealth times Whiddon was Rector of Totnes, and after his ejectment in 1662 he still remained in the town, and was held in high esteem as belonging to a good county family, as well as for his work's sake. He was, therefore, known personally to Sir Thomas Clifford; and Mr. Stenning would be known to both. 'Sir Thomas' was still only 'the right 'hon^{ble} S^{r} Tho. Clifford,' because (though he was created Baron in the month of April this year) it was not till the last day of the month; and this letter must have been written quite early in the month, as on **E. (11)** we find Whiddon's personal licence entered as issued April 11; and the licence for his house the same date on **E. (15)**.*

2. There is also a second letter, of earlier date than this, which contains his name—viz., **320 (35)**—though it is not addressed to him. The letter was written by James Inness, senior, to Sir Joseph Williamson. The body of it refers to two Southwark Nonconformist ministers—viz., Nathaniel Vincent and William Whitaker. And with that part of it Sir Thomas Clifford has nothing to do. But a P.S. follows which

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* As to the name 'Wood' mentioned in the postscript of **320 (42)**, there can be little doubt the 'M^{r} Wood' whose case Sir Thomas is asked to 'mind' is William Wood of Tiverton. In another letter [**321 (50)**] addressed to Sir Thomas—now 'Thomas Lord Clifford'—in a very bungling attempt at French, 'Monceare le Cheva-'leare Clufford,' the writer says: 'I bespoke a Licence for M^{r} Saunders to preach in 'the howse of W^{m} Wood of Tiverton in Devon.' The first application for a meeting-place for Mr. Saunders had been made for 'the English Schoole howse in the Town' in a memorandum calendared **320 (123)**, and endorsed, 'Given in by M^{r} Treasurer's 'Steward. 18 Ap.,' so that it had been sent to Sir Thomas (while still plain 'Sir Thomas'). But that application had been refused, as we see by **320 (297)**, which is an application by Richard Prowse, in a letter dated May 3, 1672, addressed to Benson, to substitute for 'y^{e} Schoole howse,' Mr. Wood's house, 'in y^{e} s^{d} Towne.' So that clearly **321 (50)** was written by Prowse, not as before to Mr. Benson (Sir Joseph Williamson's clerk), but direct to Thomas Lord Clifford, already called 'M^{r} Treasurer.' This secures the object. The licences are both granted May 8, 1672 [**E (89)**] Wm. Carslake fetches them away May 14, 1672 [**321 (149)**].

refers to two Devon ministers—both of Honiton—Mr. Sourton and Mr. Hieron. It applies for a Licence for the former, 'for a place in 'Honiton call'd the Chappell of All-hallows,' and a 'personall' licence for the latter. [Only, as a matter of fact, he confuses the men as to the place desired; and it needed his son, James Inness, junior, to put the tangle right.] What interests us in this connection, however, is that the P.S. concludes with these words: 'If there be any difficultie 'in the case, I presume S^r^ Thomas Clifford can satisfie you, having 'written to his honour about it.'

This is another Devon case; and we must suppose Sir Thomas had been asked to support the claims of these Honiton ministers, in case any difficulty was made in the way of granting the licences—though the ambiguity of the English language does not make it clear whether Sourton and Hieron had applied directly to Sir Thomas, or, having placed their application wholly in Mr. Innes's hand, had left it to him to write to Sir Thomas for them.

3. The third document which bears Clifford's name bears it in a form, and breathes a spirit, which make it highly improbable that it was addressed to him. It is numbered **321** (**50**), and has scrawled on the back of it this miserable apology for French: 'Monceare le Chavaleare Clufford Anecon.' As the French equivalent for 'Sir . . . Knight,' the first part would be a correct address only prior to April 22. The last word I cannot interpret.* It is neither dated nor signed. It is simply a familiar reminder of applications which had as yet received no attention, and reads:

> 'I bespoke a Licence for M^{r} Saunders to preach in the howse of W^{m} Wood at Tiverton in Devon
>
> 'The like for Tho: Chesman at his owne howse in East Ilsley in Barks
>
> 'A further Licence for a howse belonging to Francis Whiddon in Totnes.'

That familiar tone exactly fits Richard Prowse addressing Benson, as we know he did in **320** (**297**) when asking a licence for William Wood's house. But it would be insufferable as addressed to Baron Clifford. The paper with the French scrawl on the back may have been obtained by Prowse from Clifford's servant some time ago, and is (possibly) used now to remind the authorities that Clifford has been interested in the Devon cases from the outset.

As the licences both for Saunders and Mr. Wood are granted '8 May 72' [*vide* **E.** (**89**)], this letter must have been written between May 3 and May 7 or 8. Though ready May 8, the licences are not fetched away from Whitehall till May 14; when William Carslake, a Devon minister (who had been ejected from Werrington, on the Cornwall border of the county, close to Launceston, and had found refuge in London, south of the Thames) takes it away, together with three licences for Berks and no less than thirteen other licences for Devon [**321** (**149**)]. The three Berkshire licences did not include Thomas Chesman's; but the thirteen Devon licences did include the second house belonging to Francis Whiddon, described here simply as 'a house erected in Totnes 'in Devon.'

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* Rev. A. Gordon suggests that 'Anecon' may be read 'Avecon.' In the evil spelling of an illiterate foreigner—possibly Clifford's 'man'—it represents either (1) 'Avisons'—supposing the document were addressed to Clifford—meaning 'Let us bear in mind'; or (2) 'Avisant'—supposing it were not—and (following on 'Mon-'ceare le Chavaleare Clufford') meaning Lord Clifford 'prompting' the request.

But unquestionably the two documents connected with Lord Clifford, which possess most special interest are—

4 and 5—two licences which are countersigned by him, 'By his 'Majesty's Command Clifford,' and are still lodged in the Record Office as **321** (**374**) and (**375**)—quite complete (as filled in, signed, and dated), but which were never taken from Whitehall to be used.

321 (**374**) is a licence dated July 23, 1672, 'for the House of John 'Disne att . . . Lincolneshire.'

321 (**375**) is one dated July 22, 1672, 'for the house of George White '—Derbyshire.'

I presume that they were left as useless because 'insufficiently addressed,' the name of the town in which these houses were situated not being specified. Though the thought does suggest itself to the mind: was Lord Arlington any way nettled by Clifford's taking upon himself to sign them as in some sort poaching upon his preserve?

Other licences, however, were made out and issued later, for we have entries of them in **E.**: of the *second* (for George White), on the last line of **E.** (**230**) dated August 10, 1672, as for 'The house of 'George White of Chesterfield in Derbysh̄ Congr.'; and of the *first*, on **E.** (**247**) dated 'Sep. 5,' as for 'The house of John Disney Esq^{r} 'of y^{e} Cittÿ of Lincolne Pr.' In what way he was so particularly interested in these two citizens of Chesterfield and Lincoln as to sign the licences for them, instead of Lord Arlington, does not appear.

More accurate local information might clear up the problem.

Besides these documents, however, that bear his name, there are three other which are annotated with references to him in a way to show that he could be stirred to interest himself in any place in Devon, even though not in the district with which he was specially connected.

6. The first is **320** (**103**). It contains two memoranda on the one paper: the first of 'The humble Petition of a Congregationall Church 'in South Molton in y^{e} County of Devon. For his Ma^{ties} Licence for 'M^{r} Thomas Mall to be their Teacher. And the place for Worship 'to be a howse belonging to M^{r} Rob^{t} Squires in y^{e} s^{d} Towne.' The second is for Somerset—though for a part adjacent to Devon—full thirty miles distant from South Molton (in a direction East by South): 'A Licence for M^{r} Rob^{t} Drake to preach in the howse belonginge to 'Peter Southwood in the parish of Buckland in Somersetsheire. Of the 'Presbetirian Judgm^{t}.' And this interesting note is appended to it: 'By M^{r} T^{rers} desires being acquainted hereof.'

It must fill us with at least momentary surprise that a Church in a place so remote from Chudleigh, his native place, and Totnes, the little borough he represents in Parliament, as was South Molton, should be moved to seek the favour of his intercession and influence. But that momentary surprise is in part removed when we note that it is Mr.

Thomas Mall who is their teacher. Mr. Thomas Mall was one of the Preachers in Exeter Cathedral till the Act of Uniformity drove him from its pulpit ; and, as a great public force in the cathedral city, he must have been known to the native of Chudleigh and member for Totnes. As minister of South Molton, too, Thomas Mall would from the first hear much, and later get personally to know more, of the widespread activities of Robert Drake, of West Buckland.

The memorandum does not particularize which of the thirteen 'Bucklands' it is, save to call it 'the parish of Buckland in Somersetshire.' So much more natural would it be for the second application to be from a place near the first, that our first thought was to take the county name to be a mistake. There are no less than eight Bucklands in Devon; and two of them—East and West Bucklands—are quite near to South Molton : the first only five miles and the second only six miles from it. So that either of these would seem to be associated with South Molton with the utmost naturalness. On the other side, there are five Bucklands in the adjoining County of Somerset, and one of them very near the Devon border—viz., West Buckland, quite close to Wellington ; so that the two churches (South Molton in Devon and West Buckland in Somerset) and the two ministers (Thomas Mall in Devon and Robert Drake in Somerset) might easily have had close 'correspondence' with one another. When we find, too, that 'M^{r} 'Robert Drake' (Cal. III. 203) was ejected from West Monkton, which is only about the same distance (five miles or so) north-east of Taunton, that West Buckland is south-west of it, we are made morally certain that *this* West Buckland is the 'Buckland in y^{e} County of 'Somersetsheire' for which a licence is sought for Robert Drake : especially when we learn from the Episcopal Returns of 1669 that his preaching activities were so great in the district of which Taunton and Wellington were the 'twin foci.' They report him as preaching at :

(1) Wellington and Buckland, to congregations of 400, at the houses of Daniel Lock and Widow Mar [on (**R. 142***b*)] ; at
(2) Pitminster and Trull, to a Conventicle of 100, at some 'Place uncertaine' (**R. 142***b*) ; at
(3) West Munkton (his old sphere) and the places adjacent, to congregations of 400 (**R. 143**) ; at
(4) Creech, to a Conventicle of 200, held 'at the house of Edward Ceely Esq' (**R. 143**) ; at
(5) Oake, to a meeting of 'uncertain numbers,' at the house of one Harnham (**R. 143***b*) ; and at
(6) Pidminster, to Conventicles of 200, held at six different houses (also **R. 143***b*) ;

and all this although Calamy knows so little definite about him that he is obliged to content himself with saying : 'A considerable man, but 'there is no memorial of him.'

The identification, too, is made much more probable, as we find that both the house in which the Bishop (in 1669) reports him as preaching in Pitminster, and that for which he seeks licence to preach now (in

1672) in Buckland belong to members of the same family—Southwood. The house of Michael Southwood was one of those in Pitminster where he was Conventicling in 1669. And it was to have authority to preach in the house of Peter Southwood in West Buckland that he asks licence now. Both the licences for himself and the house are issued on April 16, 1672—as *vide* **E. (23)**.

7. The second document shows an even more direct and personal exertion on the part of Lord Clifford. It is **320 (126)**—the second part of which we have already cited in connection with the case of Richard Saunders, of Tiverton.

The whole is definitely endorsed by Francis Benson: 'Devon. Given in by Mr Treasurers Steward, 18 Ap.'; and the first part reads: 'Mr Oliver Peard To be Teacher to a Congregac̃onall church in Barne-'staple in Devon. The place of Worshipp The howse belonging to 'Joseph Andrewes in ye sd Towne.'

Both licences were issued two days later, as see the entries on **E. (36)**, dated '20 Apr. 72.'; and we have this interesting note inserted at the foot of the application [**320 (126)**] in Mr. Benson's hand: 'de-'livered to Mr Treasurers man 20. Apr. 72.'

The whole transaction is thus most vividly sketched for us. The application memorandum, which is after the same model as **320 (103)** —which was presented 'By Mr Treasurer's desires,' he 'being 'acquainted hereof'—was taken to Lord Clifford on Thursday, April 18—probably to his 'Lodgings' at Whitehall (otherwise called 'The 'Treasury'). It is given by Lord Clifford to his Steward, to take round to his friend Arlington's Office. There it is 'taken' by Francis Benson, Sir Joseph Williamson's chief clerk, and attended to as speedily as the press of this licence business will allow. The licences are made out, signed, and dated by Saturday, April 20; and on Lord Clifford's man calling for them, they are delivered to him the same day. There is little doubt, too, that they would be promptly despatched to Devon by post, 'franked' by Sir Thomas.

It is rather interesting to note that of the four ministers thus directly or indirectly licensed through his influence two were Presbyterian and two were Congregational. Francis Whiddon, of Totnes, and Robert Drake, of West Buckland, were Presbyterians; and Thomas Mall and Oliver Peard were Congregational. But the houses licensed are as four to two: four Presbyterians—John Disney's, Peter Southwood's, William Wood's, and Francis Whiddon's; and two Congregationalists—George White's and Robert Squire's.

This, however, is not quite all. There are two other memoranda which tell much the same story about him.

8. **320 (147)** is an application from 'Robert Collins M.A.' of Ottery St. Mary, for a licence to preach in his own house there. Appended to it are two notes in Mr. Benson's hand, which show that Sir Th. Clifford's influence had been invoked exactly as in these other cases—the second stating that it had been 'Given in by Mr Treasurer's servant '19 Apr. 72,' the day after the application had been made through him for Oliver Peard, of Barnstaple; and the first showing that the licence

was fetched away the same time, 'delivered to M^{r} Treasurer's man '20 Apr. 72.'

320 (**149**), too, though it has nothing in it or attached to it to prove that application was made through Sir Thomas, has a note appended showing that it was taken away by his servant at the same time as the other two. It is for Thomas Forward, of Pitminster, Somerset, the note appended reading: 'Some^{r}sett. Delivered to M^{r} Treasurer's 'man. 20 Apr. 72.'

Further still, and lastly:

9. In **E.** there is one entry, with a marginal note, referring to Lord Clifford in an absolutely unique fashion. On **E.** (**190**) the second line from the top reads:

> 'Licence to Fran: Bampfield a Nonconforming minister to teach in any licensed place. 29 June',

with this note appended in the margin: 'made in Parchm^{t} thus by 'my L^{d} Clifford's Order. 29 June.'

As far as any evidence goes, with which I am acquainted, this is the only case in which a licence was made out on parchment. The rule—and practically universal practice—was to make them out on the partly printed, partly written forms which were on stout paper.

This particular entry (and the licence thus entered) are specially interesting for another reason.

Baxter plumed himself upon being the only minister who had had a licence made out without indicating the sect or 'perswasion' to which he belonged. But Francis Bampfield's licence is made out in precisely the same form as Baxter's, and Baxter's was not issued till four months later than his—viz., October 27, 1672 [**E.** (**272**)]. So that Baxter's claim is without foundation. It certainly would be interesting to trace the ground of Lord Clifford's special interest in Francis Bampfield.*

It remains abundantly evident that practically the whole of the licences were issued from Lord Arlington's office. Happily there are incidental references in these Licence documents which enable us to form a conception of the staff by whose exertions the business was carried through (with many vexatious delays no doubt, but still with a general efficiency and promptitude).

3. *Lord Arlington.*

Arlington, the titular Chief of the Department, had at intervals to give his personal attention to the business by signing 'at foot' the licences which were approved as soon as his Royal Master had signed them at the head.

When methods were discussed at the outset, apparently the proposal was that the Council should meet for this particular work once a week to discuss the applications, and to sign the licences which were granted.

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* There was, of course, the general reason that Bampfield was a Devon man, and the special one that he was well connected, one brother being a baronet, and another the Recorder of Exeter.

That I take to be the meaning of the first sentence of the second paragraph of Dr. Butler's letter of March 27, addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson [**320** (**5**)]: 'Thursday morn. they meet generall(y) to subscribe, & suppose friday waite upon Ld A's. soe forwards.' If that was its meaning, however, the plan was never carried out.

The dates in the Entry Books tell a most erratic story.

In Sir John Trevor's (**B.**), in the month of *April*, signatures were affixed—on one Monday (the 22nd), on three Tuesdays (9th, 16th, and 23rd), one Wednesday (17th), one Thursday (11th), two consecutive Fridays (12th, and 19th), and one Saturday (13th); and in *May*, on three Wednesdays (1st, 8th, and 15th), and two Fridays (10th, and 17th).

In Lord Arlington's (**E.**), the signature days (the days the entries are dated) were: In *April*—three Tuesdays (2nd, 16th, and 30th) (in each case with a fortnight between), one Wednesday (17th), two consecutive Thursdays (11th, and 18th), two Fridays following one another (12th, and 19th), and two consecutive Saturdays (13th, and 20th), as well as two Mondays (15th, and 22nd), and one Sunday (four houses in Middlesex) April 14th [**E.** (**21**)].

In *May*: one Monday (13th), four Wednesdays (1st, 8th, 22nd, and 29th), three consecutive Thursdays (2nd, 9th, and 16th), and one Saturday (25th).

In *June*: but one Monday (10th), and two Saturdays (15th and 29th).

In *July*: one Monday (22nd), one Tuesday (16th), and one Thursday (25th).

In *August*: one Monday (12th), one Thursday (8th), and one Saturday (10th).

In *September*: but one Monday (the last day of the month), and one Thursday (5th).

In *October*: but one day, a Monday (28th).

In *November*: only two days, on a Monday (18th), and the following Wednesday (20th).

In *December*: two Mondays (9th and 23rd).

In 1673: in *January* there was but one day, a Monday (13th), and *February*, only one, also a Monday (the 3rd).

Sir John's signature-days were more evenly distributed over the first two months of the Indulgence—for which alone he lived to take any part in the matter: he died before May was out—than were Lord Arlington's over the eleven during which he had to act.

Arlington had to do this 'signing' on 13 out of the 29 days of *April*, one of them being a Sunday (the 14th), the first and last being Tuesdays (the 2nd and the 30th); on nine days in *May*; on only three days each, in June, July, and August; on two in September, November, and December; and on only one day of October, 1672; and of January and February of 1673.

Thus his subordinates arranged the work as conveniently as possible for him and for the King, allowing applications to accumulate, so that they might deal with as many as possible at one time. In April and May there were so many applications to examine and deal with, that to give a fair show even of interest in the work, and of attention to the Nonconformists, who were ready to take the King at his word, both Charles and Arlington were kept busy on each of the twenty-two days on which they attended for this purpose. They were let off very lightly in the following months; and, as applications slackened towards the autumn, the Indulgence gave them very little serious trouble.

The comparatively slight attention which Arlington paid to the details of this Indulgence question was characteristic of the man. The work of his office was not neglected, but he had the faculty of getting all the troublesome part of the duties of his department done for him—and done well too.

His career throughout gives evidence of this. His family name was Bennet; his grandfather being Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. His father was a Doctor of Laws, a resident in Harlington, in the Staines district of Middlesex. He was born at Harlington in 1618, was educated first at Westminster School, and then at Christ Church, Oxford, his father designing him to be the parson of Harlington. On the outbreak of the Civil War, he gave up the idea of the ministry, and joined the King's army. He served with distinction.

The marks of his military service he carried with him to his grave, in a deep sabre cut across his nose, obliging him to wear a black patch upon it [Evelyn's Diary: Bray's edn., 494 note].

He followed the Prince (Charles II.) to the Continent, and was first rewarded for his loyalty by a position in the Court at Paris, being made Secretary to the King's brother the Duke of York, and knighted by the young exile King at Bruges, in 1658. From Clarendon's account, however, he does not appear to have taken at all kindly to the position assigned to him, and on Charles's return from Scotland he successfully pressed his suit for removal to another post, and was sent as Special Envoy to Madrid. There he remained till the Restoration, when his wishes were again respected, being recalled to England to be near the King's person, and appointed Privy Purse, Evelyn noting that he was 'a great 'favourite.' Clarendon notes this with evident dislike and fear, with shrewd insight viewing the introduction of 'Sir Harry Bennet' (as he calls him) and Sir William Coventry to the King's counsels as undermining his own influence. In 1663-64 he speaks of the intrigue on foot to persuade Secretary Nicholas to resign, that room might be made for Sir Harry Bennet. The intrigue succeeds, and in March, 1664, Bennet was made Secretary of State in place of Nicholas who had resigned.

Apparently he was rapidly gaining great influence at Court, for Evelyn is proud to record any instances of intercourse with him. On April 27, he notes in his Diary how he supped 'at M^{r}. Secretary 'Bennet's'; on May 5th he tells of 'a greate banquet held at Mort-'lack,' to celebrate the engagement of Sir Robert Carr to Mistress Bennet (the Secretary's sister); and on October 29th, of the Lord Mayor's Guildhall Banquet (which must have cost £1,000!), in which he sat next Sir H. Bennet, Secretary of State, and opposite Chancellor Clarendon, and the Duke of Buckingham.

About this time Bennet purchased Goring House, on the south side of Piccadilly (not far from Hyde Park), as his London residence, where he rapidly accumulated a great collection of choice furniture and valuable pictures.

Early in the year 1665, he was created Baron of Arlington. Clarendon (in the 'Continuation of his Life,' pp. 252, 253, folio edn.; 481, 482, octavo edn.) speaks very slightingly of this episode, noting how, in search for a title for his Barony, he wished first to assume the name of Cheney, but was foiled in that design by the objections of a living member of that family, and in the end was fain to take the title of Arlington, a slight disguise of Harlington—a 'little Village,' as Clarendon calls it, 'between *London* and *Uxbridge*'—the village where he was born, and where was 'a little Farm that had belonged to his 'father,' had been 'sold by him,' and was at this time actually 'in the 'Possession of another private Person.' There is no doubt, however, that he was growing rapidly in favour with the King, and that the King was feeling the domineering and restraining influence of Clarendon more and more irksome. Evelyn notes on January 29, 1665-66, how very cordial were the King and Lord Arlington to him at a reception at Hampton Court; how on July 25th, dining at Lord Berkeley's, at St. James's, Lord Arlington was there; and on November 27th, how Lord Arlington had advanced 'Sir Thomas Clifford' to a position in the Court, being made Comptroller of the Household, and the next month, December 5th, sworn of the Privy Council. [This 'novus homo' Evelyn speaks of rather contemptuously at this time as 'a bold 'young gentleman of a small fortune in Devon,' though he soon altered his tone, as Clifford advanced in Royal favour.]

The following year, 1667, there was a rumour (Pepys hears it in March) that the Treasury was to be reorganized, the 'Commission' to be abolished, and that Lord Arlington was to be made Lord Treasurer. But no change in this office was made until five years after, and Arlington does not seem to have been very active in the pursuit of the matter himself. Through his indolence and carelessness indeed, it finally slipped through his fingers altogether, and the coveted position was conferred on Sir Thomas Clifford in 1672, who in this year 1667 had been made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

In fact Arlington was busy with his personal affairs; for he was building a country house of great magnificence at Euston, in Suffolk. Pepys notes, under date June 24, 1667, how Mr. Povy had remonstrated with him on spending so much upon it, and employing so many workmen upon it, when the country needed all the able seamen they could press into the service of the Navy for the defence of the country against the Dutch. At this time, too, Arlington had quarrelled with the Duke of Buckingham. Pepys notes in July* how, throughout this episode, the Duke was very pleasing and submissive to the King, but was most bitter and sharp and very slighting to Lord Arlington; and, when all was over, and he had been released from his brief imprisonment, the Duke said that 'any one committed to prison by my Lord Chancellor or 'my Lord Arlington could not want being popular.'

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* Under date July 17, 1667.

Evidently Arlington's love of ease and luxury was destroying his keenness as a politician. Though Buckingham linked Arlington's name with Clarendon, however, Arlington was loose enough of any connection with Clarendon not to be involved in Clarendon's fall; and in the changes that followed Clarendon's exile, Arlington remained in power. He was one of the five, indeed, who formed the *Cabal*, and who maintained their hold of the King, and of the affairs of state, for the next seven or eight years.

It should be borne in mind, however, that there was none of the cohesion or unity of policy between the members of the Cabal essential to a modern 'Cabinet Ministry.' Even so early in its existence as the close of the year 1667, Pepys hears (December 30) that the Cabal were inwardly divided, Sir G. Carteret telling him, 'That my Lords of Buck-'ingham, Bristoll, and Arlington do seem to agree in these things, but 'that they do not in their hearts trust one another, but do drive several 'ways all of them.'

Still, throughout 1668, Arlington maintains his position. Though early in the year rumour is busy (Pepys, the great gossip, hears it February 17th) that great complaint is made of the inadequacy of the 'Intelligence,' secured by Lord Arlington—of course, one of the most important departments of the office of the Secretary of State—some saying, 'Whatever Morrice's was, who declared he had but 750*l.* a-year 'allowed him for intelligence, the King paid too dear for my Lord 'Arlington in giving him 10,000*l.*, and a Barony for it'; still, autumn is not out before he notes 'Bucks and Arlington rule all,' and the rumour of the previous year is revived that 'the design is to make 'Lord Arlington Treasurer.' In 1669, though he was 'at variance with 'the Duke of York,' he still keeps in with the King; and Evelyn's allusions to him in 1670 and 1671 show that his position was still secure. In 1670 (June 18) Arlington was the chosen channel for the expression of the King's desire that Evelyn should undertake to write a History of the Dutch War; and in 1671 Evelyn evidently thinks of him as the chief power in the State, spending a fortnight as fellow-guest, with Mr. Treasurer Clifford [so he calls him, though only one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and not made Lord High Treasurer till the following year], with Lord Arlington, at Euston (October 16), praising the mansion as a 'very noble pile,' and speaking warmly of Lord Arlington himself, 'of whose particular friendship and kindness I had ever a 'more than ordinary care'; saying of him, 'There is no man more 'hospitably easy to be withall than my lord Arlington.'

Arlington's friend and favourite, Clifford, was an avowed Roman Catholic, and Arlington was like the King, more a Roman Catholic than an Anglican, dying an avowed member of the Roman Catholic Church. They both favoured the Indulgence, when it was mooted by the King, as favouring the Church of Rome; and would have made it as open to Roman Catholic Recusants as to Protestant Nonconformists. Evelyn's comment (Diary, March 12, 1671-72) is: 'This was imputed to 'the same council, Clifford warping to Rome, as was believed; nor was 'Lord Arlington clear of suspicion, to gratifie that party, but as since it 'has prov'd, and was then evidently foreseen, to the extreame weakening 'of the Church of England and its Episcopal Government, as 'twas 'projected.'

But the other members of the Cabal, especially Lauderdale and Buckingham, were too strong for them. So that by the irony of fate, this distinctly Protestant measure had to he worked, in largest part, by one who was practically a Papist.

A little more than a month after the issue of the Declaration—viz., on April 17th, Lord Arlington was created an Earl at the same time that Ashley became Earl of Shaftsbury. Sir J. Williamson notes in his Diary, April 17th, 'L. Arlington, L. Ashley created Earles . . . warr^{ts} 'signed.'*

With the passing of the Test Act, 1673, Arlington's political career came practically to an end. For though his impeachment by the Commons failed, he resigned his Secretaryship, being succeeded in the office by Sir Joseph Williamson, the man who for years had practically done all the work; and, for consolation, Arlington was appointed Lord Chamberlain in 1674. In this position he enjoyed the King's confidence and a good salary, though the destruction of Goring House and all its treasures rather straitened his finances for the rest of his days, which were divided between the Court and his mansion at Euston. He died in 1685.

The traces of Lord Arlington's personal activity in this Indulgence literature are very few. Apart from his signature of almost every licence issued from his office, these licence-documents show that he left almost everything to Sir Joseph Williamson.

Indeed, there are only two papers to show that he took, or even was supposed to take, any personal interest in the business. And these are not letters or even memoranda in his handwriting. They are two letters addressed to him by Dr. Nicholas Butler.

The one is **320** (**6**) and the other is **320** (**196**).

The first is endorsed by Sir Joseph Williamson: '29 Mar. 1672. 'D^{r} B. My L^{d}. Indulgence,' and addressed: 'For y^{e} Right Hon^{ble} 'Lrd Arlington.' It informs Lord Arlington of the excellent impression produced upon the Nonconformists by the personal audience granted them by the King for the acceptance of their 'verball thankes'; and expresses the hope that the Indulgence be worked upon generous and liberal lines.

The second is a much longer one, endorsed by Sir William: 'Y^{e} 'Indulgence, 26 Apr. $\overline{72}$ R. D^{r} Butler—y^{e} use of Halls.' The address of the letter faithfully reflects the elevation of Arlington, which had taken place since Dr. Butler last wrote to him. It is no longer: 'For y^{e} Right 'Hon^{ble} Lrd A.'; but 'For y^{e} Right Hon^{ble} Earle of Arlington.' The letter is an intimation of the serious consequences which have followed the refusal of licences for 'public places,' halls, and unendowed chapels; reporting the profound disappointment and resentment it has created, and even suspicions of the good faith of the King, with an urgent plea that the good work be not hindered by such a grudging policy. Both of them are signed (not, it is true, in full but) in initials 'N. B.,' a great concession; he was so fearful that his connection with the Indulgence should become known. [As we have seen elsewhere, in writing to Sir Joseph Williamson, he adopts a mere cypher for secrecy's sake] As both are given in full, in the account furnished of the writer, the reader must be referred to the letters themselves. [**320** (**6**), and **320** (**196**).]

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* The patent was not issued, however, till the 23rd.—A. G.

4. *Sir Joseph Williamson.*

There is no room for doubt that though Lord Arlington's office was the local centre for the working of Charles's Indulgence, his secretary, Sir Joseph Williamson, was 'head-centre.' Both in settling the lines to be pursued, preparing the methods by which it was to be administered, and in deciding the exact form the licences were to take, as well as in attending to the applications which were made, deciding on their fate, and actually issuing the licences which were granted,—Sir Joseph Williamson was the heart and the hand of the whole business. As we shall see, these licence-documents bear ample witness to the fact.

Sir Joseph's whole career and training had admirably fitted him for the task; and we need not grudge him the credit of discharging it well.

Joseph Williamson 'was the son of a poor clergyman, somewhere in 'Cumberland.'* It was at Bridekirk, near Cockermouth, that he was born, about 1623. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and he would be leaving College about 1645-1647, so that his time at Oxford would be practically conterminous with the duration of the Civil War. On leaving Oxford he travelled on the Continent; and Evelyn implies that he did not return to England till the Restoration of Charles (1660), when he was received as a 'Cleark under M^r^ Secretary Nicholas.'

Certain documents, however (cited in Supplement No. 3 of the *Friends' Historical Journal*, pp. 23, 24), seem to imply that he held the post of 'Secretary'—was it to Mr. Secretary Nicholas?—in Paris, in 1656-57. In S. P. D. 153, 41, there is a letter quoted from Humphrey Robinson (a shopkeeper at the sign of the 'Three Pigeons' in St. Paul's Churchyard) to 'Secretary Williamson,' reporting the moderation of Oliver Cromwell towards Quakers; and in S. P. D. 153, 33, one from Charles Perrot to him, in which he addresses him as 'Honest Joseph.'

Certain it is, that whether or no he had filled the post as Clerk or Secretary to Nicholas in France before the King's return, he began his career in England by acting in that capacity from the year 1660. In 1663, on the resignation of Secretary Nicholas, Joseph Williamson retained his post under Nicholas's successor, Bennet; and applied himself with the utmost diligence to relieve Sir Henry of all the details of the work of his office.

Pepys met him about that time at Lord Peterborough's (August 10, 1663), and speaks of him as 'Mr. Williamson that belongs to Sir

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* Evelyn, Diary, July 22, 1674. In *Al. Oxon.* I find a Joseph Williamson, son of Joseph Williamson, of Cockermouth, Cumberland, pleb. This Joseph Williamson was born 1719, matric. Queen's, 1736. Was his father a nephew of Sir Joseph Williamson?

H. Bennet,' as 'a pretty understanding and accomplished man,' but, he adds, 'a little conceited.' Williamson rapidly made himself a necessity to Arlington, as Evelyn puts it: 'who loving his ease more than busi-'nesse (tho' sufficiently able had he applied himselfe to it) remitted all 'to his man Williamson, and in a short time, let him so into the seacret 'of affaires that (as his Lordship himselfe told me) there was a kind of 'necessity to advance him.' He relieved his chief of any trouble in connection with his correspondence, and carried out all his decisions. He looked after all the papers, tying them in bundles, endorsing them and pigeon-holing them, so that Arlington had the business of his office reduced by Williamson to 'apple-pie order,' and as a consequence, his trouble in attending to it reduced to a minimum. By 1665, his work was recognized so publicly and universally, that he was known as 'Under-Secretary of State'; and in November of that year, his remarkable activity is shown by his starting the *Oxford Gazette*, adding the duties of editor of that journal to those of Lord Arlington's office.

By his accomplishments ('a musitian' Evelyn* calls him, who 'could 'play at "Jeu de Goblets"') he became a 'society man,' and especially a 'grata persona' in Lord O'Brien's house. And on O'Brien's death Williamson married his widow, Lady Catherine Stuart, a relative of the Royal House; but that was late in his career, in 1678, only two years before his death. He was ambitious of distinction. As early as 1666 we find him trying, though unsuccessfully, for a seat in Parliament. As Pepys quaintly puts it: [1666, Oct.] '21st. Sir H. Cholmley tells me 'how M^r^ Williamson stood in a little place, to have come into the House 'of Commons: and they would not choose him: they said, "No 'Courtier."'

Though he failed on this occasion, however, he eventually succeeded; for on William Gaudy's† ceasing to represent Thetford (by retirement or death), 'Sir Joseph Williamson, Kt.,' succeeded him. That, however, was not till 1672, the year which so closely concerns us. Thetford is in Norfolk in its south-west corner; and Euston Park is just across the border in Suffolk. There can be little doubt that it would be largely through the personal influence of his chief that he secured election, as Lord Arlington had just erected a large mansion at Euston, and had spent large sums of money and employed a great number of workmen in the neighbourhood. Williamson used his position to get possession of all current political news and many State secrets; and, as he was so much more assiduous in State business, and so much more constant in his attendance at Whitehall than his chief, the public sought his help and advice, and were eager to secure his influence and aid, as though he were himself the Chief Secretary of State rather than merely Under-Secretary. In 1667 (July 6) Pepys was able to note that 'M^r^ Williamson told me 'that M^r^ Coventry is coming over (from Holland) "with a project of '"peace"'; while, on July 17, Evelyn notes that Mr. Williamson, with

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* See note on previous page.

† Was not Sir John Gaudy, whom Evelyn met at Earl Arlington's mansion at Euston in 1677, William Gaudy's brother? In his Diary, September 7, 1677, Evelyn writes: 'There din'd this day at my Lord's one Sir John Gaudy, a very 'handsome person, but quite dumb, yet very intelligent by signes, and a very fine 'painter etc.'

'The Master of the Mint and his lady,' and others, dined with him; and early in 1668 (viz., March 6) he mentions Williamson's congratulations, as of special value to him, on his speech in defence of the Navy Office. By the time that this question of a Royal Indulgence became a question of 'practical politics' he was in a position to do much to determine how it should be worked out. It was doubtless Williamson who enlisted the services of Dr. Nicholas Butler and Mr. Church in the preliminary 'pourparlers' with Nonconformist leaders; and we have seen that there is abundant documentary proof that the final form assumed by the licences and the actual processes by which their issue was effected, were determined mainly by him.

It was early in the year (1672), which saw the publication of Charles's Declaration, that Williamson was knighted; so that the 'Sir,' always prefixed so carefully to his name in all this licence literature, is a title acquired scarcely twomonths before. It is under date, January 23, 1672, that Evelyn speaks of Sir Richard Browne (his father-in-law) 'resigning 'his place of Clerke to the Council'; and of Joseph Williamson, Esq., being admitted to it, and knighted.*

He refers to it with mixed feelings, as in being advanced to that post Williamson was really acting as a 'supplanter'; for he goes on to say: 'This place his Majesty had promis'd to give me many yeares 'before; but upon consideration of the renewal of our lease, and other 'reasons, I chose to part with it to Sir Joseph.' There is a touch of tragi-comedy or melodrama in what follows: 'Who gave us and the 'rest of his brother clearks a handsome supper at his house, and after 'supper a consort of music.' Of course, we see little of his interesting personality in these licence-documents, but much to prove his admirable qualifications for this particular work.

Before looking at these, however, let us briefly follow his career to its close. As Under-Secretary of State Williamson did his work so well that on Lord Arlington's resignation in 1674 he quite naturally stepped into his place. In 1677 he was elected President of the Royal Society in succession to Lord Viscount Brouncker; in the new Parliament of 1678 (only the third of Charles II.'s reign) he was again returned for Thetford, as also for the Parliaments of 1679 and 1681. Though, for the first Parliament of James II., he was at first replaced by Henry Hevingham for Thetford; on Hevingham's removal, Sir Joseph was re-elected. In 1690, in William III.'s reign, he was elected for Thetford; but being declared 'not duly elected' he found a seat for Rochester. For the Parliaments of 1695 and 1698, and 1700, he was elected for both Thetford and Rochester; but in each case he 'wav'ed' his claim to Thetford, and sat for Rochester. He died in 1701; and in his bequests showed his public spirit and literary tastes, leaving £6,000 and a valuable library, with many important MSS. to the University of Oxford.

But to return to his part in this Indulgence matter. It is evident that to all who address themselves to the Whitehall authorities 'Sir 'Joseph' is practically 'Lord Arlington.'

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* Shaw's date for Williamson's knighthood is the day after Evelyn speaks of it —viz., '24 Jan. 1671/2.'

In **320 (168)** we have a striking proof of this—the more striking, because quite unintentional. John Whitlock leaves an acknowledgment of the safe delivery to him of fourteen licences for Nottingham County, and he heads it: 'Received at S^r Joseph Williamsons Office' —not Lord Arlington's—'in Whitehall this 20th Aprill 1672 these 'Licences following.'

Yet, like his master Arlington, he knows how to hand over all tedious and detailed work to his subordinates, reserving everything that is of special moment and interest for himself; so that we have incidentally an interesting test of the relative importance he attaches to any particular case, or any particular document, by the presence or absence of his own handwriting upon the document in connection with it. In the first stages of any new work, moreover, Sir Joseph starts the thing himself in his own characteristic writing; but when once put in the right grooves he hands it over to his clerks.

Thus the endorsements of the first documents preserved in **320** are all his own. The drafts of the three forms which licences finally assumed, as all three are given on the same sheet in **320 (17)**, are in his handwriting. Almost all Dr. Nicholas Butler's letters to him were evidently folded and endorsed by himself. Some of the first applications for licences (specially the London ones for leading Nonconformist ministers) are similarly distinguished—*e.g.*, **320 (23)**, **(24)**, **25**, and **29**.

So with the first entries in **E.** and in the Index (which he projected but never completed), **I.**

When he did not do these things himself, he saw that his clerks did them for him. And so, for the first three months of this Indulgence period, every scrap of paper bearing even the briefest memorandum concerning these licences was carefully docketed and preserved by him. These scraps of paper are of inestimable value. In their strange variety of autograph they help to make the whole episode live again to our imagination.

To the historian's disappointment and dismay, however, all the memoranda belonging to the other seven months during which the Indulgence lasted have disappeared. Was it that at this time Sir Joseph left London for his summer holiday? During his absence were the memoranda swept ruthlessly into the waste-paper basket? It may well have been so; and, on his return, finding things in such a state of chaos, he did not care to resume a series of records, the continuity of which had been so pitilessly broken.*

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* Of letters written directly to him in connection with this business many are preserved in these two vols.

1. The bulk of Dr, Butler's—viz., **320** (3), (**4**), (**5**), (**6**), (**61**), (**110**), (**152** or **153**), (**170**), (**185**), (**197**), (**198**), (**210**); and **321** (**197**A).
2. There are two from Timothy Cloudsley (of Yorkshire), **320** (**80**) and (**203**).
3. Two from John Gould, **321** (**276**) and (**315**).

And single letters from:

4. Edward Veal (of Wapping), **320** (**62**).
5. Charles Fisher **320** (**112**).
6. Ralph Snowe, **320** (**211**).
7. Henry Coleman, M.A., **321** (**137**); and probably from
8. Stephen Ford, **321** (**19**).

It is clear, moreover, that exactly as Lord Arlington was willing enough to delegate the responsibility of working the Indulgence to his secretary, Sir Joseph Williamson, as time went on, and the business connected with the Indulgence increased, Sir Joseph was glad to hand over the major part of the actual work to his chief clerk, Mr. Francis Benson. All these licence-documents were folded and endorsed before being tied in bundles and stowed away: but comparatively few of them were endorsed by Sir Joseph himself—only those he considered of special and critical importance—*e.g.*, **320 (1)** the vote of the Court of the Haberdasher's Company; **320** (**2**) the Address of Thanks of the Nonconformist Ministers of Devon; Dr. Butler's letters to him **320** (**3**), (**4**); his memoranda **320** (**23**), (**24**), (**25**), etc.

If the licence-documents, however, prove the indefatigable industry of Sir Joseph Williamson, they prove as clearly the efficiency and industry of his subordinates.

First (and foremost) among them, was—

1. Francis Benson.

I have little hesitation in ascribing to him the neat and regular handwriting of the greater number of the endorsements of memoranda, the Official Lists of accumulated applications, and the greater part of the entries in **E** and **I**.

Some of the memoranda, too, are in his handwriting, indicating that some of the applications were made in person, orally; the particulars being taken down by Mr. Benson.

His influence and importance in this licence business is proved even more strikingly by the number of letters addressed to him by applicants for licences.

(1) After a time even Dr. Butler had to content himself with writing to Mr. Benson, instead of to Sir Joseph: as we see in **320** (**199**); (?) **321** (**65**), and (**333**).

(2) Timothy Cloudsley does the same in **321** (**199**) and (**200**).

(3) Richard Prowse writes him in **320** (? **197**c), (**241**), (**297**); and in **321** (**128**) and (**234**).

(4) Richard Steele writes him thrice **321** (**246**), (**311**) and (**341**).

(5) Brabazon Aylmer appeals to him in **321** (**67**); and D. Buckmaster's letter **320** (**304**) is probably addressed to Mr. Benson; while

(6) There are letters of application to Mr. Benson from unnamed correspondents, **320** (**271**), **321** (**8**), and **321** (**327**), probably from R. Steele.

We see him actually dispensing the favours of the King, moreover, in **320** (**148**), which acknowledges the receipt of licences from Mr. Francis Benson. Nor is this all we are permitted to see of the staff in Lord Arlington's Office.

Another of the clerks—

2. Mr. Swaddell, is entrusted by John Rawe with an application from his father, Richard Rawe, in **321** (**195**).

3. Mr. Hugh Reynolds is still another—witness John Cressett's

acknowledgment of the receipt of licences from him **321** (**229**)* ; and a fourth, Mr. Reynolds' subordinate, Mr. Dawson, is brought before us in the same memorandum.

This, then, is the *personnel* of the Whitehall staff, as revealed to us in these documents—Lord Arlington, coming with his Royal master, at intervals to sign the licences already made out by Mr. Benson ; Sir Joseph Williamson opening all letters, to reserve for Arlington's personal perusal and attention only those of special and critical importance ; Mr. Francis Benson doing the chief clerical work of a specially responsible character—such as filling in the blanks in the printed licences, and at first entering them in the Register or Ledger **E**, and gradually taking a great deal of the responsibility in accepting or refusing applications; Mr. Swaddell and Mr. Hugh Reynolds doing much of the less important clerical work ; and Mr. Dawson, a messenger or porter to the office. Was Robert Francis one of the clerks then ? He was four years earlier (1668)—*vide* letter to him in S. P. Dom. Car. II. 215, 84.

II. HOW WERE THE LICENCES SECURED ? WHO MADE PERSONAL APPLICATION FOR THEM ? AND WHO TOOK THEM AWAY ?

In the preceding section we have gained some knowledge of the executive side of the Indulgence administration. We have acquired a fair picture of the office-building. In imagination we have looked out of the windows of the south front on to the Privy Garden, with its celebrated sundial to our right, and on to the end of the Great Stone Gallery to our left. We might have been enabled to do this under the ægis of the easy courtesy of the titular chief of the office—Lord Arlington—notable for his rich dress and the black patch upon his nose. Or more probably it would have been under the rather pompous patronage of Under-Secretary Sir Joseph Williamson. We have been in imagination behind the counter-desks of the outer office at its eastern end, facing the door which opens on to the small courtyard that links the avenue from the Privy Stairs down on the river bank with the Great Court, by which every member of the undistinguished public have to approach the Office. And there we have spent some time with Sir Joseph and his chief clerk, Francis Benson. We have peeped into the rooms at the rear, where the petty details of the ordinary work of the Office is done; where the desks of Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Swaddell are lighted by the windows which look out north into the vast space of the Great Court.

We have seen how the King's Printers have prepared piles of licence-forms of the three classes—for a general teacher, for a teacher in a specified place, and for a place ; and how Francis Benson, by Sir Joseph Williamson's directions, fills in the blanks with the names of person, place, and denomination ; and enters those particulars in **E**, a little later writing them up in **I.** How, at intervals, determined by the varying pressure of applications, the King and Lord Arlington affix their signatures at the head and at the foot respectively of the pile of licences Sir Joseph brings; and how the licences and the entries in the entry-books alike are dated by Benson, with the date on which the Royal and ministerial 'imprimaturs' have thus given authority and validity to the licences now ready to be issued.

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* One very human touch of Hugh Reynolds is revealed in **321** (**370**). We seem to have caught him in an idle hour scribbling away some of the office-hours 'Hugh 'Reynolds is my name, and with my pen I wrote the same ; and if my pen had 'Been. . . .'

In this section we want to look at the other side of the picture—to realize as vividly as we can the process by which, and the persons through whom, those who 'desire' to avail themselves of the Royal Indulgence may actually secure a licence.

We must sweep aside as anachronisms all our natural fancies of getting licences through the post. There are a few cases—of which these licence-documents give evidence—in which the post was used to convey either the applicant's desire or the authorities' response. To a favoured few [as we see in the Notes on **E.** (**2**), (**3**), (**4**), and (**5**)]—such as William Jenkin of the City of London; James Innes, senior, of Westminster; Theophilus Polwheile, of Tiverton; Lewis Stuckley, of Exeter; and Dr. Nicholas Butler—Sir Joseph Williamson actually sent by post ('sent down') the licences (when made out and signed). The rule evidently was that those who had asked for them must fetch them from Whitehall, and that those who 'desired' them should apply for them either in person or by some authorised proxy at Lord Arlington's Office in Whitehall.

How do we know all this? From the Entry Books, as a whole, we could not gather it. In the few relevant entries in **B** there is nothing; in the Index **I**, if that were possible, there is even less; and in 163 out of the 167 printed pages covered by **E** there is nothing to help us. The utmost we could gather from these is the bare fact that a particular licence was granted on a particular date. In the first few pages of **E.**, however, we find certain notes appended or inserted by Sir Joseph Williamson which do much to supply the sort of information of which we are in quest; and, had he continued to insert similar notes all through the Entry Book, we should have much to make these dry entries glow with living interest.

Thus (i.): on **E.** (**1**), the first two licences granted are entered in full, each entry an exact transcript of the actual licence; and on **E.** (**4**) the entry of John Milward's licence is also an exact transcript of the licence itself. The first two were the licences granted to William Jenkin—viz., a personal one for him to preach in a house in Horne Alley, and a local one—a licence for the house as a 'meeting place'; and John Milward's was for him as 'a generall Teacher.' These three, therefore, are three several specimens of the three kinds of Licence issued—viz., (1) a General Licence; (2) a Licence for a Teacher in a specified place; and (3) a Licence for a 'Place.'

Then (ii.): on **E.** (**3**) there are notes inserted by Sir Joseph, telling us how the licences entered were secured. The first three notes tell us who took away the first seven licences entered on that page. They are all entered as granted April 2, 1672 (a Tuesday); and these notes tell us they were delivered to the licensees in person the following day. The first five entries are (1) for Thomas Cawton, his person and his house in St. Ann's Lane, Westminster; (2) for James Sharpe, his person and a house in King's Head Court in Beach Lane (now Beech Street, Barbican); and (3) the personal licence for Nicholas Blakey, Blackfriars; and the note appended to the last is: 'Delivered These above to y^e^ parties 'themselves. Apr. 3. 72.'

This simple entry makes the whole transaction live before us. On that Wednesday, April 3, in the year of grace, 1672, we see Thomas Cawton leave his house in St. Ann's Lane, pass Dean's Yard, cross the Sanctuary, go along King Street, and through Holbein's arched gateway into Whitehall, pass the Privy Garden and the Banqueting Hall, into the Great Court on the right, and returning to its farther corner on the south-east, turn sharp to his right into Lord Arlington's Office. We see James Sharpe leaving his home, beyond Aldersgate in the Old City Wall, wending his way through Smithfield, into Fleet Street, down the Strand to the northern end of Whitehall (at Charing Cross), and then due south to the great gate of the Court Yard, perhaps meeting his friend Cawton there, that they may go in to the Office together. And we see Nicholas Blakey walking down the steep decline from his house under the shadow of St. Ann's Church to the river-side, stepping into a boat at Blackfriars Stairs; rowed up stream, past the mouth of the Fleet River (now dignified by the name of the New Canal), and that imposing series of lordly mansions, with their beautiful gardens sloping to the water's edge, which must have made the northern aspect of that bend of the Thames a reminder of the Cambridge 'Backs'; past Northumberland House and Scotland Yard to the Palace Stairs; stepping up on to the pier-like approach to the Whitehall Palace Buildings, and up the road between the Chapel and the Buttery, past the Great Hall on the left, and sharp round through the Great Court, and by the narrow opening in its south-eastern corner to Lord Arlington's Office, perchance to meet his friends in the Office itself.

The second and third notes by Sir Joseph—still on **E. (3)**—are appended to the licence-entries for Mr. William Sims: for himself as 'a Presbyterian Teacher' and for Mr. Piccard's house in Kingston-upon-Thames as a 'place' for him to preach in. These notes are identical in terms: 'delivered M^r^ Sims himselfe 3 Ap.' That gives us the pleasant picture of the ejected minister, who ten years since had been driven from his charge in Leicester, and had found refuge in Wimbledon; who while there had three years back been reported as preaching at illegal Conventicles in Ewell (**R. 265**), and was now settled in Kingston; taking the stage coach there, driving past Richmond Park, through the villages of Wandsworth and Clapham to Lambeth, taking ferry across to Westminster, and then on foot past the Cathedral, into King's Street and Whitehall. Verily these little annotations by Sir Joseph breathe into Benson's dry-as-dust entries something of the 'breath of life.'

When we pass from these to the next entry we find a note more vivid and vivifying still. The entry records the licence—granted on

Tuesday, April 2—for 'a certaine Howse near adjoining to Blackfriers 'Church,' which was to be Nicholas Blakey's meeting-house and preaching station; and the note appended reads: 'desired by M^r Blakey, who 'was brought by Mr. Blood.' What a dramatic touch is here! Not only did he come to receive his licences to Whitehall on that Wednesday, but he had made that river-journey some days before to make personal application for them. He had not made his venture alone, however. The ejected minister, who had been driven from his living at Pebmarsh, at the further limit of Essex, opposite to Sudbury, and had found asylum in this great City of Refuge, under the shadow of the Parish Church in the purlieus of Blackfriars, had secured the influence of one whom he may have befriended and sheltered when a wandering outlaw, but who now stands high in the favour of the King and the Court, a special protégé of the Duke of Buckingham, and for some months past an habitué of Whitehall—both the Palace and these 'lodgings' of Lord Arlington—none other than the 'notorious' Colonel Thomas Blood (of Dublin Castle and Tower of London fame). We see Blood meeting Blakey by appointment, probably just outside the Office, or, it may have been, in that convenient rendezvous the Great Stone Gallery, and taking him into Sir Joseph Williamson's Office, introducing him to Sir Joseph or to Mr. Benson, speaking a word in his favour, and leaving a memorandum or a message which secured prompt attention to his request.

(iii.) Yet further, there is another batch of ten licence-entries, the note appended to which introduces us to a man of greater importance and influence in this matter of the Indulgence than even Colonel Blood, and of a personality almost as interesting. I refer to Dr. Butler.

In the negotiations between the Court and the Nonconformists, no one had exercised a more effective influence, and no one had taken a more vigorous part in the subsequent conferences held at Whitehall, when once the King in Council had decided to issue it—conferences in which they settled the form which the Indulgence was to take, the actual formulæ to be adopted in the licences issued, and the methods in which the Indulgence was to be worked.

Of these ten licence-entries, two are the last entered on **E. (3)**: two others are the first on **E. (4)**; five others are the last on the same page; and the tenth is the first on **E. (5)**. And to all ten is appended the same note: 'Desired by D^r Butler, & sent to him 4 April.' The entries are all dated 'April 2.'

The licences thus entered are for Edward West, of Ropemakers' Alley, Little Moorfields; for Dr. Samuel Annesley, of Spittlefields; for Christopher Marshall, of Topliffe, in Yorkshire; for John Harrison, of Pebmarsh, Essex, the place whence Nicholas Blakey had been ejected; and for John Milward and Robert Chambers, whose residence and ministerial sphere are not specified. For each of the first four two licences are required—one licence for the applicant as Teacher or Preacher, and the other for the Place in which he wishes to exercise his ministry; for the last two, only one is wanted for each, because they both desire a 'general licence'—a roving commission to preach in any place licensed or allowed. The simple note appended to the entries, therefore, brings Dr. Butler before us as interested enough in these six men to apply at Whitehall for licences for them.

Nor is it difficult to trace the consequences of Dr. Butler's personal intervention.

(1) First, the memorandum of application by Dr. Butler, for the first two and the last two of the above list, which is fortunately preserved in **320 (25)**, is specially honoured with an endorsement in Sir Joseph Williamson's own hand.

(2) Second, by an act of courtesy quite unusual, Sir Joseph sends the licences to the applicant soon after they were made out; instead of letting them lie in the Office until they were called for.

(3) Seeing that the application in **320 (25)** is unsigned, we should not have known who handed it in at Whitehall, for it is evidently not in Dr. Butler's handwriting (so easily recognizable in its characteristically crabbed scrawl), had it not been that Sir Joseph was sufficiently interested in the matter to add to the entry the note that it was Dr. Butler who did so.

Further, from other sources, we are able to indicate much that is interesting about one of these ten licences.

Of the two for whom the licences were to be 'general' one was 'Robert Chambre.' Now this 'Robert Chambre' was probably the 'Robert Chambers' who was implicated in the Plot of 1663 for the surprise of the garrison of Dublin Castle, in which his brother (Col.) John Chambers, was an active participant, and of which (Col.) Thomas Blood was the leading spirit. In that same year (1663), on May 31, one James Tanner made a deposition before the Lord-Lieutenant (preserved in S. P. Ireland 305, pp. 116-17) in which, among many other things, he alleged that—'Blood told witness that Robert Chambers, 'a minister, was in the said design, and Robert Chambers was seen 'by witness at Blood's house, and Blood had been at Chambers' house 'in the Coome.' Like Blood, he escaped to England, on the premature disclosure of the plot; and had apparently been living in London ever since. Under the 'alias' of Mr. Grimes he had been a frequent preacher at secret Conventicles in 1663-64, was one of the noble band who ministered to the Plague-stricken populace in 1665, and was reported as holding a Conventicle at Horne Alley, Aldersgate Street, in 1669 (**R. 220**).

(iv.) On **E. (4)** between the first two—which were desired by Dr. Butler and the five which follow, two licences are entered for John Durant for the Almnery Hall, Canterbury.

And these again have special interest given them; because, appended to the first is the following significant (but somewhat puzzling) note: 'Desired by Mr. Mascall a Merch^{t} upon a lett^{r} from y^{e} Teacher & 'Congregation 4 Ap.'; while we have a formal application in the stately handwriting of Robert Mascall, preserved in **320 (32)**:

'Of y^e^ City of Canterbury John Durant Teacher
'Their Meeting Place is

'The Almirey Hall (her'tafore belonging to Ethelberts Pallace)
'Situate near and without y^e^ walls of y^e^ City of Canterbury in or near
'y^e^ Burrough of Longport.
'Whitehall Ap 4: 1672 Rob Mascall of London.'

Both the note and **320** (**32**) are dated April 4, yet the licence-entries are dated April 2. The most probable solution of the difficulty is this. Durant had written to his old friend and parishioner, Mr. Robert Mascall (who in the Commonwealth days had been a prominent citizen of Canterbury), with a petition for these licences from the congregation. Mascall had left them at Whitehall (May 30 or April 1 or 2), and now, with his signed memorandum, he came, on the 4th, to claim the licences which had been awaiting him two days.

(v.) In three other licence-entries [on **E.** (**5**)], a note appended shows that 'Mr. Innesse' is performing the same kindly function as Dr. Butler; and is treated with the same exceptional courtesy by the authorities of Whitehall, the licences being 'sent to him.'

These are two for Thomas Doelittle and his meeting-house adjoining his own house in Mugwell Street (now Monkwell Street), [just within the City Wall at its north-west corner near Cripplegate], and one for Edmund Calamy. This Mr. Innesse is also a specially interesting personality. There were two of the same name, James Inness (or Innes), father and son, sometimes spelt 'Ennys' or 'Ennis.'

The father, a Scotsman who enjoyed the friendship of Lord Lauderdale, a powerful member of the Cabal ministry, had first settled at St. Breock in Cornwall; but his conscience not allowing him to remain after the passing of the Act of Uniformity; he had come to live in London, or, to speak more exactly, in Ax Yard, King Street, Westminster. Through the influence of Lauderdale he soon obtained access to the Court; and, despite his Nonconformity, enjoyed the personal favour of the King.

His son and namesake became agent for obtaining licences for those who had not leisure or opportunity to obtain them for themselves. Introduced early to the work by his father, he soon came by his quiet industry and zeal to do it on a far larger scale than any one else, except John Hickes, so that he might well be called (as I have incidentally suggested elsewhere) the Nonconformists' 'universal provider.'

In the three notes inserted in **E.** (**5**) there is scarcely any doubt that it is the father who is intended by Sir Joseph Williamson.

(vi.) Further, there are two marginal notes, as distinct from notes appended to the text, on **E.** (**2**), which are also of exceptional interest. Both of them, like all the other notes we have been examining, were written in by Williamson. Unfortunately the first, owing to the minuteness of the characters, I have not been able satisfactorily to decipher. And the experts in the Record Office have been unable to help me. It applies to four licences—two for Theophilus Polwheele in

Tiverton, and two for Lewis Stuckley in Exeter. [The applications for these took the form of elaborate Petitions addressed direct 'To y^{e} 'Kings most Excell^{t} Maj^{tie}'; and fortunately both have been preserved: the first in **320 (18)** 'The humble Petic̃on of a Church of Christ in 'Tiverton'; and the second in the very next document **320 (19)** 'The 'Cordiall acknowledgm^{t} & humble Petition of a Church of Christ in 'Exeter.'] The note reads 'Given to M^{r} T . . . to send down.' But the name of the person thus favoured is a mystery. It might be 'Tvait,' or more probably 'Teart.' Yet neither interpretation commends itself as really satisfactory.*

The second marginal note links the last two entries on **E. (2)** with the only two entries on the first. It applies to the two licences for Samuel Cradock of Geesings in Suffolk, who had been ejected from the living of North Cadbury, Somerset, but had been able to retire to a comfortable estate in the Parish of Wickham (Brook) in Suffolk, which had become his by inheritance from a rich uncle.

There was probably a personal friendship between Cradock and Jenkyn (as Calamy spells the name), who has the distinction of being the first to receive a licence under the Declaration of Indulgence. William Jenkin had had an honorable ministry—first as curate or Lecturer at St. Nicholas Acons, in the heart of the City of London; then for about a year at Hithe, near Colchester in Essex; then for some seven years at Christchurch, Newgate, when, on the death of Charles I., though a stout Puritan, he was suspended and sequestered by Parliament, because he refused to give public thanksgiving for the execution of the King and the destruction of the Monarchy. But after a brief retirement in Billericay, he returned to London, and, though he suffered a short term of imprisonment in the Tower as implicated in Love's plot, he ministered at Blackfriars with great acceptance; and at the request of his old parishioners, lectured in his old parish of Christchurch, till Christopher Feake (the Fifth Monarchist, who had been appointed in his place), when remanded to the Tower, was removed from the living; when Jenkin resumed his ministry there till he was ejected in 1662. He then went to live outside the walls, not far from his old parish, in Horne's Alley (a turning to the right out of Aldersgate Street), where we have just noted Robert Chambers under the *alias* of Mr. Grimes, was reported in 1669 as holding a Conventicle, and where Jenkin himself preached to many of his old parishioners spite the Penal Statutes. Here we see him securing the very first licences granted under the Declaration of Indulgence to preach in the meeting-house in Horne Alley [Chambers being content to receive the Royal authority to preach at any allowed place].

We should scarcely have imagined that these entries would have had any special moment and importance in the eyes of Sir Joseph Williamson. Yet he evidently did think them critical of a new epoch.

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* Calamy (II. 287) has, as ejected from Winchester, 'FAITHFUL TEATE, D.D.,' but he can tell us nothing about his career. Nor do the main facts of his life as given in the account (in D. N. B.) of his son, Nahum Tate, show him to have had any connection with Devon, or to have spent any time in London.

In his Diary for the month of April, 1672 (preserved in the Record Office) we have these entries:

> 'April 1.
> 'Tuesday 2. Mr. Jenkins takes out his Licences to preach : the
> 'first that was taken out.
> 'Tiverton } licences to Congreg^{ll} way sent downe
> 'Exeter }
> '3. Wednesday.
> 'Licences 2 (*sic*) Preach Maddockes
> 'Vincent
> 'Sharp
> 'Blackey
> 'Cawton
> 'to Sims.'

The licence-entries of the first two of these five (it will be observed) have no note appended to them by Sir Joseph : save that the first two and the last are annotated by him as 'Presbyterien.'

They are entered between the four sent down by Mr. T. 'Ap. 2,' and the two given to Mr. Jenkins to send down the same day ; and evidently were not 'given out' at the same time with them. But (as appears from Sir Joseph's Diary) they were given to 'Sims' (*i.e.*, William Simms of Kingston-on-Thames) the next day, April 3, the day on which, as the note on **E. (3)** informs us, Mr. Sims' licences were 'deliv^{d} to M^{r} Sims himselfe.'

In this Diary-jotting Sir Joseph seems to have slipped into a mistake about Sharp, Blackey (Blakey), and Cawton ; as the Entry-Book note declares that their licences were 'delivered to the parties themselves,' not given to 'Sims' as his Diary-note suggests, the same day that Mr. Simms received his.

The only other notes inserted in this Entry Book are confined to the forty pages which follow. And they quite naturally fall into two groups, each connected with one name. To mention the last first. On **E. (43)** three Congregationalist licences for Henley-on-Thames are entered as issued 'Apr. 22.' To the first two is appended the single word 'Cressett,' but to the third, the fuller note is inserted, 'Delivered out to Capt. Cressett 24 Apr.'—*i.e.*, two days only after they were ready. Elsewhere we shall find that this Captain Cressett acted as agent in other cases connected with two distinguished London Nonconformists—Dr. Jacomb and Dr. Owen.

A second set of eleven suggests, if they do not directly name, another Licence-Agent, whose character and activities are of an almost romantic interest—I mean, John Hickes, late of Saltash, Cornwall, now of Kingsbridge, Devon. One note on **E. (31)** is appended to an entry for Henry Cornish of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, and reads : 'Delivered to Mr. Hicks'; a second on **E. (33)** appended to the entry of a general licence for John Gardner reads, 'M^{r} Hickes r̃d it '23. Apr.'; and a third on the very next line, appended to the entry of one for the house of David Bayly—both of Bridgwater, and both dated

April 19, 1672—runs: 'Mr. Hicks recd 23. Apr. 72.' All these notes are in Sir Joseph's handwriting.

The fourth on **E. (39)**, however, written over the name of John Fox, of Marshfield, Glocester, in these terms, 'Mr. Hickes recd it 23. Apr.,' is apparently in Mr. Benson's hand.

On **E. (7)**, **E. (8)**, and **E. (9)**, too, Mr. Benson has written in brackets, after the licence entries of eight Devon ministers [seven out of the eight being 'general' licences] 'is of y^e^ County of Devon'; and, as shown elsewhere, it was so written because for these eight, Mr. Martin of Plymouth and Mr. John Hickes had made personal application at Whitehall, on their arrival in London to present in person to the King an Address of Thanks from no less than seventy-two Devon ministers. It was John Hickes's initiative which doubtless secured the early issue.

Notes such as these undoubtedly do much to redeem the pages of the Entry Book from sterility and 'dry-as-dust'-ness. Only they are so few that they help us only to an infinitesimal extent.

We may be very thankful, therefore, that in **320** and **321** we have implicit a great body of information, of a character similar to that given to so limited an extent in these scrappy notes; and to these then we may turn to get the living breath which turns the 'dry bones' of the Entry Books into a living host of men and women eager to obtain for themselves or for others liberty to worship God in methods dictated by an instructed conscience and under the impulses of a quickened spirit. In them we have the actual memoranda of application put in by the applicants at Whitehall, and of receipt left by those who had the satisfaction of fetching licences away.

Though a number of them have neither date affixed nor signature attached to them, those which bear a signature give us in all one hundred and forty names. I have done my best to identify these names, and to gather information of the personality and careers of those who bore them. Many still remain scarcely more than names; and to give these a living meaning, there is room and call for further research. In the pages which immediately follow, I have given the fruits of my own labour.

How to present the information gained in any reasoned or organic order has been a very difficult problem. One group stands naturally apart from all the rest as associated with special grit, and energy, and zeal; I mean those who came to Whitehall in person to claim their licences, and when successful, came in person to take them away. These I treat first in our next chapter. The rest who acted as proxies or agents for others I have arranged as far as possible in groups suggested by their personal ties, their social position, or their professional character. Where this was out of the question, I have placed them in a miscellaneous list alphabetically arranged, and given with each what scraps are suggested by the licences themselves which they either sought or received.

CHAPTER IV

I. THE NOBLE THIRTY-EIGHT: MEN WHO CAME TO WHITEHALL TO SECURE THEIR OWN LICENCES

Of those who came to Whitehall in person to secure their licences there were thirty-eight. From almost every part of the country did they come. Only one of the groups into which we have distributed the counties is unrepresented—and that the most distant of all—the Northern. Three came from the Northern Midlands: one from Notts, one from Leicestershire, and one from Rutland. Two came from the Southern Midlands: one from Warwick county, and one from Bristol. Four came from the Eastern Counties,—viz., one from Suffolk, and three from Cambridge. But most of them came from the two groups which were south of the Thames, and from the Metropolis itself. Nine came from the South-Eastern group, and seven from the South-Western. Of the nine which came from the South-Eastern group, one came from Berks, two from Middlesex, two from Kent, one from Surrey, and three from Hampshire: while, of the six from the South-Western counties, three are from Dorset, and three from Devon. From the London area there came eleven: a very small proportion of the scores of Nonconformists, to whom London was either their usual place of residence, or had become their city of refuge and adopted home. And of these eleven, only three were from the City proper and the East End (Stepney). To the other eight, the villages of Hackney (Clapton) and Stoke-Newington contribute three, the Borough of Southwark one; and the Strand, Westminster, Middle Moorfields, and Bartholomew Close, each contribute one.

To all these English pilgrims we must add two from Wales; both of them from Swansea in Glamorganshire.

Of the whole number eleven are laymen. All the rest are ministers; ministers who had been ejected from their livings in 1662.

In dealing with them we cannot do better than follow the local or geographical order.

I. NORTHERN MIDLANDS.

First, then, from the Northern Midlands came three: one from Notts, one from Leicestershire, and one from Rutland.

1. John Whitlock.

The first is John Whitlock of Mansfield.

John Whitlock's name is attached to only one document **320 (168)**. Therein he appears as Agent: (1) For friends* in Mansfield (where he was residing at the time); (2) for others in Nottingham† where he had worked for eleven years till the Act of Uniformity ejected him, as well as in Bingham, for which he seeks licences for William Cross in the house of Thomas Porter; (3) for others yet in the counties of Derbyshire* and of Bedford, where he had spent the first five years of his active ministry; and (4) lastly, for himself and his dwelling-house in Mansfield: acknowledging his receipt of these 14 licences in Whitehall.

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* Robert Porter and John Billingsley.

† One preacher—John Leighton; and one house—John Chamberlain's.

In his long ministry he had been as closely associated in personal friendship and service with a Mr. William Reynolds, as were Damon with Pythias, or as David would fain have been with Jonathan. [It is singular that his friend's name does not appear upon this paper.] He was a native of London, being born there in 1625. His father, a merchant of ancient family, sent him to Cambridge to be educated for the ministry. There, at Emmanuel College, he was chamber-fellow with young William Reynolds, with whom he formed so close a friendship that, for almost the whole of their life, they lived under the same roof; even after their marriages sharing the same study, though they wisely kept entirely separate establishments. For two years the friends were separated. Reynolds was forbidden by his father to enter the ministry: and was sent to Russia to conduct the foreign department of his father's business. But at the end of that time, his father's death demanded his return to England, and set him at liberty to follow his original intention of entering the Christian ministry.

John Whitlock had just settled at Leighton Buzzard, on the western border of Bedfordshire, and there Reynolds joined him; the two friends living and labouring together for five years, from 1646 to 1651. Refusing to take the Engagement, they lost the Augmentation at Leighton, which was all they had there (though they had been working first Okingham—*al.* Wokingham—in Berkshire, and then Aylesbury at the same time); and they were much straitened (though they had means of their own). In a most providential and unlooked-for way, they received a call to Nottingham St. Mary's (Cal. III. 102), which they accepted; and there they remained until the Act of Uniformity expelled them. For the next three years they lived at Colwich Hall about a mile off: though they were pitilessly persecuted under the Conventicle Act. The Five Mile Act in 1665 compelled them to retire to Therbrook (*i.e.*, Shirebrook) in Derbyshire; but in 1668 they removed to Mansfield, where they found quite a company of like-minded sufferers for Nonconformity, and there they continued to live and labour for seventeen years; so that it was from Mansfield that John Whitlock came up to London to secure these licences for himself and his friends.

In 1685 they were seized on suspicion of complicity in Monmouth's rising, and remained in confinement in Hull for two years. On their liberation and under the Toleration Act, they returned to Nottingham, and laboured there in honour and usefulness till their death—Reynolds in 1698, and Whitlock ten years later, in 1708.

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* Two ministers, Samuel Nowell and John Otefield; and two houses, those of John Richard and John Spateman, the former in Newton, and the latter in Roadnook.

There is a brass plate to their memory, and that of others of the ejected of Nottingham and the neighbourhood, fixed to the reredos (?) of the communion-table in the Old Meeting-House, which was erected there on the restoration of the Chapel, 1870. It is reproduced in Horner Groves's 'History of Mansfield' (p. 339).

Licences had been applied for on Whitlock's behalf and that of his friends about a month after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, on **320** (**105**). This contained a list of applications for several other licences beside those he acknowledges on **320** (**168**).

It is headed by applications for four licences for the neighbourhood of London: two for Wapping and two for Highgate, which seem to be in the handwriting of Robert Mascall. The rest are all in the same handwriting; and look very much like an official list drawn up by Francis Benson from several applications given in orally or on slips. They include four for the Town of Nottingham, not acknowledged on **320** (**168**), for the very sufficient reason that all four were refused as being public halls. One is for himself to preach in the Town Hall; one for his friend, William Reynolds, to preach in the County Hall; one for John Barrett to preach in the Spice Chambers; and another for Samuel Cotes to preach in the Free School.

The rest were issued on the 17th of April, and are all entered in **E.** (**27**) except that for the house of Thomas Bryan in Leighton Buddezart, which is entered on **E.** (**26**).

John Whitlock signs the paper acknowledging their receipt on the 20th, only three days later. This, be it remembered, is little more than a month after the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence (March 15, 1671-72). So that John Whitlock and his friends were stirring betimes, and had not been long in doubt as to whether they would avail themselves of the Indulgence; and it is an indubitable sign of Whitlock's earnestness and energy that he should have made the journey to London personally to secure them.

Mansfield was nearly 140 miles from London by the main road, so that the journey Whitlock undertook to effect his object was a serious and a costly one. Its first stage would be through Sherwood Forest to Nottingham, thence through Loughborough to Leicester; and from Leicester, through Harborough, Newport Pagnell, and St. Alban's, to London. The approach from the Midlands was through Highgate and Islington. We do not know where John Whitlock would be staying, except that it would probably be with some of his near kindred. For London was his native place, and coming once more into its crowded streets, he would be reminded of the days of his childhood and youth when the city had been surging with all the excitements which ripened into the outbreak of civil war. But if it was at all central to the city, his way to Whitehall would be from the Old Swan Stairs close to London Bridge, by boat to the Whitehall Stairs, and to Arlington's offices by the way I have already described.

The document he signs reads as follows:

'Received at Sr Joseph Williamson's office in Whitehall this 20th Aprill 1672 these licences following:*

for Mr John Leighton & for the house of Mr Jno Chamberlain Nottinghm
for Mr Samll Nowell & for the house of Mr Jno Richard for Newtõ
for Wm Cross & for the house of Mr Thomas Porter of Binghã Nott.
for Mr Jno. Whitlock and his dwelling house in Mansfield Nottinghm
for Jno Otefield at Mr Jno Spatemã house Roadnooke Derbyshire
for Mr Samll Clark at Mr Tho: Bryãs house in Leightõ Bedfordshire
for Mr Robt Porter of Mansfeeld Nottingmshire Genll Teacher
for Mr Jno Billingsley of Mansfeeld Genll Teacher

'by mee
'John Whitlock.'

The document is in three handwritings: the first four lines of the list are in Sir Joseph Williamson's, the second four appear to be in Richard Steel's (Philip Henry's friend), but the signature is undoubtedly John Whitlock's own, an interesting literary relic of a remarkable personality.

2. Robert Basse.

The second who came from the Northern Midlands (and the first layman) is Robert Basse, of Market Harborough, if the inferences I draw from the one document which bears his name are sound. In that case, he would be taking the same route to London as John Whitlock of Mansfield, did only a month later. Did Whitlock call as he passed through the town?

The document is **321 (92)**, and is endorsed by Benson 'Basse's note.' It consists of three paragraphs, each an application for one or more licences; all for Leicestershire. One unique feature of it, however, is that to each paragraph is added the phrase, 'To bee cal'd for ꝑ Barnaby 'Hallett.'

There must have been an arrangement made between Basse and Hallett, that the former should 'put in' the applications, and that the latter should go to Whitehall to take away the licences. That the applications were drawn up by Robert Basse, and handed in by him is made more than likely by Benson endorsing the paper as 'Basse's note,' and the fact that it is dated 'London May 11th 1672,' shows that it was drawn up in London. As the first paragraph distinctly describes

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* I have already drawn attention, in another connection, to the significant fact that the Office in Whitehall Government Buildings, where John Whitlock actually received the licences, is here ingenuously called 'Sir Joseph Williamson's' instead of what it really was, 'Lord Arlington's.' It is a striking, though quite unintentional, proof that the Under-Secretary so thoroughly performed the duties, which in his careless ease the Chief Secretary had passed on to him, that in the eyes of the public the subordinate had already come to be looked upon as the principal.

'Robert Basse,' as 'of Market Harbrough in Leicestershire,' and the second is for 'Matthew Clarke,' 'living at Market Harborough'; the main facts emerge vividly enough.

Robert Basse journeys to London to secure licences for his own house, and for Matthew Clarke who since his ejectment from Narborough had preached wherever opportunity was offered him; but had apparently gravitated towards Harborough, and at last found a resting-place there, quite possibly in Robert Basse's home. In the Episcopal Returns Clarke had been reported as preaching as far North of his old living as Hucklescote and Ibstock (**R. 206***b*); at Sibson and Stoke Golding (**R. 207**); and at Earl Shilton (**R. 206***b*), Sapcote (**R. 209***b*), and Ashby Magna (**R. 208***b*), all comparatively near it; and at Kibworth (**R. 208***b*), Great Bowden (**R. 207***b*), Theddingworth (**R. 208***b*), comparatively near to Market Harborough, as well as at Market Harborough itself (**R. 207***b*). He is charged by John Shuttlewood, too, his ministerial neighbour at Lubbenham, to obtain licences for himself and his house there. Probably he called at Whitehall for instructions how to proceed, and quite possibly drew up his 'note' there and then in Arlington's Office. It seems that his time in London was short, and so had made an arrangement with Barnaby Hallett to call for the licences when made out. The officials were rather negligent, or at least dilatory in the matter; for it was not till the 29th that they were issued and entered on [**E. (143)**], eighteen days after he had called.

Who took them away and despatched them to the liecnsees, we do not know. Hallett, in the course of those eighteen days, may have called for them so often that he despaired of ever obtaining them. Whatever be the explanation, however, neither he nor any one else left a memorandum of their receipts.

Of Robert Basse, I have been able to get no further personal trace. But the Basses seem to have been a substantial Leicestershire family. Philip Basse, of Bredon (in the northernmost corner of the county), had a son Philip who was a clergyman of Wispington in Lincolnshire.

3. JOHN RICHARDSON.

The third, who came from the Northern Midlands, is John Richardson, of Uppingham. This is a very interesting case, presenting a problem which the meagreness of our information makes it very difficult to solve. He is in it closely associated with Joseph Cawthorne. Both had been ministers in Stamford, Lincolnshire; John Richardson certainly in St. Michael's Church (Cal. II. 430), where also Joseph Cawthorne was married April 5, 1658, to Mrs. Elizabeth Bassano, of St. George's Parish, Stamford. From the entry of the marriage in the register of St. Michael's, too, it appears that Joseph Cawthorne was minister of St. George's. It describes him as 'Joseph Cawthorne, of 'S^{t} George's, clerk.'

John Richardson remained in Stamford till the Act of 1665 drove him away, when it seems he retired to Uppingham (in Rutlandshire), where he was still living in 1672. [He asks for licences for 'his owne 'house in Uppingham' as well as for himself as preacher.] Calamy says of Joseph Cawthorne that 'some time after his ejectment he came to 'London,' but when, he does not say. Probably it was in 1665 when his friend left for Uppingham. But that is by no means clear, as he now asks for licences, not for any place in or near London, but for his old sphere of work in Stamford, in the house of a friend, Mr. Humphrey Reynolds, probably an old parishioner there. When he did finally settle in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis, it was in Stoke Newington, a village then some distance from the City on the Great North Road, where Lady Hartopp resided [a granddaughter of the Protector, being daughter of Bridget, who was wife of Colonel Charles Fleetwood, Ireton's widow, and daughter of Oliver Cromwell], and sheltered Nonconformists, welcoming Nonconformist Conventicles in her house. It is scarcely likely, however, that he had settled there yet, else surely his application would have been for Stoke Newington (as his friend Richardson's was for Uppingham), and not for Stamford. In that case, however, it seems more likely that as soon as the pressure of persecution under the 1665 Act had ceased, he had returned to Stamford, if not to settle, yet to be the guest of Mr. Humphrey Reynolds there.

In that case, too, we should have the attractive picture of these two friends journeying up to London together; John Richardson from Uppingham, and Joseph Cawthorne from Stamford, each presenting an application for the same ten licences: 7 for Rutlandshire, 2 for Lincolnshire, and 1 for Northamptonshire. John Richardson's in **321** (**274**), and Joseph Cawthorne's in **321** (**275**).

But this, again, is made very uncertain, as Joseph Cawthorne's paper is not dated. John Richardson's is, as put in on 'May 27^{th} 72.' The Editor of the Calendar apparently ventures to think they were put in together, as the two papers are placed together, numbered consecutively **274** and **275**. And the probabilities are that they were, as May 27th was so near the date beyond which none of these precious memoranda are preserved—viz., the middle of June.

[In the absence of certainty, however, I have inserted my notice of Joseph Cawthorne at the end of this Chapter, among those who 'put in' licences personally, as residents in the London area.]

The application made by John Richardson was neglected for nearly a fortnight. The licences were not issued till June 10th [as is attested by their entries on **E.** (**160**)]. It is clear that Richardson could not stay in London to receive them, or he would certainly have left his memorandum of receipt.

Nor have we any receipt in Cawthorne's hand. So, again, we are left in the dark as to who called for them, and despatched them to the licensees.

Both Richardson and Cawthorne are said by Calamy to have had a University training, and both to have been educated at Cambridge.

But the signs of it are much more evident in the memorandum left by Richardson. The spelling is wonderfully correct, even to that word which is so often mauled and martyred—'Presbyterian.' Cawthorpe avoids that test word altogether by (most criminally) omitting all denominational epithets. But his spelling of proper names is most irregular. His own friend in Stamford he calls 'Mr. Reynolles' in one line, and 'Umphrey Reynolds' in another. [Richardson has called him 'Mr. 'Humphry Reynolds.'] 'Lincolnshire,' he represents by 'Lyncoln^h^.' Richardson's 'Glye' becomes 'Slye,' and 'Dosthorpe,' 'Dosthrope.' But in Mr. Langdale's house-place, he seems more accurate than his friend. Richardson's 'Cawcot' is rendered 'Caldecote' (the modern form being 'Caldicote').

Calamy's notice of Cawthorne is sympathetic, but the account he gives of Richardson is much fuller and even more appreciative. They are found in Cal. II. 430-433; and Cal. II. 433.

II. SOUTHERN MIDLANDS.

From the Southern Midlands we have two travellers, one from Warwickshire, and the other from Gloucester.

1. MATTHEW LEADBEATER.

Matthew Leadbeater, of Nether Whitacre, the third minister who goes up to London.

Matthew Leadbeater in **320 (284)**, simply acknowledges the Receipt of two licences: one for himself as 'generall teacher,' 'of Whitacre in 'Warwickshire'; and one for Mr. Moxon, of Astbury, Cheshire; but his name also figures in a memorandum of applications [**320 (214)**] in a way that suggests that he put in the paper himself.*

His name does not appear in Calamy, but that of a Thomas Leadbeater does.

The references in these various documents, moreover, converge and interlace in such a remarkable way, that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were brothers.

In his notice of Thomas Leadbeater, Calamy (II., 388) tells us that he was a native of Cheshire, the district about Nantwich, that he was educated in Cambridge, that in his earlier days 'he was chaplain to the 'pious Lady Wimbledon,' that he was appointed to the Vicarage of Hinckley, in Leicestershire, where 'his ministerial labours were very 'acceptable and useful,' and that after his ejectment he retired to his own country, taking out a licence in 1672 for a house of his in Armitage, near Church Holme,† and ending his days in Wirral.

Now in **320 (214)**, the applications are all for Warwickshire, where 'Matthew Leadbeater, presb,' in the last line of the memorandum, 'doth Humbly beg a licence to preach in any Licenst place,' and licences are asked for 'Kingsbury and Coleshill,' which are not far from Nether Whitacre, the one north and the other south of it, as well as for Nether Whitacre itself, of which, in his Receipt **320** (**284**), he describes himself as a resident. But what is specially interesting is that the place in Nether Whitacre, for which a licence is asked, is 'the 'House of Sophia Viscountesse Wimbaldon in the parish of Nether-'Whitacre in Warwickshire for the use of such as are of the Congr. 'perswasion.' Surely, then, it was here that Thomas Leadbeater was chaplain in his earlier years, and it certainly looks as if Matthew might well be practically chaplain there now.

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* It contains four items, duly numbered, and the last reads:

'4. Matthew Leadbeater presbyt. doth Humbly begg a License to preach in 'any Licenst place for the use of those of his perswasion.'

† In an official list of applications (the latter part of which, at any rate, is made out by Francis Benson [320 (94)]) application is made for 'Mr. Thomas Leadbeater, 'Pr. at his howse called the Hermitage, Sandbatch Parish, Cheshire,' and both licences are entered as granted April 16, 1672 [**E. (22)**, **(23)**]. Church Hulme (or Holme) is also called Holmes Chapel, and is a township chapelry in the parish of Sandbach. Calamy seems to have mistaken the name of Thomas Leadbeater's house in Church Hulme for the name of a parish near it.

How can we avoid the conjecture that Matthew and Thomas Leadbeater were brothers? that Matthew was finding refuge for his Nonconformity where his brother had enjoyed a profitable patronage, while Thomas retires to their ancestral estate in Cheshire (the house called 'The Hermitage, in Church Hulme, in Sandbach parish')? and that it was for a ministerial friend and neighbour of his brother Thomas, in Cheshire, that Matthew is doing a service, when he fetches away a licence for George Moxon, the much persecuted minister of Astbury (which is only a few miles from the Hermitage, in Sandbach)?

This is the memorandum [**320** (**284**)]. Addressed at back:

'MR. BENSON.

'May 2. 72

'Rec^{d} a Licence generall for Matth. Leadbeater of Whitacre in Warwickshire & a Licence for Mr. George Moxon for his House in Astbury, Cheshire.

'p me
'M. LEADBEATER.'

His journey to London would not be an easy one, and its expense would be considerable. But we can scarcely doubt that for this special journey the Viscountess Wimbledon would be ready to help him, although he was a Presbyterian, and she desired a licence for her house for Congregationalists to worship in, especially if she was broad-minded enough to make him practically her chaplain.

He would travel viâ Coleshill to Coventry, and then on to the Stratfords (Stony and Fenny) through Daventry and Towcester, and through Dunstable to St. Alban's, whence his route to London would be the same way as those who came from the Northern Midlands.

The second, who came up from this South-Midland group, was

2. JEREMIAH HOLWEY.

Jeremiah Holwey (Holway), of Bristol (the second layman).

He is not—as so many were that precede him—a minister. He is a Puritan layman, of grit and earnest purpose, who feels so strongly on religious matters as to journey all the way from Bristol to London to secure a licence, authorizing the use of his house for public worship by those of the Congregational faith or order. He may have gone by sea in one of the trading vessels plying round the south coast and the English Channel; but more probably he would take the coach, or post along the great Western road—through Bath, Chippenham, Marlborough, Hungerford, Newbury, Reading, and Maidenhead, through Hounslow Heath and Brompton to Charing Cross.

His application is preserved on **321** (**84**). It is endorsed by Francis Benson, 'Holwey's House'; and reads:

> 'M^r Jeremy Holwey house in Cornestreet in Bristoll for one that is Lisenced of the Congregationall perswasion
>
> 'the 10^th of May 1672.
>
> 'JER. HOLWEY.'

This was on a Friday. It was attended to within a week, for the licence is entered on **E.** (**117**) as granted on the 16th inst. It is the last on the page:

> 'The howse of Jeremy Holwey in Cornestreet, Bristoll Congr. Meeting Place. 16 May.'

Whether Holwey stayed in London long enough to go to Whitehall again, and receive the licence in person, or commissioned some friend to call for it, and send it on, we do not know, for no memorandum of its receipt is preserved in the Record Office. The house thus licensed is likely to have been a large one, for Corn Street was then and is now one of the principal streets of the city. It (on the west) with Wine Street (on the east) runs along the highest ridge, and is met at their point of junction by High Street running south, and Broad Street running steeply north, down to St. James's Gate (still preserved). It contained some of the principal buildings of the city, including the Town Hall; and most probably local city records would reveal something interesting of this good Congregational citizen of Bristol.

The minister for whose service it was licensed was almost certainly John Thompson, for nine years a student (? fellow) of Christ Church, Oxford. Other two Congregationalists were licensed—viz., William Troughton and Enoch Gray. But they were not licensed till between three and four months afterwards—Enoch Gray September 5 [**E.** (**239**)], and William Troughton on September 30 [**E.** (**251**)] whereas John Thompson had been licensed exactly a month before Holwey's house,* and so was the only 'one that is Lisenced of the Congregationall per'swasion' at the time. Holwey himself applied for his licence—viz., on May 10, 1672.

Since writing the above, I have examined 'the local city records,' and have found what I expected.

The City Archives of Bristol show that Jeremiah Holwey was a wealthy and respected citizen. As early as 1656 he had secured the confidence of his fellow citizens so far that they elected him a member of the Common Council. For some reason unstated—was it modesty? or the fear that civic business would too much try his faith?—he tried to evade the responsibility and to avoid office.

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* Thompson's licence was entered April 16 [**E.** (**27**)], and Holwey's May 16 [**E.** (**117**)].

As witness the following minute in the Common Council Records:

'26 Aug. 1656. M^{r} Jeremy Holwey formerly chosen a member of the Com̄on Council, being this day sum̄oned to appeare and to take y^{e} oath of a Comon Councellman—uppon his appearance—refused to take the said oath.'

The City would not let him go; and more than a year later, we find that his scruples had been overcome, and that he had consented to serve.

'9 Sep. 1657.' In a list of the Common Council, inserted in a handwriting different from the rest of the minutes, are these words:

'M^{r} Jeremy Holwey . . . according to the sum̄ons ordered by this house, appeared and was sworne a member of the Com̄on Councill.'

Mr. Holwey appears to have attended regularly from this date to the end of 1660. Indeed, as late as May 8, 1660, we find a reference which implies either a special confidence in him, or a spiteful scheme to entangle him in trouble with his Puritan friends (at the same Council Meeting at which they chose their two Members to represent them in the First Long Parliament of Charles II.'s reign—viz., Mr. John Stephens and Mr. John Knight, senior):

'It is ordered that M^{r} Alderman Yate and M^{r} Holwey doe speake with M^{r} Ewens and informe themselves by what authority he preaches the Thursday Lecture at S^{t} Nicholas, and report the same to this house.'

This 'M^{r} Ewens' is, of course, the Thomas Ewens who was the first Pastor of the great Baptist Church at Broadmead, Bristol.

Five months later, too, in this same year of the Restoration, he was nominated for the second Sheriff of the city. Was it with the hope that, if elected, he would either refuse, or buy himself off with a heavy fine? [In the Commonwealth times that happened again and again with well-known Royalists, 'Cavaliers,' or 'Malignants.'] The record runs:

'5th Sep. 1660. M^{r} Thomas Stephens' (I suppose brother of the Recorder, Mr. John Stephens) 'having positively refused to serve one of the Sheriffs, and a fyne of 200l̄ havinge been imposed on him for his contempt, and being comitted to Gaole for nonpaym^{t} thereof. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councell proceeded to a new Elecc̄on of an other person to be a second Sheriffe for y^{e} yeare ensueinge Whereupon M^{r} Jeremy Holwey was noīnated by M^{r} Mayor, M^{r} Anthony Gay by the Aldermen and Sheriffs, and M^{r} John Knight sen^{r} by the Com̄on Councell, and M^{r} John Knight was chosen second Sheriff.'

Probably Mr. Holwey thought himself fortunate to escape office in the changed times, when he was so utterly out of sympathy with the revived Ecclesiastical Establishment; and amongst the names noted as absent 'on 25 July 1661' is his: 'Jere: Holwey', following that of 'Joh̄es Knight sen^{r}.' His name occurs as present September 25, 1661: 'Jeremia Holwey.' It is dropped from that date onwards, and we may take it he was glad to withdraw 'unscathed' from the civic duties of those Royalist days, when, to his good Nonconformist conscience, all things would seem strangely out of joint.

It would be a special pleasure to him in the year of Indulgence—when Royal action had once more made religious liberty possible to those who sought the Royal licence—to journey up to London and secure one for his house, that his friend Mr. Thompson, the Congregational minister, might conduct services in it.

III. EASTERN COUNTIES.

From the Eastern Counties three come: one from Suffolk, and two from Cambridge.

1. John Pindar.

John Pindar is the pilgrim from Suffolk.

Calamy has little to say about him. He gives him (III., 295) as ejected from Wingfield, Suffolk; describes him as 'A pious, affable 'man', and tells us that 'after his ejectment he lived at Ousden, where 'he had a good estate'; adding, 'he constantly attended his parish 'church, and seldom preached.' Yet the Episcopal Returns of 1669 report him as preaching at Cowling (**R. 230**), 'Att the houses of John 'Juggards & Gilbert Colliers,' and at Thurlow Magna (**R. 230*b***), in association with Stephen Scanderet, to congregations 'at the house of 'one John Barnes & of Samuel Alison numbering 60, sometimes 100.' These are both on the road from Owsden to Haverhill; the former between three and four miles, the latter six miles further from Owsden; and when, in 1672, he applies for licences, it is for authority to preach at Cowling, one of the places already mentioned; and for Rede (or Reed), which is as far to the South-east from Owsden as Cowling is south by west (almost due south) of it.

He had got a Mr. Coleman (presumably a friend resident in London) to apply for these licences. The application-mem. is **321 (131)**, endorsed 'Coleman's note—Suffolk', which reads:

'M^r^ John Pindar of the Presbyterian perswasion to be Licensed for the dwelling house of Robert Sanfield of Reed in y^e^ County of Suffolke

'The house of Robert Sanfield of Reed in y^e^ County of Suffolke to be licensed for a congregation to meet in of the Presbyterian perswasion

'The house of John Collyer of Couling in the County of Suffolke to be licensed for a Congregation to meet in of the Presbyterian perswasion.

'To be delivered to M^r^ Richard Coleman.'

The licences are granted. They are entered on **E. (112)**:

'Licence to John Pindar to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Rob. Sanfield in Reed in Suffolk. 13 May

'The of John Collyer in Couling, Suffolk Presb. Meeting Place. 13 May.

'The howse of Rob. Sanfield in Reed in Suffolk Presb. Meeting Place. 13 May'

Whether Mr. Coleman was suddenly disabled from going for the licences he had secured, or not, we cannot say. For whatever reason, we find that it is not Mr. Coleman who takes them away, but Mr. Pindar himself, and only two days after they had been issued. He came up to London expressly over this matter; and, on May 15, calls for them, taking them with him as he leaves, leaving behind him this rather peculiarly phrased memorandum, **321 (161)**:

'A licence for the person of John Pindar & for the house of John Collyer & Robert Sanfield
'received this fifteenth day of May 1672
'taken out by mee
'JOHN PINDAR.'

To reach London from Owsden, he would probably post first to Bury St. Edmunds, and then on the great high road through (Long Melford and) Sudbury, Halstead, and Chelmsford.

All these facts certainly picture John Pindar as much more energetic and eager than we should gather from the brief notice of Calamy.

Of the two ministers who came from Cambridgeshire, each is characteristically representative of the denomination to which he belongs —Francis Holcroft, of the Congregationalist, and John Denne, of the Baptist.

2. FRANCIS HOLCROFT.

Francis Holcroft was a remarkable man; of great learning, but intense evangelistic fervour and preaching power, he was also a great champion of Congregational principles.

A native of the immediate neighbourhood of London—the son ot Sir Francis Holcroft, of West Ham—he was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he had as his chamber-fellow John Tillotson, who ultimately became Archbishop of Canterbury. Even while a student Holcroft began to preach at Littlington, nearly fifteen miles south-west of Cambridge Town; and, in 1655, he accepted the living of Bassingbourne, about two miles north of Litlington. After his ejectment in 1662 he formed a circuit of gathered Churches of the Congregational type, to whom he preached in turn with Jos. Oddey, S. Corbyn, J. Waites, and W. Beare; yet supervising them all, like a 'chorepiscopus' of the third or fourth century.

But the authorities persecuted him bitterly: and from 1663 to 1685 he was often in prison in Cambridge Castle (twelve years in all he passed there) [Cal. I. 256-262]. His imprisonment did not wholly prevent his preaching: for, in accordance with the strange practice of those times, he was let out by his gaoler, on 'parole', to go to minister to one or other of his scattered flocks. In his troubles, too, his old college friend, Dr. Tillotson, often intervened for his relief and deliverance.

That as early as 1663 he was doing this chorepiscopal work we have interesting proof in a Paper preserved at the Record Office (S. P. Dom.

Car. II. 88, 73) which is endorsed: 'Schismaticks. An acc^{t} of persons wth there (*sic*) quallities, and places of aboad (*sic*)'; which has on it the pencilled note: 'Found under 1663'; and contains valuable lists of Teachers and their meetings in London and Kent, in Herts and Middlesex, and concludes with these paragraphs:

> 'Barlÿ in harfordshire—
> 'M^{r} Houlcraft lyes at widow hawkes who hath meetings of 300 at a tyme there
> 'M^{r} Audeÿ an assistant to him 3 miles from Royston at Mildred meetes many hundreds both Independents and Baptists
> 'Cambridge—
> 'M^{r} Houldcraft meetes and many hundreds with him
> 'M^{r} Audy } both assistants who takes turnes to ride into harford-
> M^{r} Lock } shire Cambridgeshire and Beffordshire
> at Hitchin, and pauls Wallden and att Bedford, att Shefford and Romney. att all these places dwells many that are Joyned to Houlcraft.'

It is easy to recognize in 'M^{r} Audey' Joseph Oddey; and, without a doubt, 'M^{r} Houldcraft' is Francis Holcroft himself. After most diligent search, and varied inquiry, I find this State Paper (Dom. Car. II. 88, 73)—which is one of many Informers' Reports sent into Whitehall throughout this decade of persecution, 1662-1672—to be one of those which are condensed and entered in the 'Spy Book', mentioned by Dr. John Brown in his 'Life of Bunyan', pp. 224-25, which he describes there as 'arranged alphabetically, showing how the 'district between Bedford and Cambridge was at this time placed under 'surveillance, &c.' It is preserved as S. P. Dom. Miscell. 26, No. 43. A complete transcript of it is printed in the 'Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society,' Vol. V., No. 4. January, 1912. The paragraphs referring to Holcroft are the following:

> 'Audey (an Assistant to Houlcroft) lives 3 Miles from Royston at Mildred [*i.e.*, Meldreth] where are convenc̃ons* of many hundreds both Independ^{ts} & Baptists.'

[Then on next page]

> 'Audey. An Assistant to Houle Croft & Lock who rides by turne wth y^{e} s^{d} Lock into Hartfordshire, Cambridgeshire & Bedfordshire to gather concorse of people to their meetings.

[Then under the letter 'H']

> 'Houlcraft lyes at Widdow Haukes att Barly in Harfordshire who hath meetings of 300 at a time. The s^{d} Houldcraft meets wth many hundreds at Cambridge.'

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* *I.e.*, Conventions or Conventicles.

It looks very much as though this Spy Book were arranged, and begun by Joseph Williamson, to contain précis of Informers' Reports—so as to have indexed for ready reference the names of all who were thus 'informed' against as holding Conventicles, preaching, and conducting Nonconformist worship: just as, in 1672, he began a Book—tabulating and alphabetically indexing all the Licences granted under the Declaration of Indulgence, and entered in **E.**, which is calendared as 'S. P. Dom. E. B. 38B,' and referred to in these volumes as **I.** Though **I.** has been preserved, and extends as far as the early part of June, it is yet imperfect, containing no List for London, etc. Both projects were abandoned, the Spy Book much the more readily of the two.

When we come to the Episcopal Returns of 1669, we find incidental proofs of Holcroft's evangelistic activity being still carried on in many directions.

In **R.** (**179***b*) Holcroft is reported, with Mr. Oddey (who is mentioned first) and a Mr. Borne, as a Teacher at a Conventicle in Willingham (At the houses of John Braiser, Francis Duckins, and John 'Crispe, j^{r}'), usually about one hundred, and 'All very meane, Except 'some few yeomen'; and that they were gathered by messengers from adjoining neighbourhoods is confirmed by the added note: 'And many 'of them come from other places, and goe from place to place to Conventicles.' At Histons, again (**R. 180**) 'M^{r} Holcroft' is reported as associated with Mr. Oddey and Mr. Corbin as preaching to a Conventicle of about thirty Independents, 'of y^{e} middle & mean^{r} sort, Most 'women & mayds'; while at Ockington he and Mr. Oddey are reported as holding a Conventicle of Independents and Quakers, 'about '100' in number, and 'of meane quality'; and in Over, he (with Mr. Corbin and Mr. Oddey) is reported as preaching to a Conventicle of 'Fanatiques' about 100 in number—'of w^{ch}', however, they report, 'not 20' are 'of this ꝑish.'

These four places are north-west of Cambridge, at varying distances. Then, north-east of it, at Stow-Quoy, at a Conventicle held in the house 'of Henry Bostock Carpenter,' of 'uncertayne' numbers, 'about '50 or 60 sometimes neere 100,' he is reported (**R. 181**) as teaching, with other three 'Non-Conformist Minist^{rs}'—viz., Mr. Oddey, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Parke, and with 'John Overrande Labo^{rer} & — Wild-'man Bricklayer.' The Quality of the Conventiclers is described as 'Mean^{r} & poorer sort most of them; yet some strang^{rs} come amongst 'y^{m} that are wealthy' (as 'Quy' was near Cambridge Town, it is probable that 'the wealthy' ones were those who went out from Cambridge to hear them); and it is added (in the 'Numbers' column) that these come 'From other Parishes halfe at least.'

At Haddenham, again—as we learn from **R.** (**182**)—in the neighbourhood of those first-mentioned, he, with Mr. Oddey and Mr. 'Corbon,' 'Nonconformist Minist^{rs}' address 'about 60' Fanatiques: 'Most women.' On the same page, too, these same three are reported as having preached to Conventicles in the parish of St. Michael's, in the Towne of Cambridge. The Bishop states, however, that there were 'None for y^{se} last 6 months'; the last that was consisted of 'about 100,' though composed of 'Meane sort & inconsiderable persons.' 'It was 'at y^e Widdow Petit's house.'

Besides all these preachings in the County of Cambridge, he is reported by the Bishop of Lincoln (**R. 206***b*) as preaching away in the north-west corner of Leicestershire, to a Conventicle of 'about forty' 'ordinary' Presbyterians in 'Hucklescoate cum Dunnington.' He is there reported as one of six 'Heads & Teach^rs,' 'all ejected ministers': his name (given as 'Mr. Hocraft') last of the list. His presence, so far away from his Congregational diocese, is probably explained by the fact that 'Mr. William Smyth ejected out of the vicarage of Packington' is the leader of the band, and there is little room for doubt that he is the 'Mr. Smith,' who is mentioned as associated with Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Oddey, and Mr. Parke as preaching at Stow Quoy (**R. 181**). [The other four preaching at Hucklescoate (Hugglescote) are 'Mr. Matthew 'Clarke, Mr. Bee, Mr. Crosse, and Mr. Drayton.']

So varied and persistent was his evangelical activity through all those years of persecution.

When we come to the year of Indulgence, 1672, we find only one of the licence documents which bears his name, though it bears his signature in full, 'Francis Holcroft.'

It is **321** (**60**). The whole of the memorandum, which is an application for eight licences, all for persons and places connected with this scheme or circuit of Congregational churches, is in his own handwriting. The places applied for are: (1) 'y^e House of Elizabeth 'Pettit' in Cambridge town (mentioned in **R. 182**); and 'y^e House of 'Job Hall,' in Cambridge; (2) 'a Meeting place at Meldred,' at the southern limit of the county; and (3) 'a Meeting place in Willing^m,' almost at its northern limit. The persons are himself, 'Francis Hol'croft,' and his assistant associates in this great work, Sam. Corbyn, Thomas Lock, and Joseph Oddey.

Three memoranda of application have been preserved. The first, **321** (**28**), is only for himself at a meeting-house in Cambridge.

'Fran: Holcroft in the howse of Job Hall in Bridge Street in 'Cambridge, a Congregational Teacher. 8 May 7̅2̅.' This slip is in the handwriting of Francis Benson, Sir Joseph Williamson's head clerk. It suggests that early on that Wednesday, Francis Holcroft called and made verbal application for these two licences, the particulars being taken down by Benson across the counter.

The other two are applications for several others beside Holcroft, and must have been put together later in the day, when Holcroft returned to Whitehall in the company of John Light. **321** (**47**) is not so clear or systematic in form as **321** (**48**); but both make application for the same persons, and for the same meeting-places: one of the latter being in the Isle of Ely (in the town of March), but all the other four in the Congregational diocese, which had its local centre in Cambridge.

In **321** (**48**) the preachers are named in pairs with the exception of Thomas Locke, who is named alone for Meldred. Oddey and Day are named for March, Corbyn and Oddey for Willingham. But for Cambridge itself, we have two meeting-places mentioned, and a pair of preachers at each. Corbin and Day apply for licences to preach at Elizabeth Pettit's house near Green Street. And Francis Holcroft chooses Joseph Oddey as his associate to preach at the same meeting-house in Bridge Street. It is described in **321** (**48**) as 'in a place neere 'the house of Job Hall'; but in **321** (**47**) it is succinctly referred to as 'Job Halls Cambridge,' suggesting that the meeting-house was a separate building erected in Job Hall's garden [as the meeting-house licensed for John Bunyan in Bedford was erected in the garden of Josias Roughead].

The memorandum signed by Francis Holcroft [**321** (**60**)] mentions all these names except those of 'the meeting-house in March,' and of James Day the preacher.

It is a singularly composite document, as it seems to acknowledge the receipt of some licences, as well as applying for others. It reads:

> 'Take out a License for y^e^ House of Eliz: Pettit
> 'Taken out a Licence for y^e^ Person of Sam. Corbyn & Thomas Lock
> & for a Meeting place at Meldred
> & for Francis Holcroft &
> 'A Licence for y^e^ House of Job Hall' (this in Cambridge)
> 'A Licence for Joseph Oddey
> 'A Licence for a Meeting place in Willing^m^
>
> 'FRANCIS HOLCROFT.'

Then is added the sentence, in John Light's handwriting [*cf.* **321** (**85**)]: 'Mr. Light remaineing behind.' And at the back, we have the words: 'Taken out y^e^ Licences' in Francis Holcroft's hand.

What lies on the surface of this document is that Francis Holcroft journeys purposely to London to put in this application; but that on his visit to Whitehall he was accompanied by Mr. Light, who had agreed to stay in the Office at Whitehall till all the licences were made out, as Mr. Holcroft had to return to Cambridge.

The licences were all granted, and all of them bear date May 8th. The meeting-place at Meldred is 'The howse of Widow Evans,' and that in Willingham is 'the howse of Fran: Duckins' [**E.** (**80**) and **E.** (**81**)].

The natural conclusion is that they were granted the very day that Francis Holcroft made application for them, so that Mr. Light would be able to send them down by the first post which was despatched from London to Cambridge. This 'Mr. Light' was evidently John Light, who after his silencing in Dorset came to live in London, and was licensed himself as a Congregational Teacher to preach in his own house in Thames Street.

Of John Light's further activity as a Licence-Agent we shall see something when we come to treat directly of him.

Till 1689 Francis Holcroft exercised his apostolic episcopate, nor did he survive the surrender of his energetic ministry more than three years. For he died at Thriplow, 1692.

3. JOHN AND THOMAS DENNE.

These are two Baptist brothers, who between them divide the honours of obtaining no less than thirty licences—twenty for the County of Cambridge, and ten for that of Huntingdon—all for Baptist or Anabaptist Nonconformists. John Denne is a Teacher, but Thomas is not. Nor, apparently, is he a resident in either of the counties concerned. It looks as though John came up to London to make the personal application at Whitehall, but was not able to stay long enough to fetch them, and so got Thomas to call for them later.

The memorandum put in by John Denne is a most elaborate document [**321** (**174**)]. It is headed : 'A Schedule of the meeting places 'and teachers desired by the baptised Congregations in the Countyes of 'Cambridge & Huntington,' and is drawn up in three columns—one for the Teachers, and one for the houses in which they are to teach ; and a third for the places in which the houses are situated ; the last two separated (or linked) by a *plus* and 'at.' The lists are arranged in two groups: the one headed 'In the county of Cambridge,' and the other 'In the County of Huntington.' The remarkable thing, however—a point, too, which makes this list quite unique—is that the column for 'The houses' is placed first; that for the Teachers is placed third, on the right hand. Curiously enough, too, it is in three different handwritings. The main columns are in one handwriting, the left-hand column is in another, and the signature only is in John Denne's.

The conclusion that we should naturally draw from the list is probably the correct one: that John Denne was a resident in St. Ives, where he hired a house in which to conduct services, and that he came up to London, 'putting in' this list, by personally calling at Whitehall, and leaving it with Sir Joseph Williamson, or his clerk.

[The strong probability is that, spite the similarity of name, John Dennis of Wilbraham Magna, not far East of Cambridge, was a distinct personality, and he certainly must not be confused with John Donne, the friend of Bunyan.]

Thomas Denne, John's lay brother, may have been a resident in London, entertaining John when he came up, and undertaking to call at Whitehall for them when John found himself unable to wait long enough in London to secure them.

John Denne and his associates in this list evidently act apart from John Bunyan and his, for while John Bunyan (though a Baptist) will not call himself or any of his friends Baptist, but calls himself and them Congregationalists (as defining the ecclesiastical organization which was common to Pædobaptists and Adult-Baptists alike), John Denne puts in his claim for the 'baptized congregations,' which he proceeds to enumerate.

This application of the Huntingdon Baptist is promptly attended to. The licences are all issued May 16th, as shown by the entries on **E.** (**123**) and **E.** (**124**),* and when Thomas Denne calls he is able to take them all away.

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* And where the denomination is given, it is given as 'Anab.,' or 'Anabaptist.'

The Memorandum of Receipt [**321 (175)**] is a very different kind of document from the Memorandum of Application. There is none of the methodical formality and neatness which characterizes his brother's application. It is simply a list of the names of those to whom the licences are granted, in no order whatever; the word ‘Teacher’ or ‘house’ appended to each; just bracketed together as ‘All in Huntingdon & Cambridgeshire’; headed ‘Received the Licences follg,’ and signed ‘ꝑ Thomas Denne.’

These, John and Thomas Denne, must surely be the sons of Henry Denne, who had been educated in Cambridge, was one of the pioneers and protomartyrs of Baptist views, and had been twice apprehended; once in 1644 in Cambridgeshire, and once in 1646 at Spalding in Lincolnshire by the Parliamentary Committee. Driven out of the ministry by the Church authorities of those days, he had joined the army and had become a distinguished soldier. He had died in 1661. Dr. John Brown quotes a letter he wrote to his friend,* Thomas Smith (professor and librarian), in defence of Bunyan (p. 123).

IV. SOUTH-EASTERN COUNTIES.

From the South-Eastern group of counties, we have nine: one from Berks, two from Middlesex, one from Surrey, two from Kent, and three from Hampshire.

1. Richard Ellis.

Richard Ellis, of Reading, is the one from Berks. This is the third instance of a Nonconformist layman, wishing to have his house licensed for Nonconformist worship, who feels interested and anxious enough about it to come up to London to secure it.

He seems to have acted at first by proxy, securing the services of John Hickes (ejected from Saltash, Cornwall; and much persecuted in Kingsbridge, Devon), who is now staying in London, to serve his brethren in the provinces by securing licences for them. From the first he does not move for himself alone. Two other Nonconformist laymen in Reading join him in his willingness and desire to have their houses licensed for Nonconformist worship—viz., Griffin Bully and Richard Hunt. The special denomination to which they belonged has no exclusive charm for them: they are anxious mainly for the freedom of Nonconformist worship. In the first application [viz., **321 (54)**], which is made out by John Hickes, his handwriting is unmistakable, the three are bracketed together as applying in this large-minded way—

‘Richard Ellis,
Griffine Bully, } in Redding in Barkshire
Richard Hunt, } their houses for Presbyt. & Independts’—

for Presbyterians or Independents, indifferently, to conduct the services.

John Hickes does not sign or date the document, so that we cannot be sure that he ‘put it’ in, though most probably he did.

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* Neal's ‘History of Puritans,’ II. 387*n*, III. 108*n*, 361.

The next two application-memoranda are in Richard Ellis's handwriting, **321** (**123**) certainly, **321** (**124**) less certainly. The same three Reading houses are applied for in each; only in **321** (**123**) Richard Ellis puts Griffin Bully before himself.

But he puts each very distinctly, 'Griffin Bullys house in Redding '&c.' [note the spelling, in a citizen of the town itself]; 'Rich. 'Ellis his house in Redding &c.'; and 'Rich. Hunte his house in 'Redding &c.' In **321** (**124**) they are put together again, more after the fashion of **321** (**54**):

> 'In Redding in the County of Berkes
> 'The house of Rich: Ellis: Griffine Bully & Rich: Hunt,'

and immediately after is a clause definitely indicating John Hickes's active service in the matter: 'deliver'd by John Hickes.'

In each of these three application-memoranda, the application for these three Reading laymen is associated with others. In the first with four for Somerset, and two for Herts; in the second and third, with the same two for Herts (Chipping Barnet), but with five others for Wilts (not Somerset). It is singular, and surely significant, in a not altogether satisfactory way, that in applying for licences for their houses as Nonconformist meeting-places in Reading there is no application for a minister or ministers to preach in them. In the whole of these 'Original Records,' indeed, there is allusion to only three ministers of either the Presbyterian or Congregational order in Reading; and, about each of these, strange circumstances seem to preclude the idea of their ministering regularly or reliably in any of these three houses.

Two of them are Presbyterian: Christopher Fowler and Richard King.

(1) In the case of Christopher Fowler an application was put in by Thomas Blood (the notable Colonel Blood of Tower of London fame), that Christopher Fowler might be licensed to preach in Griffin Bully's house [**321** (**210**)]; and matters went so far that a licence was made out (*i.e.*, the blanks were filled in with the particulars) [**321** (**257**)]. The licence was neither signed nor dated, and the imperfect licence remains in the Record Office to the present day. This was all subsequent to the complete licensing of all three of the houses of which we are speaking. They were all licensed May 13, 1672 [**E.** (**102**) and **E.** (**111**)], and were taken away by our Richard Ellis the following day; and Colonel Blood's application was not made till six days later—May 19 [**321** (**210**)].

Fowler, moreover, did not endorse the action of Colonel Blood on his behalf. He had been ejected from Reading (Cal. I. 294, 295), so that it would have been most natural and peculiarly welcome, we should think, to the Nonconformists of Reading, had he secured a licence to minister to his old flock in each of these three houses in turn. [One cannot resist the conjecture, indeed, that Richard Ellis in making his application, had hoped that this is the arrangement which would be carried through.] But Fowler applies himself [**321** (**265**)] for licences to preach at his own house in Kennington, whither he had retired, instead of among his old friends in Reading! and secures the licences only six days after

Colonel Blood had applied for him to preach in Griffin Bully's house [**E.** (**137**)].

So that this most promising ministerial connection for Richard Ellis and his two friends was put out of the question by Christopher Fowler's own action.

(2) Richard King's licence-entry is not dated, so that we cannot be certain that it was ever issued. If it was, it would not be till the month of November (as the entry on the line above it in the same page [**E.** (**271**)] is dated November 18, 1672). It reads:

'Licence to Rich: Kinge of Reding in y^e^ County of Berks Pr 'Teacher,' and shows that Richard King, who had been ejected from somewhere in Dorset (Cal. II. 175) and had retired to Reading, did not wish to tie himself to Reading as his sphere—much less to either of the three houses licensed there—but simply to be free as a Presbyterian Teacher to preach in any licensed place.

The only other minister referred to in connection with Reading is—

(3) Dr. John Pordage (Neal, II. 631, 632), who in 1669 was reported (**R. 240**) with Mr. Bromley, as 'suspected to be Conventicle hold^{rs} & 'Teachers also' at Bradfield, whence he had been ejected in 1657 by Oliver's Triers, though restored on Charles's accession in 1660; but who, at this time, was living in Reading. In 1669, moreover, he is reported as not alone fostering this Conventicle in his old sphere at Bradfield; but also (**R. 240***b*) as the chief Teacher of two Conventicles in Reading itself—the one in the house of a Mrs. Farnham, and the other 'at one Burren's, formerly Cromwell's Butler.' So that he, too, might have ministered to the Nonconformists of Reading in one or other of these three houses. Yet he would be distrusted by them in matters of doctrine, and on account of his attitude to the Cromwellian Puritans. For he had written against Oliver's commissioners a pamphlet, entitled 'Innocency appearing'; and this had been answered by Christopher Fowler. Between these two ministers, then, relations were probably still so strained that neither would care publicly to officiate in these Nonconformist meeting houses.

Mr. Bromley (**R. 240**) might supply them from Bradfield; or either of the ministers licensed for Oakingham (Wokingham), Benjamin Perkins or Thomas Gardiner (both old Bucks ejected clergy); or perhaps William Brice from Maidenhead.

Still, though disappointed of their natural hopes of definite ministerial connection, these three Puritan citizens of Reading carried through their design; and Richard Ellis went up to London to see the matter through.

He carries it through in courtly style. He does not (as many did) timorously address himself to Mr. Francis Benson, head clerk to Sir Joseph Williamson, nor even to Sir Joseph Williamson; but to Sir Joseph's chief: for the memorandum of receipt [**321** (**148**)] is addressed at the back, 'The Right Hon^{bl} the Earl of Arlington'; astutely giving him his new title. [He had been created 'Earl' only three weeks before (on April 22).] And he takes away with him three licences for Marlborough, three for Devizes (both of these in Wilts), and two for

Herts, besides the three for Reading (for himself and his two friends)—eleven in all—subscribing the document almost triumphantly: 'All 'these Rec^{d} the 14th day of Maÿ 1672. ꝑ me Rich: Ellis.' He would probably journey to London (and return) by the coach road through Maidenhead, Colnbrook, and Hounslow, and so through Hammersmith to Charing Cross.

2. EDWARD PROBEE.

Edward Probee is one of the two from Middlesex.

Here again we have a Nonconformist layman (the fourth layman we have noticed) coming to town to get licences. This time, however, it is not for himself alone—or, as in the last case, for brother-laymen—but for his minister and himself, as well as for a neighbouring minister.

He has no long journey to make, for he and his minister are residents at Chiswick, and the neighbouring minister is of Brentford—both on the Thames just opposite Kew—and now both within the vast area of 'Larger London.' But in those days it was a journey, and the edge of London was not reached until they had passed along the great high road from Staines to London, through the hamlets of Hammersmith and Kensington to the eastern end of Hyde Park (Hyde Park Corner).

The three licences he was able to take away had been applied for three times.* In the first memorandum **320** (**189**) they were on the same paper with an application for Mr. David Clarkson of Mortlake (a little farther up the Thames, the Surrey side of the river). But Mr. Clarkson's case was being taken up and carried through just at that time—April 25 [**320** (**188**)] and [**320** (**285**)]—by Mr. Matthew Shephard (or Heppard), so that the second application [**320** (**190**)] contains only these three just in the order in which they are mentioned in Mr. Probee's receipt.

The third and last was like unto it [**320** (**282**)]. Only in another hand, opposite Mr. Case's name, we have the note 'This I have'; and at the foot the further note appended 'Given out 2 May.' [These notes must have been added at least two or three days after the application was put in, for the licences are dated April 30, 1672—**E.** (**48**).]

The official who actually delivered them to Mr. Probee was not Sir Joseph Williamson, but his chief clerk, Mr. Benson [**320** (**283**)].

The mem. reads:

> 'Rec^{d} this 2n^{d} of May 1672 of M^{r} Benson
> a licence for M^{r} Thos Case of Chiswick an
> other for M^{r} John Jackson of Brentford
> & an other for the house of Ed: Probee of Chiswick
> 'ꝑ EDWARD PROBEE.'

The minister (Thomas Case) to whom he was so warmly attached as to offer his house as the 'meeting-place' for his ministry, was one of the veterans of the Nonconformist host. Born before the seventeenth century dawned, he was now seventy-four years of age.

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* They were licences for Thomas Case and himself at Chiswick, and for John Jackson, of Brentford.

He was a native of Kent, where his father had been minister of Boxley. 'His own first pastoral charge' (Calamy I. 153) was at Erpingham in Norfolk, but Bishop Wren's severities drove him from Erpingham, and he afterward settled in London, being appointed to the sequestered living of St. Mary Magdalen's, Milk Street, where he was very laborious and faithful in his ministerial work. He was the founder of 'The 'Morning Exercise.'

He was a strong royalist in sympathy, and had been implicated in Love's plot in 1650-51, so that in 1659 he could not take the engagement and had to surrender his living. [Mr. Thomas Vincent was his successor.]

He was chosen one of the '10 Presbyterian Preachers' who, the following year, crossed the Channel to Holland, and on May 16 'waited 'on King Charles II. at the Hague with a Tender of their and 'their Brethren's Duty and Affection.' In the short interval between his ejectment from Milk Street and his journey to the Hague, however, he was not idle. He was lecturer at Aldermanbury and St. Giles's, Cripplegate [and afterwards Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields (Calamy)]. After the King's return he was appointed one of the Commissioners at the Savoy in 1661; but, spite his royalism, he was silenced, because he could not accept the conditions of the Act of 1662, and retired to Chiswick, where, though his public ministry was at an end, he ceased not in private to do all the good he could. After the brief ten months of liberty in 1672, he spent the remaining nine years of his life in quiet service, and died May 30, 1682, aged 84.

What gives added interest to this licence which Edward Probee secured for his minister, is that it is one of the few 'actual licences' which are preserved to this day. It is preserved in the British Museum Library (MS. Department) in the Lansdowne Collection (Vol. 1236, fol. 134). Besides the necessary signatures by 'Charles R.' above, and by Arlington at the foot, and Benson's note at the left-hand bottom corner 'Case a Teacher,' it has the Royal Signet attached at the top left-hand corner.

It is made out for Thomas Case living in the Parish of Chiswick Middlesex 'of the Perswasion commonly called Presbyterien to be a Teacher, and to teach in any place licensed and allowed by Us &c.,' and is dated '30th Aprill, 1672.'

It is entered on **E.** (**48**) on the same page in **E.** as the other two which Probee took away, only in the reverse order to that given by him in his receipt.

Cheswick Pr. Probee's howse.	'The howse of Edward Probee in the Parish of Cheswick Midd Pr. Meeting Place. 30. Apr. $\overline{72}$.
Jackson Pr. Brentford.	'Licence to John Jackson of Brentford Midd. to be a Pr. Teacher in Grāll. 30. Apr. $\overline{72}$.
Case Pr. Chiswick	'Like to Thomas Case of Chiswick, Midd. Pr. 30. Apr. $\overline{72}$.'

The other neighbouring minister was Mr. John Jackson of Brentford, son of Arthur Jackson, Rector of St. Faith's under St. Paul's, who like Mr. Case had been implicated in Love's plot, imprisoned and fined £500, but had continued in this living till ejected by the Act of Uniformity (August 24, 1662).

His son, John Jackson, was Rector of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, till, late in 1661, he was ejected. But he was reappointed to Moulsey, on the Surrey side of the Thames (just opposite to Hampton Court). He could not, however, retain the living long. Conscience forbade him, as it forbade his father, to accept the Act of Uniformity; and on his ejectment from Moulsey he retired to Brentford—probably to be near one so like-minded in matters political as well as ecclesiastical as his father's old friend, Mr. Case, at Chiswick.

3. WILLIAM NICOLL.

William Nicoll is the other from these Home Counties; also a layman (the fifth to show his 'grit' this way), a citizen of Uxbridge—who comes up to Westminster to receive licences for his stirring little town, and among them one for his own house.

They had been applied for by a Mr. William Bowler, of whom I have been able to obtain no further information. The memorandum of application by Bowler is **321** (**130**), and this memorandum of receipt by Nicoll is **321** (**255**). William Bowler's paper is unfortunately undated; but William Nicoll's receipt is dated—bearing its date as its heading: 'May the 24th 72.'

The licences received by Nicol are the whole of those asked for by Bowler, and had all been entered on **E.** (**107**) and **E.** (**108**), as issued the same day—viz., May 13th. So that they had been waiting to be taken away eleven days before William Nicoll went up to Whitehall to inquire after them, and, as it proved, triumphantly to take them away.

Let us, then, look at the two agents together, as negotiating the same set of licences.

There were six of these: three for teachers (Hugh Butler, Robert Hall, and Hezekiah Woodward), and three for houses, all in Uxbridge (in the part of Middlesex bordering on Bucks).

The application-memorandum [**321** (**130**)] is endorsed by Benson: 'Bowlers note,' and reads:—

> 'Mr Hugh Butler presbeteran
> Mr Robert Hall independent
> Mr Hezakia Woodward presbeteran
> the hous of Mr John Crowder
> the house of Richard Piscoe
> the house of William Nicoll
> in the parish of Woxbridg in the County of Middlesex
> presented by William Bowler'

Of the William Nicoll, whose receipt [**321** (**255**)] is dated May 24, 1672, we see that he was the last in the list of those whose houses were licensed 'in the parish of Woxbridge in the County of Middlesex.' So that he must have been a resident in Uxbridge, who came up to Town from Uxbridge to secure the licences for which his friend William Bowler had applied.

Though Calamy can tell us little about these licences, the Episcopal Returns of 1669 tell us much:

(1) William Nicholl gains greatly in our estimation. For in the Return (**R. 222***b*) 'Uxbridge' is given as having 'Severall little Con-'venticles.' And in the very first in the list of seven Nicholl is spoken of in these terms: (i) 'The Chiefe in the house of one Nicholls, a very 'old man.' All honour, therefore, to this veteran Puritan, who, in 1669, is the host of the chief Uxbridge Conventicle; and three years later has spirit and vigour to go into Westminster, to take away the Uxbridge licences from the Office in Whitehall. [Was he any relative of Charles Nicolls, the energetic evangelist who was ejected from Adisham (Cal. II. 318, 319)?]

Then, working up the list of licences applied for, we come to:

(2) 'Richard Piscoe' as desiring one for his house. He is mentioned also in the 1669 Return. The fourth Conventicle reported is: 'In 'y^e^ house of one Buscold a Rich Tanner'; and it is in his house that Woodward lives.

Then we come to Woodward himself, given in with our list as—

(3) 'M^r^ Hezekia Woodward presb.' Of him the 1669 Return speaks at length. In 'Buscold's house' (or 'Biscoe's') there 'lives an 'old Intruding Minister of Bray nere Windsor: and hath been a con-'stant Teacher these 3 or 4 years' [*i.e.*, since 1665 or 1666] 'on Sundays '& some Weeke days; he is frequented by y^e^ best of y^e^ Towne. He 'is an Excommunicate pson. His name is Woodward.'

He is noticed, too, by Dr. Walker ('Sufferings of the Clergy') and Anthony Wood in his 'Fasti Oxonienses.' Dr. Walker speaks of him in connection with Dr. Anthony Farndon (or Farindon), who, 'on 'the Breaking out of the Rebellion,' was dispossessed both of the Divinity Lectureship in the Free Chapel at Windsor and the Vicarage of Bray (II. 96); and, with reference to the last, says: 'He was suc-'ceeded in this Living by one Woodward, a Violent Independent, and 'Chaplain to Oliver' (Part II. 240).

Anthony Wood makes a brief reference to Woodward in his notice of Dr. Edward Fulham, who succeeded him at Bray (on the gift of the Bishop of Oxford), but gives a much fuller account of him as an author educated at Oxford:

'Hezekiah or Thomas Woodward' [it will be seen that Dr. Calamy has adopted the second Christian name, while the licence application uses the first—only spelt 'Hezakia'] 'was always puritanically affected: sided with the Presbyterians in 1641, & was a great zealot, & frequent preacher among them either at St. Mary's in Aldermanbury or near it. Afterwards he took the Covenant, and shewed the use & necessity of it in his discowrse & preaching; but soon after, when he saw the Independents & other factious people to be dominant, he became one of them: and not unknown to Oliver, who, having quartered more than a year in the vicaridge house at Bray, near Maidenhead in Berks, during the time of the rebellion (in which town he had opportunity to know the parish to be very large, being a whole hundred of itself) he sent afterwards thither our author Woodward, being then his chaplain, or at least favourite, under the notion of doing some eminent good to that great place, & to take care of the souls therein. He continued there 10 years or more' (1649-1659) 'and had the good opinion of the rabble and factious people: but of others of sense, not.' . . . 'He was very invective against the King, his followers, whom he called Malignants, the Church of England, her rites, ceremonies, & all forms of worship; and it is commonly reported among the inhabitants of Bray that he wrote a book against the Lord's Prayer. . . . He had a select congregation out of his parish of those that were to be saved, who frequently met to pray in the vicaridge house, which, if he had staid a year or two more, would have *destroyed* all that were to be *saved* by falling upon them; for he was a great dilapidator; suffered some of the offices, stable, and woodhouse to fall; made hey (*sic*) -lofts of the chamber, and suffer'd one side of the hall' (the assembly room) 'to drop down. Insomuch that Edward Fulham, who succeeded him, at the King's Restoration, was forced to build it up in the first month he had it.'

Evidently, then, in the estimate of so good a judge of men as Cromwell, Hezekiah Woodward was a strong man, a good preacher, and essentially a pastor—'as an assiduous shepherd of souls'—a sound Independent and a practical believer in 'gathered churches.' No wonder, then, that after his ejectment from Bray—and retirement to Uxbridge—he could not remain silent or inactive; and became practically the founder of a Congregational Church—the 'chiefe Conventicle 'in the Towne' from 1665 or 1666 to 1669, 'in y^e^ house of one Buscold 'a Rich Tanner'; but later in the house of our friend and active agent the veteran William Nicoll. [Though the licence entries **E. (107)** and **(108)** make both teacher and host Presbyterian.]

(4) To Robert Hall, Independent, again, there is an interesting reference in the 1669 Return, though Calamy (I. 298) knows nothing of him, but that he was ejected from Colnbrook, Bucks. He is the 'Preacher or Teacher' of the fifth Conventicle, 'In the house of Edw. 'Nicholas a bold, factious fellow. One Hall, a late soldier, is Teacher. 'And as scholem^r^' [schoolmaster] 'teaches many children.'

(5) Nor is it otherwise with 'M^r^ Hugh Butler presbeteran', the first upon the licence application-list. His is the sixth Conventicle in the 1669 Return, held [not, as desired now, in John Crowder's house, but] 'In y^e^ house of one Swift, a Cooper; Where lately was held a most 'audacious Meeting.' The Teacher was 'One Butler lately come from 'Amersham.' All Calamy has to say about him is that he was ejected from the Rectory of Beaconsfield, and was 'a very grave person, and 'a solid divine' (I. 297).

Or does the Return intend that Butler is the Teacher of the seventh Conventicle at 'Hillingdon'? and that Swift, the cooper, held a Conventicle in his own house? The lineation of the Return is not very clear, so that its significance is ambiguous.

The whole of the six for whom Bowler sought licences are signalized in the Episcopal Returns of 1669; but other four therein mentioned—viz., 'Tim Fly, Tradesman'; one 'Hale, a Stiffe Sectary'; Edward Nicholas, 'a bold factious fellow'; and 'one Swift, a Cooper,' made no application for licences in 1672. [Were they Quakers, or extreme Baptists?]

All six licences were ready on May 13, and as neither William Bowler nor any other Nonconformist friend in London went to Whitehall to fetch them, William Nicolls—though in 1669 'a very old man'—has energy and determination enough, eleven days later, to go to London, posting or coaching along the high road, through Hillingdon, Southall, Hanwell, Ealing, Acton, Shepherd's Bush, and Kensington (then all separate hamlets in the country), to London, traversing Tyburn and Oxford Street, and then down St. Martin's Lane to Charing Cross.

It is on a Friday he makes the memorable journey; and, calling at Lord Arlington's Office in Whitehall, finds the licences ready. The licences are handed in by Sir Joseph, or by Benson; and, leaving a memorandum of receipt—which he wrote out on the spot—he takes them back with him to Uxbridge.

The writing and spelling show his age and want of culture, but the memorandum remains a lasting memorial of his vigour and determination.

It is preserved in **321 (255)**, and reads:

'May the 24th 72

'Recd then a Lycence for Rt Hall to teach in the house of Rich. Biscoe of Uxbridg an other for Hazekiah Woodward to teach in the house of William Nicolls of Uxbridg an other for Hugh Buttler to teach in the house of John Crower in Uxbridg all in Middlsex

'By mee
'WILLIAM NICHOLL.'

The liberties taken in spelling, so characteristic of this period, are signally illustrated by the variation in his own name, 'Nicolls', in the memorandum; becoming 'Nicholl' in his signature; 'Piscoe' of W. Bowler's application becoming Biscoe in Nicholl's receipt; 'Crowder' becoming 'Crower'; 'Butler' becoming 'Buttler'; and 'Hezakia' becoming 'Hazekiah.'

4. JOHN DABERON.

From Surrey we have one: John Daberon.

He, again, is a layman—the sixth in our list—seeking a licence for his house as a Presbyterian meeting-house. He is residing at Walton-on-Thames, and considers it worth his while to go to Westminster to make personal application at Whitehall. On his modest journey thither he would keep to the south side of the river till he reached Lambeth—probably joining the great Guildford road at Esher, and passing through Thames Ditton, Kingston, and Wandsworth. Or he might join the high road at Kingston, crossing the river twice—first at East Moulsey, then skirting Hampton Park, and re-crossing it at the western end of Kingston.

From Lambeth he would take ferry to the southern limit of Westminster, and so on to Whitehall. There he left a memorandum, preserved as **321** (**188**), which Benson has endorsed 'Daberons note,' and which reads:

> 'for the house of John Daberon in y^e^ parish of Wallton upon Thames in Surry : presbiterian
>
> 'for JOHN DABERON :'

The application was duly attended to, for the licence is entered as granted May 16, 1672, on **E**. (**117**):

> 'The howse of John Daberon in the Parish of Walton upon Thames in Surrey Pr. Meeting Place. 16 May'

Whether it was attended to promptly or tardily we cannot tell, as his application was not dated. Nor have we any memorandum of receipt to tell us who took it away from Whitehall.

The name he bears is a distinguished one, for it must be a variant of Dabernon (D'Abernon), a county family who gave their name to the hamlet of Stoke d'Abernon, some six miles or so south-south-east of Walton. The Manor was the gift of William the Conqueror to one of the family called heraldically 'Dawburnon the Normand'; and John is a Christian name not alien to the family; for Sir John d'Abernon, in 1253, had a grant of free-warren in his lands from Henry III.

The meeting would probably be supplied from Kingston by either Richard Mayo, who had been Rector there in the Commonwealth days, or William Sims, who had retired thither after ejectment from Leicester; or even more probably from Weybridge, by John James, who had been ejected from Ilsley, in Bucks (Cal. I. 288).

From Kent, two came; one from its north-east corner in the Isle of Thanet, the other from its most important port of Dover.

5. PETER JOHNSON.

Peter Johnson was a native of Thanet, and came of a very reputable family in the Island, as is confirmed by the fact that in Foster's Al. Ox. he is styled 'gent.' He was entered as scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and was at first intended for the profession of the Law, as appears from his taking chambers in Gray's Inn, London, in 1648. His ideas changed, however, and he decided to enter a Puritan ministry. In 1649 he 'began' again by matriculating from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and graduated B.A. the same time. He proceeded M.A. June 5, 1651, was ordained in London in 1654: his ordination certificate being signed by Edmund Calamy, senr., Simeon Ash, and three others, and was appointed to Maresfield, Sussex (at the southern limit of Ashdown Forest), where he remained till ejected in 1660.

He then received appointment in the land of his nativity at St. Lawrence, in the Isle of Thanet. His ministry was not a long one, as he could not conform; and therefore a second time he suffered ejectment. He still remained in the neighbourhood, 'teaching school,' and now and then preached at Ramsgate, where he was the first to gather a dissenting congregation. From the licences he sought, and obtained, we see that he did not confine his evangelistic activity to Ramsgate, but gathered a Presbyterian congregation also in Margate. His application is preserved in **321 (127)**, and is endorsed by Benson, 'Johnson's note. Kent.'

'Mr Peter Johnson desires a Lycence to teach in the house of Rob: Smith at Romonsgate' (Ramsgate) 'In the Ile (*sic*) of Tenant' (Thanet) 'in Kent, and in Mr Wm Perkins house in Margate in Kent

'of the presbyterien p^r^swation

'to be Taken out by mee

'PETER JOHNSON.'

The licences were all issued May 13, 1672, as entered in **E. (102)**.

'Licence to Peter Johnson to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Wm Petkins in Margatte, (*sic*) Kent. 13 May'

'The howse of Wm Petkins in Margatte, Kent. Pr. Meeting Place. 13 May

'The howse of Rob. Smith in the Isle of Tenant Kent Pr. Meeting Place. 13 May'

One thing in the above calls for remark, and that is that though he asked for licence to preach at Ramsgate—as though his connection with Ramsgate were the closer—his personal licence is made out to preach at Margate; the Ramsgate house is licensed additionally, as that at Margate was intended to be, by the terms of his application.

Practically, of course, it made no difference; but one would like to know why the places were reversed.

Calamy tells us (II. 345)—it is from Calamy and Foster's 'Alumni 'Oxonienses' that this brief account is compiled—that while preaching 'he did not altogether absent himself from the established worship. 'He was a man of good learning, and very useful gifts. But at last he 'lost his sight, and for several years was confined by various afflictions. 'He died'—Calamy adds—'in 1704 and was buried in St. Lawrence 'Church.'

Though, in his application, Peter Johnson says so distinctly 'To 'be Taken out by mee,' the memorandum of receipt is not preserved; so that we cannot tell whether he staid long enough in London to carry out his intention. It was no mean journey he had to take: for it was sixteen miles to Canterbury from Margate, and by the great high road was another fifty-five miles from Canterbury to London (through Sittingbourne, Rochester, Gravesend, and Greenwich, and so to Lambeth ferry and Westminster), over seventy miles in all.

6. Richard Hobbs.

The second is Richard Hobbs of Dover. **320** (**81**) is the only document that bears this name.

It is unique in form as an 'application.' It is not a Petition to the King, nor a letter to Sir Joseph Williamson or his subordinate, Mr. Benson. Nor is it a mere memorandum of application left at Whitehall when the application was made. It is a sort of Certificate of the desire of a large body of Baptists—'all the Baptized people' (they called themselves) 'in Dover,' expressed in this rather formal document, signed on their behalf by four members of the Church, their Teacher or Pastor, 'Richard Hobbs,' being one; and includes the request that the licences, when ready, may be delivered to 'this bearer,' whom I imagined to have been this same Richard Hobbs, their Pastor. It is endorsed by Benson 'Dover,' dated 'Dover 15 Apr. 1672,' and reads:

'These are to certifie That as a testimony of o^{r} thankfull acceptance of his Ma^{ties} gracious declaration of the 15th March last, wee do humbly desire wee may have a licence for Richard Hobbs to be o^{r} Teacher & also a Licence for o^{r} meeting-house, w^{ch} is allready fixt & fitted, being a roome at the Southend of Samuell Tavenors house neere y^{e} Market-place in Dover, & that the said licences may be delivered to this bearer to send downe to us.

'Signed by us whose names are und^{r} written, by the consent & appointm^{t}, & on behalfe of o^{r} selves & all the Baptized people in Dover.

'Ambros Williams
'Richard Hobbs 'Richard Cannon
'Sam: Tauenors'

Unlike so many of their Baptist brethren who refused to ask a licence, they are moving early—only just a month after the issue of the Declaration. They secured their licences very readily, too; for they were both issued, in the terms they desired, only five days after they signed their request—viz., April 20. Now when we realize that even an Express post on his Majesty's service took thirteen hours to execute the journey, it shows that whoever undertook the actual task of going to Whitehall to present the document must have shown commendable alacrity. I have taken for granted that William Hobbs did it himself; but that perhaps is a mistaken supposition: and there is no memorandum of receipt to show who took the licences away, or on what date.

The entries are as follows:

'**E. (37)**. Hobbs Anab. Dover.	'Lisence to Richard Hobbs to be an Anabaptist Teacher in a Roome in the South end of Sam: Taverners howse neare the Markett place in Dover. 20. Apr. 72.
'**E. (38)**. Dover Anabapt. Taverners howse.	'A Roome at the South end of Sam: Taverners howse near the Markett place in Dover licensed to be a Anabaptist Meeting place. 20. Apr. 72.'

Richard Hobbs had a further licence to preach in Lower Deale, but that was not dated till August 8—more than three months afterwards—and though the house in Lower Deale is named no separate licence is entered for it.

E (223). | 'Like to Richard Hobbs Bapt teacher at the house of Joane Colemar at Lower Deale in Kent. Aug. 8th'

The Presbyterians of Dover did not move for nearly two months after the Baptists had secured their licences. The licences for Nathaniel Berry (who had been ejected from St. Mary's Parish Church in 1661) and Mr. Edwards's house were both dated June 10, 1672.

Singularly enough, too, the Congregationalists or Independents in Dover seem to have made no move at all; although, in 1669, the Episcopal Returns (**R. 156**) show that all three denominations, and the Quakers also, had their Conventicles in the town—the note being inserted: 'All these are numerous.'

It is specially interesting to find in connection with the Conventicle of 'Anabaptists,' that two of the names which we have before us in these Licence documents, are cited in the Bishop's report. 'Richd 'Hobs (Hobbes)' is mentioned as a Preacher, and as one of the 'Principalls & Abbettors' as well; and 'Sam. Taverner' also (a teacher as well as an Abettor); while, beside these two, 'one Milford' is mentioned as a teacher, and 'Laur. Knott' as an Abettor. The names of Ambrose Williams and Richard Cannon, however, which are among the signatories of the certificate-petition, do not appear in the Episcopal Returns.

From the above it appears that Richard Hobbs is connected almost as closely with Deal as with Dover. The reason is to be found in his intimate relations with Samuel Taverner. So intimate do they seem to be, that I do not think we should be far wrong to call him Samuel Taverner's chaplain or minister.

In the Commonwealth times, Samuel Taverner was Governor of Deal Castle, and so strongly identified himself with the Baptists in the town, that he is credited with having built the first General Baptist Chapel there. With the Restoration, of course, he would lose his position. But for the next six years at least he continued to live in Deal.

In an interesting State Paper preserved in the Public Record Office, he is referred to, as well as John Milford and Knot. It is calendared S. P. Dom. Car. II. 119, 21, and is endorsed: '**R. 24** Apr. 65. from Mr Watts. Schismaticks in Deale.'

This 'Mr Watts' is evidently a renegade Baptist turned informer, for the first paragraph in the paper referring to Taverner reads as follows:

'Capt. Sam Taverner fformerly comander of Deale Castle
A great witt. hee hath about 40 lb. p. Ann. 8 children & in debt. Hee is the ringleader of the Phanatticks & an upholder of Heresies, *preaching comonly at my house*. And hee himself above ordinances.'

No other meaning can be put upon that last sentence but one;—that 'Mr. Watts' posed as a Baptist among the 'fanatics,' entertaining their conventicles in his own house: yet traitorously informed against them to the Government in 1665.

There was a John Watts, who, in 1672, obtained a licence for his house in Sandwich as a Congregational meeting-place, who very possibly was of the same family. But this 'Mr. Watts' is shown to be a different man, as on July 29, 1670, he writes from Deal to Sir Joseph and signs himself Richard Watts. He says: 'The Nonconformists have been 'very whist of late, but have been encouraged by those in London fra-'ternizing with them.'

That 'Samuel Taverner' was 'above ordinances,' means simply, I imagine, that he had conscientious objections to going to the Parish Church and joining in the Prayer-Book services, because superior to all existing Church organisations.

The following year he is informed against by Benjamin Harrison of Sandwich, in a paper dated 1666, May 23, and headed:

'Information sent by Ben. Harrison to the Archbishop of Canterbury,'

'Capt. Taverner of Deal an Anabaptist preacher—has been a fighting man.'

Probably it was in 1667 or 1668 that he removed to Dover: for in 1669 he is reported (**R. 156**) as both Abettor and Preacher at a Conventicle at Dover. His ministerial friend Richard Hobbs also figures with him in both columns. The other 'abettors' are Robt. Hemming, John Edwards, and Laurence Knott; and the two other preachers are 'one Milford and Luke Howard.'

Two other of these Dover Baptists are reported among the Schismaticks in Deale in 1665. (1) 'Mr. John Milford' (Mr. Watts describes as) 'A good scholler a cunning fellow, an excommunicated 'Anabaptist. Hee is but poore: hee is followed by all the anabap^{t} and 'independent in the Cuntry. This is hee who is Lodge the post clark, 'for Lodge cañnot write A legible hand. Hee hath the view of o^{r} letters 'severall houres before wee see them.' (2) 'Knot,' Mr. Watts contemptuously describes as 'A poor Sysmatick.' The State Papers give ample testimony to the fact that Dover Nonconformity flourished spite the Penal Statutes.

In the second half of 1670 Carlile writes of them in three news-letters, directed to Sir Joseph Williamson.

(1) On June 13 [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 276, 127] he reports: 'Yesterday being Sabbath we sent out some officers, who found upwards 'of 200 persons at a conventicle of Anabaptists. The speaker is 'a tailor, who encourageth the people to stand fast and not to be 'afraid of the wicked. One of the brethren having said he would 'sacrifice his life for what he asserted, & seal it with his blood, I sent 'him to prison, but the Mayor took bail and released him until the 'sessions. Can bail be taken in such a case, it being treason or mis-'prision of treason?'

(2) Within a week he writes again [1670, June 21, S. P. Dom. Car. II. 276, 172]: 'Fearing my last miscarried, I renew my appli-

'cation as to whether the sectary arrested at the conventicle for asserting he would sacrifice his life for what he asserted is bailable. The 'Presbyterians & Anabaptists had their meetings last Sabbath, but were 'dispersed by the officers.'

(3) Again on July 27, he writes [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 277, 112]: 'They are much troubled at Dover with an obstinate party of Anabaptists who persist in their old way notwithstanding they are dispersed; and when the law is put in force, they hinder it by shutting 'their doors & shops. Advise whether we may break open the doors & 'imprison the teachers.'

In 1671, spite the persistent application of the new Conventicle Act all the Nonconformist sects continued to flourish and increase.

On Feb. 2, 1671, John Carlile writes to Sir Joseph [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 287, 171]: 'On Friday last [which would be Jan. 27] the 'Mayor and jurats caused the Anabaptists' pulpit, forms, & benches to 'be pulled down, and upon Sunday morning' [Jan. 29] 'betimes the 'staples and locks were broke off, and the Anabaptists went to their old 'trade again. (At the Presbyterian Meeting-house we could not get 'in; those that hired it were so obstinate, they would not open the door, 'so we caused a lock to be hanged.)'

And on Oct. 28, 1671, he reports to Williamson [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 293, 183]: 'The Mayor, who is no great politician, is guided 'by a party, some Quakers, many Anabaptists; and most of them Non-'conformists, and excommunicated persons.'

From Hampshire come three representatives—viz., Richard Batchelaur, Isaac Chauncy, and Samuel Tomlyns.

7. RICHARD BATCHELAUR.

Richard Batchelaur comes from the northern borders of the county, where it abuts on Berks.

There is something so firm and characteristic in the handwriting of the memoranda which bear Richard Batchelaur's name, and especially in his signature; there is also something so fresh and forceful alike in their substance and their form that we cannot resist the impression that his personality was original and strong.

Calamy has little to tell us. In dealing with Somersetshire, he merely gives him as one of the ejected in that county. 'CAMLEY [R] 'MR. RICHARD BATCHELOUR.' (III. 181) But we learn more from Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses,'—viz., that Richard Batchelar (so he spells his surname) was the son of John Batchelar of 'Ashmersworth co: 'Southton'—in more modern phrase, of Ashmansworth in the county of Hampshire. Though of substance enough to give his son a University education, John Batchelaur was not heraldically one of the county 'gentry'; and so he is described in the College books as 'pleb.' Richard was born 1620, and matriculated from Lincoln College, Oxford, at the age of sixteen. He graduated B.A., June 9, 1649; and in 1653 was appointed Rector of Camley, Somerset, in the northern part of the county between Wells and Pensford. But his influence on that district must have been specially strong and deep. For in the Episcopal Returns for 1669, a Conventicle is reported at Camley, as actually held in the Parish Church. Seven years after his ejectment the Puritan party is strong enough to hold Nonconformist services in the Church and pulpit vacated by him! Thence he was ejected in 1662; when he returned to Ashmanshurst to live with his father.

But he could be neither silent nor inactive. For, seven years later, we learn (from the Conventicle Returns made 1669) that he was one of the preachers at Newbury, and away north at East Ilsley, both in Berkshire; though his name does not occur amongst the 'Heads and 'Teachers' in Hampshire. The family name appears in the Returns from the Basingstoke Deanery; where one Conventicle is reported in Kingscleare-Woodlands as 'Kept at one Nicholas Batchellor's house.' But the Conventicle is one of Quakers, whose numbers are 'not knowne.' 'The chiefe person that frequents this & all other meetings is one Henry 'Duckett, his Father a man of good estate—the rest of meane Quality.'* The only Head or 'Teacher' of it being 'Andrew Pyke the sonne of 'one Pyke a Shoomaker att Thacham.' [**R. 261***b*.]

Evidently, therefore, his friends in Nonconformity are northward over the border in Berks, rather than in his native county.

The particulars given of those Conventicles in which he preached are of unusual interest. They were both in the Arch-Deaconry of Berks.

At Newbury ('Newbery' it is spelt) (**R. 239***b*), the Conventicle with which he was connected is the first of no less than five Conventicles which are reported. It was held 'at M^{r} Bond's house, morning & 'Evening on Sundays, but since removed to severall houses. They are 'Presbyterians who gather there, to the number of 600 ordinarily at 'least, Ordinary persons, as to Qualitie'; 'all but M^{r} Rog^{r} Knight's 'wife; and the teachers include 'M^{r} Rich: Bachiler.' They are given thus: 'M^{r} Benjamin Woodbridge' (the minister ejected from Newbury), 'M^{r} Rich: Bachiler (*sic*), M^{r} Thomas Black of Chute, M^{r} 'Burges of Marlborough, M^{r} Hen Dent of Ramsbury, and M^{r} Tames '(James) of Stanes.' [Nor can I refrain from quoting the note appended by him who gives in the Report.] 'These meetings consists (*sic*) of 'such as have beene ingaged (as generally the whole towne was) in y^{e} late 'warre ag^{t} the King; And their abetto^{rs} are such as have been ejected 'upon y^{e} Act for Regulating Corporac̄ons.' Then follows—still on (**R. 239***b*)—the report for East Ilsley. There a Conventicle is held 'in a 'Barne of Thomas Cheesmans,' composed of 'Vulgar people from divers 'parishes'; its 'Teachers' being the householder, 'Thomas Cheesman, 'an Excommunicate person, and one Bachel^{r} of Hampshire' [clearly our Richard Batchelaur.]

All this is abundantly confirmed by the licence-memoranda of three years later (1672). There are four in his own neat forcible handwriting, three of them bearing his signature; and he asks and obtains licences not alone for himself, but for a friend across the border in Newbury.

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* In 1672 he was one of the signatories of a Petition [**321 (321)**] for Richard Avery to preach there, in William Jones's house; and in the Consistory Court Records at Winchester Cathedral we find him 'presented' (for non-attendance, etc.) on March 8, 1677, when he was fined £7; on November 22, 1678, when he was 'warned'; and on May 2, 1679, when he was excommunicated.

(i) The first [**321 (107)**] is endorsed: 'Batchelour's note,' and reads:

'Richard Batchelaur prayeth for a Licence to performe all Ministeriall Offices at his owne Houses within the Rectory of Eastwoodhay and Ashmansworth in the County of Soutħ, Master of Arts, Presbyterian; as likewise at any Place which is already or shall at any time hereafter bee allowed by the King's Most Excellent Majestie for Religious Meetings.

'Edward Fanner of Newbery in the County of Berks Presbyterian prayeth a License to bee granted by the King's Most excellent Ma^{tie} for performance of all Ministeriall Offices at his owne House there, or at any other place allowed as is abovesaid. Hee the sd Ed: Fanner is Presbyterian.

'Both to bee waited for by the said
'RICHARD BATCHELAUR.'

(ii) The second is a separate application for himself.

321 (108) 'A Licence for M^{r} Richard Batchelaur, Master of Arts, Presbyterian, to performe all Gospell Ministeriall Acts in his owne Houses and in any Meeting Places already granted or to bee granted by the King's most Excellent Majestie for the exercise of God's worship, is humbly desired

'RICHARD BATCHELAUR.'

'Purposeth (under God) to waite for the same, but prayeth dispatch with convenient expedition.'

The third, not signed—

(iii) **321 (109)**.

'Batchelaur
a Teacher — At Eastwoodhay } Hantshire
Ashmansworth }
Fanner
A Teacher
At Newbery in Berkshire'

(iv) The last—both dated and signed—shows his efforts crowned with success.

321 (110).

'May 13: 1672
Received Batchelaurs Person & place.
Received Fanners Person & Place
By mee
RICHARD BATCHELAUR.'

As unfortunately none of these are dated except the last, it is impossible to determine the intervals, if any, which elapsed between their presentation. At first glance there is an air of peremptory impatience in the footnote in **321** (**107**) : 'Both to be waited for,' etc. It looks a little like a 'stand and deliver' note presented to the Whitehall officials, as though this resolute applicant were determined that the licences should be made out while he waited in the office; and that he had told them that, God helping him, 'under God' he would not leave the office without the licences.

But second thoughts suggest a less 'categorical imperative.' It clearly means this only: that he had come up to London from Hampshire for this special purpose, and was determined to wait in town, until he could get the licences, and carry them back with him. So that there may have been an interval of some few days between the first request for both **321** (**107**) and the second, for his own [**321** (**108**)].

The third looks like a supplemental memorandum supplying simply the points with which the licence-forms had to be filled in, concisely summarizing **321** (**107**). And the fourth is the acknowledgment of the actual receipt of the Licences on the 13th of May.

Now one thing we do know—viz., that they were made out the very day he acknowledges their receipt. They are entered in **E.** (**102**), and the entries read (they are the first four entries on that page):

'The howse of Rich: Batchelour in the Rectory of Eastwoodhay & Ashmansworth in Southamptoñ. Presb. Meeting Place. 13 May

'Licence to Rich: Batchelour to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in the Rectory of Eastwoodhay & Ashmansworth Southampton. 13 May

'The House of Edw: Fanner in Newbury, Berks Pr. Meeting Place. 13 May

'Licence to Edw. Fanner to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Newbury, Berks. 13 May'

So that one of two things happened. Either, by good fortune, he made his last visit in the afternoon of the day in which the Licences had been signed and dated; or, he called early in the day when he presented **321** (**108**); and finding them still unmade, he simply waited until they could be produced. The 13th being on a Monday, he may have left **321** (**107**) on the previous Friday or Saturday. Anyway it was on Monday, the 13th of May, that he received the precious documents for his friend Fanner and himself, and returned home for nine brief months to exercise his 'ministerial gifts and offices,' without fear of interference, from bailiff, constable, or Justice of the Peace.

Was it another member of this family who, as Calamy tells us, (I. 299) was ejected from Eton? He gives us 'John Batchiler, M.A., 'Vice-Provost, of Eton College: of Emanuel College, Cambridge.' The name is so uncommon as naturally to suggest he was a brother of Richard.

One thing is pretty certain, that the Walter Bachiler who is one of the twenty signatories of 'The humble Petition' [**321** (**321**)] 'of divers 'of y^{e} inhabitants of y^{e} Parish of Kings cleare in y^{e} county of South-'ampton,' for licenses to Richard Averie to be a Presbyterian Teacher in 'an house appertaineing to M^{r} William Jones,' is one of his near kinsmen. [Kingscleare is not more than three or four miles from Richard's home in Ashmansworth.]

That the property in the two adjacent parishes of Eastwoodhay and Ashmansworth, which Richard inherited from his father, was a valuable one, is shown by the Returns of the Hearth tax. Each of the houses is much larger than any other assessed in these parishes; and his father must have died soon after he had retired from Camely, as the houses are assessed in his name and not in that of his father. There is little doubt that in going up to London he would cross the Hampshire border to Newbury and then traverse the fifty-six miles of the great high road to the Metropolis through Reading and Windsor or Staines, and by Hounslow and Chiswick, Hammersmith and Kensington to Charing Cross and Whitehall.

8. Isaac Chauncy.

The second Hampshire pilgrim is Isaac Chauncy from Andover.

His sphere of regular work was confined to North-West Hants, but his sphere of friendly service crossed the county border into Wilts, at Newton Tony.

Were we to judge the influence and service of Isaac Chauncy by the number of licence-memoranda in his handwriting, we should probably be over-estimating them. We have no less than eight, but only one is a Receipt [**321 (90)**]; and that shows that he actually secured and took away with him only four licences: two for Wilts, and two for Hants. Of the seven application-memoranda, moreover, two—viz., **320 (273)**, and **320 (274)**—are practically repeats, and were probably put in at the same time as duplicates; and the same may be said of two others—**320 (275)** and **320 (276)**—so that the seven are reduced practically to five effectives—viz., **320 (206)**, **320 (207)**, **320 (272)**, **320 (273-4)**, and **320 (275-6)**, showing that not more than six visits were paid to Whitehall to lodge the eight memoranda.

But they reveal a very strong personal element, which is explained largely by the character of Chauncy's career.

Isaac Chauncy was the eldest of six sons of a remarkable man, Charles Chauncy by name, who was for some years Puritan minister of Ware in Hertfordshire. His Puritanism, however, brought him into such trouble that he emigrated (like so many more) to New England. There his signal ability soon brought him into influence, and he became President of Harvard College, occupying that position during the whole of the period so troublous to Nonconformists in the Old Country, and dying there only a year before the Indulgence was declared. Several of his sons were distinguished like himself by their skill, both as physicians and as speakers.

Isaac was one of them, and Ichabod was another. Both of them settled in the West of England: Ichabod as a physician in Bristol, Gloucester; and Isaac as a minister in Woodborough, east of Devizes, in Wilts. From Woodborough, Isaac suffered ejectment in 1662, and thereafter he removed to Hampshire, labouring at Andover,* having gathered a Congregational Church there, and afterwards for a time in conjunction with Samuel Sprint ministering to a Union Church of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, though both ministers seem to have been Presbyterians.

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* That he had retired to Andover very soon after his ejectment is made probable by the fact that as early as May, 1664, he was 'presented' at Winchester for nonconformity—'. . . Chancey de Andover.'

About a month or six weeks after the appearance of the Indulgence Chauncy came up to London to secure licences for himself and his friends.

The first application he put in [**320 (206)**] was dated 'April 27, '1672,' and was for eight licences. Two of them were for Wilts County, but for Newton Tony, not far from the Hampshire border; the rest were for Hampshire—two for Longparish, one for Wherwell ('Horwell'), two for Longstock, and one for Andover; but none of these are for himself.

The second application paper **320 (207)** was for twelve, included the same two for Wilts, and four of the six for Hants; but this paper contained also six others for the same county, all centring in Andover, and amongst these were two for himself. The phrasing of his claim is a little puzzling. It is:

'Mr Isaac Chancy of Estonton neer Andover, Southtõ'

Of course, the 'Southtõ' is for 'Southamptonshire,' or Hants, but the 'Estonton neer Andover,' is not so easy to identify. It is undoubtedly the same with the 'Estontõ Andover,' which he appends to his signature of **320 (206)**. But the only town of the name of Easton in that north-western corner of Hampshire is Crux Easton, between Ashmansworth and Woodcott, fully eight or nine miles north of Andover. So that it is rather a stretching of terms to call it as he does 'neer Andover.' Still, there is a good road between them, and he may call it 'Easton by Andover,' to distinguish it from Easton by Winchester, which is quite twice as far away. If this is a correct identification, he would be quite near to Richard Batehelaur.

This view is supported—at any rate, not contradicted—by another application-memorandum, putting in claims for him, and for his friends, Samuel Sprint and James Brown, but apparently written (and sent to Whitehall) by some one else. (Was it Samuel Sprint, or James Brown?) It is numbered **320 (208)**; is endorsed by Benson 'Southampton,' and reads:

> 'Samuel Sprint of Upper Clatford in the County of Sowthampton being of the Presbiterian Preswaission desier Licence to Preach
>
> 'not appr. In the Towne Hall of Andover in the saeyd County or in any other Licensed Place
>
> 'Isacke Chancy of Easton towne in the sed County desiers Licence to preach in his One House or any other Licensed place hee being of the presbiterian Preswaisson
>
> 'James Browne of Lower Clatford in the sed County desiers Licence to preach in his One House or any other Licensed place hee being of the Presbiterian Preswaission.'

The curious spelling, so regardless of the etymology as well as the accustomed orthography of such words as 'said,' 'desires,' 'own,' and especially 'persuasion,' seems to rule out the authorship of the cultured Samuel Sprint, and makes it more probable that James Brown put it in. The recurrence of the unique spelling of 'persuasion' as 'Persswassion' in **320** (**72**), an application put in by Samuel Tomlins, of Upham, seems to suggest that it was put in by Tomlins.

Then there come a series or group of memoranda in **320**, all in Chauncy's handwriting—**272**, **273**, **274**, **275**, and **276**—all of them applications.

The first of them is dated May 2nd, and the two licences for himself and his house are entered as issued on May 1st, in **E.** (**55**) :

'Chancy Pr. East Town	'The howse of Isack Chancy of Easton Town in Southt̃on licensed to be a Pr. Meeting Place. 1 May 72
'East Town Pr. Southampton.	'License to Isack Chancy to be a Pr. Teacher in his 'howse in Easton Town Southampton. 1 May 72';

and there follow on the same page the entries of James Brown's licences for Lower Clatford ('Chatford' it is written), increasing the probability that the application **320** (**208**) was put in by James Brown. [For some strange reason Samuel Sprint's licences were not issued till the end of June, after the most persistent dunning of the Whitehall officials.]

Now April 27th, the date when he put in his first application, was a Saturday. There were only two 'working days' then between his first application and the issue of his licences—Monday, the 29th, and Tuesday, the 30th. Is it not unlikely, therefore, that Isaac Chauncy put in **320** (**207**), the first mem. in which his name appears on the Monday, and that his application was reinforced by James Browne's [**320** (**208**)] on Tuesday, so that when he calls on either Wednesday, May 1st, or Thursday, May 2nd, he finds his licences ready, and James Browne's as well. There is no memorandum of receipt preserved at the Record Office, so that we are left to conjecture, but I venture to submit that it is a very natural and probable one. By this time, he has been commissioned by other brethren, who have heard that he is in London to try to secure licences for them.

In the first of this series [**320** (**272**)] he asks for three licences for Wilts and two for Hants.

The Wilts licences are to be for one teacher and two houses in Marlborough. Now that is a clear memory of his old Wiltshire ministry, for Marlborough is scarcely five miles from Woodborough, whence he was ejected. The Hants licences are for a Baptist brother of Stoke for a place in Whitchurch on the Basingstoke road, nearer to Andover than 'Easton Town.'

320 (**273**) is undated, repeats the applications for Marlborough and for Whitchurch; adds one for his friend, Samuel Sprint, of Upper Clatford; and as Sprint's former application for the Town Hall has been rejected (it is marked in the margin of **320** (**208**) 'not appr.'), he substitutes for it an application for 'The Farm House in Newstreet, in

'Andover,' as a meeting-place for both Presbyterians and Independents. **320 (274)** is merely a duplicate of **320 (273)**. It is doubtful whether it is in Chauncy's hand.

The next shows that his patience is being tried. He has paid four visits at least to Whitehall for his friend Sprint without result, and in this **320 (275)**, after enumerating seven licences desired, all in Hampshire—those for Samuel Sprint being put first—he appends the note :

'These have been long waited for

'By me Is : Chañcy.'

320 (276) is simply a replica of the above [**320 (275)**], only in an abbreviated form. Neither of these are dated, but I should put them some days later than **320 (272)**, say May 7th or 8th, or his complaint would scarcely be justified even in the most impatient enthusiast.

And now we come to the last of his memoranda [**321 (90)**], the one Receipt in the whole. It is dated May 10th, and shows that he is able at last to take away the six licences which he had applied for in the very first memorandum he presented [**320 (206)**]—viz., the two for Newton Tony, Wilts, and four for Hants ; two persons and two houses in Longparish and Longstock. The entries of these are dated May 8th (Wednesday), which is nine days after they were applied for, and he carries them off two days later, May 10th (Friday). Beside these, another for which he had applied at the same time—viz., that for Mr. Hopkins' house in Wherwell—was issued May 8th (the same day as those which he took away on the 10th); but someone else must have called and received it for him. He had now been full three weeks in London, and he had to return to Hampshire without his friend Sprint's licences. Indeed, spite his efforts on Sprint's behalf, Sprint's licences were not issued till long after this. His personal licence was granted June 29th, but the licence for his house not for a month later, July 25th.

Calamy tells us that 'sometime after the recalling of Charles's 'Indulgence,' he came to London with the design of practising as a physician ; but that, after some years of 'practice,' he took to 'preaching' again, being chosen as the successor of Mr. Clarkson, who himself had succeeded Dr. John Owen. This pastorate he maintained for fourteen years, 1687-1701 ; for part of the time being Tutor to 'the Dissenting Academy in London.'

It is worthy of note that Isaac Chauncy evidently changed his views on Church polity, and that very late in life. For some years after his ejectment he was content to be regarded a Presbyterian. During his pastorate at Andover he called himself such ; and when in 1672 he applied for and obtained licences at Whitehall, it was as a Presbyterian Teacher that he put in his application and secured his licence. It is questionable whether his views even then were very strong for Presbyterianism, for he worked earnestly for the union of his Church with the other Andover Church, that of the Congregationalists, though in vain. He was quite as eager or willing to secure licences for Congregationalists as for Presbyterians. After leaving Hampshire, his first thirteen or fourteen years' residence in London as a physician gave him greater freedom to reconsider the whole problem, and when he resumed the ministry, it was to succeed Clarkson, a man of 'moderate principles' (but like Clarkson's predecessor a Congregationalist), and it was after he had been pastor just ten years that he published a Congregational Manual, entitled 'The Divine Institution of Congregational Churches.' 'London: Printed for Nathaniel Hiller, at the Princes Arms, in Leaden-Hall Street, over against St. Mary Ax, 1697.'

9. SAMUEL TOMLINS.

The third pilgrim from Hants is Samuel Tomlins from Central Hampshire.

This is the 'Samuel Tomlyns, M.A.,' of Calamy (II. 263), from whom we learn that he was a native of Newbury, Berks; was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; was presented to the Rectory of Crawley in 1655, and was thence ejected in 1662. Crawley is some seven miles north-west of Winchester. Calamy says that 'he afterwards preached privately as he had opportunity till he was called to a congregation at Winchester.'

To this, the Return of Bishop Morley in 1669 bears witness, for he is there reported [**R. 263**] as preaching to a Conventicle in Winchester. It is there described as a Conventicle of Presbyterians meeting 'Att the house of one Jones' in the parish of 'St. Michaels in the Soke at Winton,' and he is mentioned as one of two 'Heads & Teachers,' under the description 'Mr. Tomlins formerly Intruder att Crawley,' in association with 'Mr. Marshall, a violent Nonconformist' (doubtless W.M. ejected from Hursley).

Apparently, however, he was not living in Winchester, but in Upham, a place about as distant south-east from Winchester as Crawley is north-west; and in 1672 he came up to London specially to procure licences for himself, and places in which to preach. His application is rather original in form. It is contained in **320 (72)**, is endorsed by Benson, 'Southampton,' and reads:

'Samuel Tomlins, Late Minister & of the Presbiterian Perswassion Living in the pish of Upham in the County of Southamton desiers the Benefit of Our Most Gratious Majesties Declaration for Granting Liberty to preach in the Howse of Ann Complin widdow in the Citty of Winchester and Over the Markett House of the sayde Citty and in Order theire unto desiers a License for the same.'

His application is not dated, so that we have no means of judging whether the Whitehall officials were prompt or not in their response to it. But it must have been soon after the issue of the Declaration, since the licences which were both granted were dated April 13th—that is, less than a month after the Declaration appeared. They are entered on **E. (19)** and **E. (20)**:

'**E (19)**.
Tomlins
Pr.
Wintoñ

'Licence to Samuel Tomlins to be a Presb. Teacher in ye howse of Ann Complin in Wintoñ & over the Markett place of that Citty. 13 Apr. 1672.

'E (20).
Wintoñ
Pr.
Complins howse.

'The howse of Ann Complin in Wintoñ & over the Markett howse of the sd Citty licensed to be a Pr. Meeting place. 13 Apr. 1672.'

With regard to the 'place' or 'places' in Winchester, in which he desired licence to preach: the expression used by him in his application is a little ambiguous. 'The howse of Ann Complin in Winton & 'over the Markett howse of the s^{d} Citty' may mean either 'only one 'place,' the two phrases following the name 'Complin' being only a two-fold description of Ann Complin's house—viz., that it was in the City of Winchester, and was over the Market House. But the words may also mean two places—viz., Widdow Complin's house in the City, and the Room or Hall over the Market House. I am inclined to think that Tomlins intended the latter. The Whitehall officials astutely drew out the licence in exactly the terms of the application, and by implication the one place-licence implies that they took his words to mean 'one' place.

Samuel Tomlins, however, did not continue long to live in Upham. He came to live in Winchester itself. Of that fact we have indisputable evidence in the Records of the Consistory Court in Winchester Cathedral. They show him in the year 1679 to be alike a resident in St. Thomas's Parish in that city, and to be the object of very persistent persecution. His name appears first among the presentments for Nonconformity, May 2, 1679 (in the form apparently of persistent absence from the Parish Church), when he is fined seven shillings:

> '. . . . Tomlins, po^{ae} S^{cti} Thomæ Winton . . . vij^{s}'

This seems, however, to have been far from the first offence, for the note is added: 'paid hitherto for dismissions to M^{r} Bramston.'

The sentence is repeated, too, at Courts held a week later, May 9; a week after that, May 16—when the entry is:

> '1679. May 16. . . . Tomlins de Civitate Winton—Renovatur decr. vij^{s}';

and a fortnight after that there is a similar entry for May 30.

He is persistent in his offence; and his persecutors are persistent in their prosecutions; for he is presented again twice in June—the second time on June 27. But beyond this date they seem unwilling to accept mere fines, and in the beginning of July they excommunicate him, following up his excommunication two months later by his arrest and imprisonment. This the following entries clearly attest:

'1679. July 4.
'Samuelem Tomlins de Civitate Winton
'Dñus pronuntiavit eum contumacem, et in pœnam contumaciæ suæ
'excom fore decrevit
'M^{r} Henricus Andeson
'cl̄cus prædict
'eundem Samuelem Tomlins excommunicavit,
'in scripto prob^{t} in schedula.'

And on September 17, 1679, of a list of seven for whose arrest a warrant is issued, the second is Samuel Tomlins :

> ‘ Decernitur—significavit pro Corporis captione
> ‘ Rich̃i Avery
> ‘ Samuelis Tomlins
> ‘ &c ’

So that the last glimpse we have of Samuel Tomlins is as a faithful confessor, willing to suffer fines and imprisonment for conscience’ sake.*

V. SOUTH-WESTERN GROUP.

From the South-Western group we have six : three from Dorset, and three from Devon. None come up from Wilts, or Somerset, or Cornwall.

1. From Dorset the three are : Richard Harris, from Shaftsbury, on the borders of Wilts; Joshua Churchill, from Dorchester, Central South ; and John Hodder, from Hawkchurch, its extreme western limit.

1. Richard Harris.

Richard Harris, of Shaftsbury.

If I am right in placing him in the ‘ noble band,’ he will be the seventh Puritan layman who journeys to London to secure his licence —or, at any rate, visits Whitehall, and takes his licence away with him. I do so place him, on the strength of a note appended to **320** (**114**). This paper is an application - memorandum, endorsed by Benson ‘ Dorset and Devon ’, put in by John Hickes, who signs the paper, appending to his name the date ‘ 17 Ap: 72 ’ (*i.e.*, only a little more than a month after the Declaration of Indulgence had been published).

The application is for four licences in Devon and two in Dorset. The two in Dorset are both for Shaftsbury—the one a general licence for a Mr. William Eastman (who had been ejected from Everley, Wilts), and the other for the house of this Puritan gentleman, Richard Harris.

These two licences are entered on **E.** (**20**) as made out and issued that same day. They are the first two entries on that page :

‘ Shafsberry Pr. Harris howse	‘ The howse of Richard Harris in Shafsberry, Dorsetshire licensed for a Presb. Meeting place. 17. Apr. 72.
‘ Eastman Pr. Shaffsberry	‘ Licence to W^{m} Eastman to be a Presb. Teacher in any allowed place. 17. Apr. 72. of Shafsberry Dorsetshire. 17. Apr. 72.’

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* His fellow ‘sufferer,’ Richard Avery, had been ejected from some place (unknown to Calamy) in Berkshire [Cal. i. 296], in 1669, was chaplain to Mrs. Richard Cromwell in Hursley (**R. 263**) ; and in 1672, on the petition of twenty of the inhabitants of Kingscleare, was licensed to preach in the house of William Jones there.

The four licences in Devon, applied for on the same memorandum, are also entered on **E. (30)**, and follow these two without a gap. But they are not issued till the following day, April 18. I cannot help attaching special significance, therefore, to the note to which I have referred. A star placed between the Christian and surname of Richard Harris (on the last line of the application-memorandum) refers to a footnote, which reads thus : '* given him that night.'

Of course, it might 'possibly' (apart from dates) refer to the whole of the licences asked for in **320 (114)**, and mean that they were all given to John Hickes late the same day on which the application was made. The dates of issue of the licences preclude that supposition. It is only the two Shaftsbury licences which were made out and issued April 17—the same day on which John Hickes put in the application. So that it could be only these two which could be 'given out' that same day. As the asterisk, therefore, is affixed to Richard Harris's name, it is most natural to make the 'him' of the note to apply to Richard Harris; and as Mr. William Eastman's licence was ready also, it is most probable that Eastman's licence would be given out to Richard Harris at the same time—that night, the late evening of Wednesday, April 17.

The interpretation I put upon these data, then, is the following. Both Eastman, the preacher, and Richard Harris, the householder, had put their claims into the hands of John Hickes. John Hickes had acted with his usual promptitude. Some occasion had arisen, or opportunity had been given, for Richard Harris to come up to London, so that late in the afternoon he had called at Whitehall; and either while he waited for them, or when he called a little later, these two Shaftsbury licences were 'given him that night.' He would return with them to Shaftsbury by the first Salisbury coach — through Hounslow, Staines, Basingstoke, Whitchurch, and Andover (a run of eighty-one miles), and on to Shaftsbury (another nineteen)—a hundred miles in all.

2. Joshua Churchill.

He comes all the way from Dorchester, about twenty miles further than Richard Harris, from Shaftsbury. The first part of the way (about forty miles) on the main road from Bridport, through Blandford to Salisbury, and thence to London.

Calamy can tell us little about him (II. 129), save that he was ejected from Fordington, a suburb of Dorchester, on the road out to Winterbourne Came; and that some time after his ejectment he assisted Mr. Benn at Dorchester, and succeeded him there. The State Papers inform us that in 1663-64 he, with four other ejected ministers, had been 'with many other factious persons of Dochester com̃itted to prison on sus-'pic̃on of having an hand in the late treasonable plott,' and these 'Original 'Records' largely supplement Calamy's information. In 1665-66 the Bishop of Bristol reports of him (**R. 315**)—'M^r^ Churchill, late Vicar 'of Fordington'—that he 'is now Resident at Compton Valence afore-'said' : the last word referring to the further fact reported in the preceding line—that Mr. Thorne, late Rector of Radipole, was also residing there. For a time, then, he lived in retirement, as a neighbour of his fellow-sufferer, Mr. Thorne—at Compton Valence, and now East Compton, on the old Roman Road, about seven miles west of Dorchester. Though in retirement, however, he is not inactive. Three or four years later, in 1669, he is reported (**R. 243**) as one of the preachers at a Conventicle of '100 or 200,' held 'At Mr Thomas Graves 'and his sonnes house' in Donhead St. Andrew, right over the north-eastern border of the county, beyond Shaftsbury, in Wilts; as well as still at work among his old friends (**R. 247**)—preaching at 'a constant 'Conventicle' in Fordington of two hundred persons. Here he is associated with 'Mr Benn,' who had been ejected from Dorchester. Probably, therefore, it was in this mutual service at Fordington that he was preparing to take up the work at Dorchester as Mr. Benn's assistant. When the Indulgence was declared in 1672, the same energy which impelled him to evangelistic labour beyond the limits of his county drove him up to London, within a month from its publication, to secure licences for himself and his friends. Although the earliest memorandum that bears his name is undated, the date of the issue of the licence which he therein applied for shows that he must have travelled up to London either the end of the week preceding Sunday, April 14, or on the Monday or Tuesday following it.

There are two memoranda of application referring to licences for himself and a friend of his—viz., **320 (116)** and **320 (117)**; and though only the latter bears his name, it is difficult to resist the impression that he wrote (or, at least, presented) them both at Whitehall on Tuesday, April 16.

320 (116) is endorsed by Benson 'Dorsetshire,' and reads:

'Mr Joshua Churchill Teacher, of the Congregationall way.
'The meeting place at his own house in Dorchester in Dorsetshire & at Mr Benjamin Davenish's house in Fordington adjoyning.'

320 (117) reads:

'The house of Benjamin Devenish in Fordington in the County of dorsett for a meeting place for the Congregationall perswation.
CHURCHILL.'

The licences are granted immediately, and are entered as issued April 17, 1672, on **E. (29)**, in a form which is unusual, and which shows that Churchill's own separate application for his friend's house in Fordington has produced its impression on the official mind. The two houses (his own in Dorchester and Benjamin Devenish's in Fordington) are mentioned together in the Entry for the place-licence as well as in the personal, instead of being entered as two separate licences (though I imagine the two must have been actually issued):

'Churchill Congr. Dorchester	'Licence to Josuha Churchill to be a Congregationall Teacher in his owne howse in Dorchester & Benjamin Devenish's in Fordington. 17. Apr. 72.

'Dorchester
Congr.
Churchills
howse

'The howses of Josua Churchill in Dorchester & Benjamin Devenish's howse in Fordington to be a Congregationall Meeting place. 17. Apr. 72.'

These three licences were all ready for him, then, on the evening of Wednesday, April 17. He called at Whitehall the next day for **320** (**143**), a composite memorandum—the first part an application, and the second, a receipt, signed in full—'Joshua Churchill'—is dated 'Apr. 18, 72. Apparently, he did not think the licences he had already applied for could yet be ready: and the officials do not trouble to look them out and give them to him. So he goes away without them, merely leaving applications for two London brethren, and taking with him four licences for his own West Country—but only for Somerset and Gloucester, not for Dorset; for which he appends the curiously indefinite receipt:

> 'Receaved four Licences for Bristol, & Temple:Coome
> 'ꝑ me
> 'JOSHUA CHURCHILL.
>
> 'Apr. 18 72.'

They evidently were the licences for John Thompson, in John Harris's house, in Castle Street, Bristol; and for John Eaton in James White's house, in Temple Comb, in Somerset—entered on pp. **E.** (**22**) and **E.** (**23**), dated April 16—all of them Congregationalists. So were the two London brethren, who cannot go so far as Whitehall themselves, but must get a brother all the way from Dorchester to go for them! The application is in Churchill's handwriting, and is sufficiently peculiar in form and spelling to cite:

> 'Pray Licence for Francis Johnson M^r Arts who is of the perswassion com̄only called In. &c to preach in his owne house in St. Andrews parish Holborne
>
> 'The same for Wiłłm Beale in his house in St. Giles Cripplegate of y^e same perswassion &c.'

Francis Johnson had been Master of University College, Oxford (Cal. I. 257), and one of Oliver's chaplains. After his ejectment he had retired to 'the obscurity' of London, living 'in one of his own 'houses in Gray's-Inn-Lane, London' (Calamy). His licences, entered on **E.** (**194**), amply confirm Calamy's statement. They read:

> 'The howse of Francis Johnson in Grayes Inn, London Ind.
>
> . . . . .
>
> 'Licence to Fran: Johnson to be an Ind. Teacher in his own howse at Grays Inn Lane, London.'

William Beal had been ejected from Stow in the Wold, Gloucestershire (Cal. II. 254), and all Calamy has to say of him is that 'he died 'in London not long after his ejectment.' Evidently Calamy's informant was wrong in his chronology. He applies for, and through Joshua Churchill receives, licence to preach in his own house in Cripplegate 'ten years after his ejectment.'

The licences are entered **E. (188)** and **E. (194)**, only in the former his name is incorrectly spelt 'Beat.'

E. (188):

> 'Licence to W^m Beat to be an Ind. Teacher in his howse in Cripplegate, London.'

E. (194):

> 'The howse of W^m Beale in Cripplegate, London Ind.'

His will, too, shows that his family belonged to Gloucester City, and that he was living seven years after obtaining his licences in '3 King's Court, Whitecross Street.' It was proved April 14, 1679.

As these undated entries have other entries dated June 29 on the pages between them—**E. (190)**, **E. (191)**, and **E. (192)**—it is pretty evident that Joshua Churchill's application remained unattended to for ten or eleven weeks.

He appears to have remained in London some time. At any rate, it was not till nearly a fortnight had passed that he received his own licences and that of his friend Benjamin Devenish. It was on May Day he went, and he seems to have met in Sir Joseph Williamson's Office two other stalwarts in this matter of securing licences under the Indulgence—Richard Steele (Philip Henry's friend) and James Innes, junior (the Nonconformists' universal provider). At any rate, the paper **320 (242)**, on which he acknowledges the receipt of his licences, is used also for a similar purpose by them both, as is testified by the two signed lists which follow his.*

It would also appear—from **320 (177)** and **320 (182)**—that some one had applied for another Congregational meeting-place in Fordington, and for two licences for the Congregationalist Edward Dammer, of Winterbourne Stickland (between Blandford and Dorchester); and he takes these two latter with his own, as well as two for Daniel Bull, of Stoke Newington. It seems a 'far cry' from Dorset to Stoke Newington—a northern suburb of London. But the connection was a real one. Daniel Bull must have been a friend of Edward Buckler, who had been ejected from Bradford Abbas, for in 1669 he is reported (**R. 247***b*) as preaching with him to 'Severall Conventicles uncertaine,' 'of 60 or 80,' 'At the house of Michael Hervey Esq^r a Justice of the Peace' in the parish of 'Yetminster & Clifton' which borders on that of Bradford Abbas. . . . Was Joshua Churchill staying with Daniel Bull?

Joshua Churchill would not prolong his stay much in London after receiving his licences, on May 1. But he did not leave the Whitehall Office before he had left three separate application-memoranda for three Dorset friends. The first [**320 (264)**] was for his colleague and chief in the work in Dorchester. It is endorsed by Benson 'Dorset,' and reads :

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* The form of the receipt, too, bears incidental testimony to the pressure of business at Whitehall in this licence department on that May Day, 1672. He receives the licences, not from Sir Joseph Williamson nor even from Francis Benson, his chief clerk, but from a subordinate, Mr. Reynolds. It is signed: 'Rece^d of 'M^r Alexander Raynolds this first day of May 1672 the Licenses for the places & 'persons above mencōned. I say, rec^d by me, Joshua Churchill.'

> 'M^r^ William Ben of Dorchester of the Congregationall perswation, at the house of Philip Stansby in Dorchester in the County of Dorset'

The second [**320** (**265**)] was for another Congregationalist of Dorchester :

> 'M^r^ Benjamin Way of Dorchester of the Congregationall perswation for the house of M^r^ William Hayden in Dorchester in the County of Dorset'

And the third is for a third Congregational brother, of East Morden, on the ridge between Beer Regis and Wimborne Minster [**320** (**266**)] :

> 'M^r^ Philip Lamb of the Congregationall perswation, for his owne house at East Morden in the County of Dorset'

These memoranda are not dated, but the licences were all issued that same May Day. William Ben's are entered on **E.** (**57**), Benjamin Way's on **E.** (**61**), and Philip Lamb's on **E.** (**62**) ; and James Innes, junior, called for them, probably on the 2nd or 3rd of May, for he acknowledges the receipt of these six and fifty-one others on one memorandum, numbered **320** (**295**) ; which is placed—together with seven other undated memoranda—between **320** (**287**), which is dated 'May y^e^ 2nd 1672,' and a letter, **320** (**296**), which is dated 'May 3^d^ '1672.'

Probably, therefore, we may picture Joshua Churchill calling at Whitehall early—with Richard Steele and James Innes, junior—receiving his six licences, and leaving his three application-memoranda ; returning to Mr. Daniel Bull's at Stoke Newington to leave his two licences with his host, and the following day returning to Dorchester by stage coach the way he came.

One other fact about him is revealed by these documents—viz., that he was one of the ministers who signed 'The humble acknowledgment 'of severall Nonconforming ministers of the County of Dorset' [**321** (**77**)] —which, from the endorsement in Francis Benson's hand, was presented Friday, May 10. The names of his Dorchester friends stand high up upon the list. His own chief's name, indeed, 'W^m^ Ben,' stands second ; and Benjamin Way's fifth ; but he signs last in the middle column of the three columns of autograph signatures which are appended to the acknowledgment.

That, again, makes it the more probable that he returned to Dorchester soon after May 1 ; and that as soon as he had personally delivered their licences to his friends in Dorchester, he would set them and other Dorset Nonconformists upon the project of sending up this 'Acknowledgment' to the King, bringing word—from what he had heard himself at Whitehall—that such an expression of gratitude and loyalty would be specially welcome at Court.

And so we catch glimpses of his fortnight in London, from about the middle of April to the first week in May.

Was he any relative of Awnsham Churchill, the publisher of Locke's 'Letter of Toleration'? The two brothers—Awnsham and John Churchill—carrying on business (1689) at the 'Black-Swan, in 'Ave-Mary-lane, near Pater-Noster-Row,' published Locke's Second and Third Letters, and such books as Rushworth's 'Historical Collections,' Bishop Hall's Works, Dr. Burnet's 'Travels,' &c. They were also associated with Abel Swale, as publishers of the valuable series of County Maps by Rob^{t} Morden. Each map has this note affixed at foot:

'Sold by { Abel Swale
Awnsham &
John Churchill'

The Town Records of Dorchester show—in a way, I believe, to be quite unique—the importance in the eyes of the Corporation of the licences which Nonconformist ministers in the town had secured. Only a week after the Acknowledgment had been sent up to the King every one of the licensees came to the Town Hall and exhibited their licences, so that all the Town officials might know that they had now the King's authority to meet for worship, according to the dictates of their conscience, outside the parish churches and in methods other than those prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. In addition to those, too, which Joshua Churchill had been instrumental in securing, there were three which had been obtained by George Hammond (the Presbyterian), in response to a Petition addressed by ten of the citizens direct to the King [**321** (**197**b)]. The entries in the Town Records are as follows:

'17 May 1672.

'This day M^{r} William Ben ꝑduced his Ma^{ties} Licence to bee a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by his Ma^{ty} in the Roome of M^{r} Phillip Stansby in Dorchester. Dat 1mo May 1672 for y^{e} us of such as doe not conforme

'the same day M^{r} Benjamin Way ꝑduced the like for the house of M^{r} W^{m} Heydon in Dorch: for y^{e} us of such as doe not conforme

'M^{r} Georg Hamon ꝑduce the like for y^{e} Presbiterian ꝑswasion in any place 4 Aprill 1672 [N.B.—The date was really April 11, 1672—*vide* **E. (10)**.]

'M^{r} Georg Hamon ꝑduceth two other Licenses date the 8 day of May 1672 one for y^{e} place—viz^{t} att M^{r} John West's howse in Dorcĥ: & John Marsh howse

'M^{r} Joshua Churchill ꝑduced the like for himselfe a Congregational teacher in his owne howse in Dorchester.'

The Town Records also give ample proof that Philip Stansby, whose house was licensed to receive Mr. Ben's congregation, was one of the most prominent and influential of Dorchester's citizens.

In 1647, October 8, he was chosen 'Governor of Dorchester 'Hospital.'

In 1654 he was chosen a Capital Burgess—in the place of James Gould, dispossed.

In 1656 he was made Bailiff, and in 1657 he was elected Mayor.

In 1660 he acted as Alderman, and in 1661 he was chosen Steward of the Hospital.

3. JOHN HODDER.

The third man from Dorset was John Hodder.

That is, according to modern maps and modern gazetteers, for he came from Thorncombe—which, according to these, is reckoned in Dorset. Not so, on the evidence of ancient maps or of these licence-documents — according to which Thorncombe is in Devon, though Devon 'detached,' being cut off from the body of the county by a strip of Dorset running up almost to Chard, in Somerset.

There is no doubt, however, about his being a Dorset man, both by birth and by virtue of the sphere of his ministry.

Calamy has little to tell us of him (Cal. II. 130). He simply gives us Hawkchurch, in Dorset, as the place whence he was ejected, adding that 'after his ejectment' he usually preached at Mr. Henley's at Colway House, near Lyme. From Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses' we know that he was born in 1627 at Beaminster (which was only a few miles from Thorncombe and Hawkchurch, and, without question, in Dorset), of which his father, and namesake, was Rector; that he matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, in 1642; and, after leaving 1662 (so that he was then a man of thirty-five, in the prime of his College, was Rector of Hawkchurch, Dorset, till he was ejected in vigour).

He was a great Loyalist, Calamy tells us, though a strong Puritan, and a powerful preacher. After his ejectment—though Calamy's statement may be true that he preached often at Colway, just north of Lyme Regis—the Episcopal Returns make it clear that he retired to Thorncombe, where he had bought or inherited an estate, on which he lived some considerable time. Indeed, he seems to have become the centre of a little colony of ejected Nonconformist ministers, just as John Hickes did, first at Saltash, Cornwall, and afterwards at Kingsbridge, Devon. In 1665-66 Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, reports him as living there. In the résumé (**R. 307***b*), amongst the seventy-three Nonconformist ejected Ministers he returns as living in his diocese, he reports in 'Thorn-'combe. 27. John Hodder. 28. Mr Branker. 29. Mr Wakeley & '30. Mr Trottle'; and in his fuller account of 'Nonconformists' in the 'Honyton Deanery' (**R. 402***b*), he describes him and his friends as follows:

> 'Mr John Hodder sometymes minister of Hawkchurch in Dorsett, now liveing in Thorncomb on his owne demeasne
> 'Mr Branker sometymes minister of Sturminster Newton in Dorsett teaching schoole in Thornecombe
> 'Mr Wakeley sometymes minister of Laurence Lydiat in Somersett now liveing in Thornecombe on his own demeasnes
> 'Mr Trottle sometymes minister in Dorsett now living in Thornecombe.'

So that with him in this isolated part of County Devon were settled two brother ministers from Dorset, both from the valley of the Stour—Mr. Trottle, from Spetisbury (Mr. Palmer has been able to supply the information as to the parish in Dorset whence he was ejected [*vide* Index]), and Mr. Branker, from Sturminster Newton (high up the river, in the neighbourhood of Stalbridge and Shaftsbury), who was ekeing out a livelihood there by teaching school; and one from over its northern border, from Laurence Lydiat (half-way between Williton and Taunton), who, like himself, had bought or inherited a little estate, so as to make Thornecombe his settled home.

That he did not lay aside his spiritual ministry—and was actively associated with Mr. Wakeley in it—we have proof in the Episcopal Returns of three or four years later. In 1669 Seth Ward's successor (Anthony Sparrow) reports (**R. 185***b*) three Conventicles in Thornecombe—one of Quakers, 'incõsiderable' in numbers; and two other of Presbyterians—one held in the house of Edmund Prideaux, Esq. (Prideaux was a great family name in Devon and Cornwall), and the other in the houses of John Wakeley and John Hodder (whom he describes as 'Noncõformists'), consisting of 'about 100, oftentimes more,' and ministered to by these two brethren 'the said M^r^ Wakely & M^r^ Hodder.'

And now, three years later—not two months after the publication of Charles's Indulgence—we find John Hodder coming up to London early in May, 1672, to secure licences for himself and friends.

He had already commissioned Stephen Ford (of Southwark) to act for him, and in **320 (56)**, which Benson endorses 'Ford's note,' the second item on his list of applications is:

> '2. A Lycence for M^r^ John Hodder of Thorncombe. And for M^r^ John Wakeley's house in Thorncombe in y^e^ County of Devon.
> y^e^ people are of y^e^ presbiterian perswasion'

The licence is not forthcoming; and we find James Innes, junior, next taking up their case, and presenting it with that of a lay friend in Hawkchurch in a long list of thirty-five, in these terms [**320 (227)**]:

> 'M^r^ John Hodder of Thorn=combe in Devoñ. Presb.
> his own house there & a house or outhouse belonging to Tho: Moor Esq^r^ in Hawkchurch in Dorcett'

His old parishioners are evidently anxious to recover his ministry under the ægis of the Royal Indulgence. But young Innes is not successful either (the first time of asking), so he puts in another long list, **321 (20)**, and Hodder's name heads the list:

> 'M^r^ John Hodder Presb.
> his own house in Thorncombe Devon
> a house belonging to Tho: Moore Esq^r^ in Hawkchurch in Dorcett'

This time the application is successful, for all three of these licences are granted, and entered as issued May 8, 1672, on **E. (78)**:

'Licence to John Hodder to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Thornecomb, Devoñ. 8 May 72.

'The howse of Thomas More Esq^r in Hawk Church Dorsett Pr. Meeting Place. 8 May 72.

'The howse of John Hodder in Thornecomb, Devon Pr. Meeting Place. 8 May 72.'

There is no memorandum of receipt preserved in the Record Office; but, as we have an application-memorandum for licences for West Country friends signed by him, and dated the same day his own licences were issued, I take it that he had come up to London on the Monday or Tuesday, May 6 or 7; and, calling on Wednesday afternoon (the 8th), had found them ready, and received them—putting in his application **321** (**26**) before he left the Office. It is endorsed by Benson, 'Hodder's note.'

It is for one licence for Somerset and four for Dorset. It reads:

'A Licence ffor M^r Robte Pinny of Chard parish. Presb: Som^rst.

'A Licence ffor M^r Edward Dammer of Dorchester. Congr.

'A Licence ffor the house of M^rs Dorothy Chaplain in Trinity pish in Wareham Dors^t Presb.

'A Licence ffor M^r James Hallett of Winterbourne Kingston Dors^t Presb:

'A Licence ffor the house of M^rs Woolfrey in Winterbourne Kingston for Presb:

'A Licence for the house of M^r John Damer in Cerne, Dors^t ffor a meeting, for those of y^e Presb:

'Desir'd by mee
'JOHN HODDER
'May y^e 8th.'

As we find young Innes taking up several of these cases, and fetching the licences away from Whitehall—when granted—over a week later, it is natural to conclude that John Hodder returned to Thornecomb as soon as he had received the licences in which he was most deeply interested—those for himself as a preacher, for his own house in Thornecomb, and for his friend Mr. Moor in his old parish of Hawkchurch.

His name appears in the 'Thanks of the Non Conformists Ministers 'of Dorsett,' which is dated '10 May 72'; and, rather significantly, it is last on the long list of thirty-eight. Had he returned in time to append his name just before it was sent up to London? or, did he hear that it was coming, and wait in London to sign it there? His was a long journey—quite twenty-five miles to Dorchester, and thence the same long ride which Joshua Churchill had taken a week before.

2. From Devon three journeyed up to London: one from Ottery St. Mary, in the south-east of the county; one from Kingsbridge, at the extreme south central; and one from the extreme north-west. But the second of this trio—John Hickes, from Kingsbridge, took so special

a part in what led up to the Declaration, was so active in securing licences for his friends, and had a character and career altogether so remarkable, that a special place has been assigned to him.

(1) Robert Collins.

It was Robert Collins who came up from Ottery St. Mary.

Dr. Calamy gives a very full account of him (II. 74-77). He notes him as ejected from Tallaton, and says that 'after his ejectment he 'lived at Ottery St. Mary, where he had an estate of about 100*l.* per 'ann. He was much respected by the good people of the town and 'places adjacent, who usually attended on his ministry in the public 'church, and were now desirous to enjoy it in a more private way. 'He preached therefore in his own house, between the morning and 'afternoon service; and usually, with his family, attended the public 'worship in the afternoon.'

In his Return of 1665, Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, reports him as then already living in Ottery St. Mary. In the Summary (**R. 307***b*) he is noted '19. Rob. Collins. Conventicle hold^{r}'; and in the fuller Return (**R. 399***b*) he mentions him first amongst the 'Non-Conformist 'Ministers' in the Westbeare Deanery. The Bishop's account of him is far fuller than that of any one else. These are his words:

'M^{r} Robert Collins, sometymes Rector of Tallaton & eiected for inconformity, lives now in Ottery St. Mary in his owne house neare the Church, where he keepes Conventicles frequently but especially upon Sundayes in tyme of divine Service to the Scandall of many; but for want of a Justice of the Peace, The Churchwardens or Constables dare not enter the house to take them, and their privacy is such that they cannot yet proove enough agst them to convict them by Lawe; I am told he was never at Church in y^{e} tyme of Com̃on prayer, since the Act of Conformity, and is a very pertinacious Nonconformist.'

It will be noted that the Bishop's informants give a very much harsher view of his conduct than Dr. Calamy's. Indeed, the two accounts do not square. The Bishop's man asserts that he held his Conventicles during Divine Service in the Church: Dr. Calamy's, that it was between the morning and afternoon service; the former that he was never at church in the time of Common Prayer after 1662, while the latter says his usual practice was to attend public worship in the parish church in the afternoon.

In 1669, again, Anthony Sparrow (who had succeeded Seth Ward in the Diocese of Exeter) returns (**R. 285***b*) two Conventicles in Ottery St. Mary, the first of which, he reports, as numbering 'about 200,' consisting 'of few gentry, but ma(n)y tradesmen of good note,' as held 'att y^{e} house of Robert Collins a gent. of a good estate,' and the Teacher in it 'y^{e} said Robert Collins being a Non-Conformist minister.'

Calamy says: 'He lived very peaceably till the Conventicle Act took 'place.' It is clear, however, that by this he meant not the First Conventicle Act, which was passed in 1664, but the Second—which revived the lapsed Act, in many respects with greater rigour—in 1670: for the events he so vividly describes (pp. 74 and 75) belong to the months of September and October in that year.

Calamy apparently did not know of his obtaining any licences under the Declaration of Indulgence. Yet this he did, and probably not through the mediation of any friend in London. He seems to have journeyed up to town, and made his application in person at Whitehall. If he did so, however, it was not at Lord Arlington's Office, but at Lord Clifford's. The memorandum of his application is preserved in **320 (147)**. It reads:

> 'Robert Collins Master of Arts pray a Licence to preach in his owne howse in yᵉ parish of St. Mary Ottery in yᵉ County of Devon being of the Presbysterien Judgmᵗ
>
> 'delivered to Mʳ Treasurer's man
>
> 20. Apr. 72.
>
> 'Given in by Mʳ Treasurer's servant
>
> 19. Apr. 72.'*

Of the five applications put in for him, the first two (by some strange misadventure or error) were only for his house as a Presbyterian meeting-place. These were: **320 (114)**, put in by John Hickes, April 17, 1672; and **320 (125)**, a long list, apparently drawn up by Mr. Benson from applications handed in by different persons at different times, endorsed by him, 'Persons & Places desired to be licensed,' and awaiting attention, dated the following day, '18 Apr. 1672.'

In John Hickes's application **320 (114)** the line referring to him reads: 'Mʳ Robert Collings his house in St. Mary Ottery.' In the official list of **320 (121)** it reads:

> 'License desired for the howse of Rob: Colling in St. Mary Olbery (?) Devoñ to be a Presbyterian Meeting-Place.'

A third application (handed in apparently the same day that the official list was made up) is so loosely drawn up that we scarcely know whether it be intended to supplement the former application, by asking a personal licence as well. It also is put in by John Hickes, is numbered **320 (145)**, and is headed 'Names of Persons & places.' The thirteenth line in it reads:

> 'Robert Collings of Sᵗ Mary Ottery.'

As the 'houses' mentioned distinctly are all placed at the end, these first may be meant for 'persons.' If so it would be put in by John Hickes after he had taken away the licence for Collins's house—that Thursday (April 18).

The licence was made out at once, and issued that same day, Apr. 18.

E (30).
St. Mary Ottery
Pr.
Collings howse.

> 'The howse of Rob. Colling in St. Mary Ottery, Devoñ, licensed to be a Presb. Meeting place. 18. Apr. 72.'

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* My first and long-continued impression was that this memorandum was to be so interpreted; still, it may be questioned whether it is more than one of the five applications put in for him by others, this one, given in at Lord Clifford's office, while all the rest were handed in at Lord Arlington's.

The fourth application, and the first of the series which distinctly asks for a teacher's licence for Robert Collins, as well as one for his house, is **320** (**147**), and is the one which has led me to put him amongst 'the noble thirty-eight.' It concerns his case alone. It is endorsed simply 'Devon,' and very clearly and fully expresses his 'desire.'

> 'Robert Collins Master of Arts pray a Licence to preach in his owne house in y^{e} parish of S^{t} Mary Ottery in y^{e} County of Devoñ being of the Presbyterien Judgm^{t}.'

Appended to it are the two notes:

> 'delivered to M^{r} Treasurer's man
> 20. Apr. 72
> 'Given in by M^{r} Treasurer's servant
> 19. Apr. 72.'

The unequivocal meaning of these two notes is that the note of application constituting the body of the document was committed to Sir Thomas Clifford; that he sent it round by his servant to Lord Arlington's Office on Friday, April 19; and that the licences were delivered to his man the following day, Saturday, the 20th.

Meantime, another application had been put in almost certainly on Friday the 19th, in which the Clerk has made a sad muddle.

It is in the second part of **320** (**151**); endorsed by Benson: 'Southwark, Yorkshire, Surrey' the first of the three items which that second part contains:

'in S^{t} Mary Ottery Southwark' (this in Benson's handwriting)

'M^{r} Robert Collins preacher, and his own House the place of 'Meteinge.'

It is odd that a man of such intelligence as Benson should have confused St. Mary Ottery (Devon) with St. Mary Overie (Southwark), especially in a case with which they had dealt in the Office already; but it is a proof of the special interest this application had excited in the Office, and that Sir Joseph Williamson himself has appended to it the word 'Presbyt.' to supply the lack of denominational description.

The application which thus comes to Sir Joseph's Office from the Treasurer, and which has commanded Sir Joseph's special attention, is made out the first thing next day. See the entries on **E.** (**37**) and **E.** (**38**).

E. (**37**). 'St. Mary Ottery Pr. Collins howse.	'The howse of Rob: Collins in S^{t} Mary Ottery's Parish Devoñ licensed to be a Presb. Meeting Place. 20. Apr. 72.'
E (**38**). 'Collins Pr. St. Mary Ottery	'License to Rob: Collins to be a Presb. Teacher in his howse in the Parish of S^{t} Mary Ottery, Devoñ. 20. Apr. 72.'

The stir made in Sir Joseph Williamson's Office by it is doubtless due to the fact that the application was brought round by Sir Thomas Clifford's liveried servant. It certainly did make an unwonted stir; for they made out two fresh licences, although they had given out one for

Collins's house only two days before, and all that was really wanted was to make out a fresh one for Collins as teacher there.

The question, however, which is most interesting to us, is how did the application-memorandum come into Sir Thomas Clifford's hand? It is natural to suppose that it was made out by Collins himself. He tries to enlist Sir Thomas's personal influence because of his connection with that part of Devon. Sir Thomas was a Devon man and was M.P. for Totnes.

Of course, he may have sent it to Sir Thomas by post. But I think on the whole it is more probable—as it certainly would be more interesting to suppose—that he came up to London and called on the Treasurer at his Office, at the western end of the building, and left the application with him. Sir Thomas Clifford would tell him to call the following day; and calling, he would receive the licences which Sir Thomas had sent for the first thing, so as to have it ready for his applicant from the west.

(2) WM. ATKINS.

From the extreme north-west came William Atkins.

This William Atkins is the eighth case of a layman. He is a strongly convinced Nonconformist Presbyterian resident in Hartland, Devon, who comes all the way to London from that north-west corner of Devon to secure a licence for his house, that it may become a duly authorized Presbyterian meeting-house. The application paper he put in is preserved in **321** (**372**), and reads:

'William Atkin of the pish of Hartland & County of Devon, being a presbeterian desires his house in Hartland may be licensed according to the Kinges declaration for Licensed Ministers to preach in & the same Licence to be delivered to

'WM. ATKINS.'

There are two Atkinses mentioned by Calamy. Was William Atkins connected with either?

Robert Atkins, M.A., through the personal influence of Mr. T. Ford had left Coopersale in Essex, and come to Exeter; for a few months had preached at St. Sidwell's while the choir of the Cathedral was being prepared for congregational worship, and then for several years had ministered there as colleague of Mr. Ford to a vast auditory, the Choir having been walled off from the nave to make it a separate chapel, and called generally East St. Peter's. (Cal. II. 32-35.)

In 1660, with the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church and the Prayer-Book service, the partition-wall was removed, the Choir and Choral service were restored, and both Mr. Ford and Mr. Atkins were ejected from the Cathedral.

Mr. Atkins was not driven from Exeter, but was appointed to St. John's. He could not conform to the Act of Uniformity and was ejected a second time (1662). He continued to live in Exeter, preaching as he had opportunity, spite the malignant persecution of the Episcopalians, till his death in 1685.

The second, Samuel Atkins, is mentioned by Calamy as among those who 'exercised their ministry in Devon, after the Uniformity Act, 'though they were not fixed at the time'; but all he tells us of him is that 'he died young' (II. 114).

Calamy says of Robert that he was 'the youngest son of 15 'children. . . .' Was William Atkins one of his elder brothers, who had settled in the opposite corner of the county?

This lay-pilgrim has to make by far the longest journey to reach London. He would have first to post to Bideford, and thence reach the great London road by journeying almost due south through Torrington and Hatherleigh to Oakhampton; or going on to Barnstaple through South Molton (by either Tiverton or Crediton) to Exeter, whence his road would lie through Honiton and Axminster to Bridport and Dorchester, thence traversing the same route taken by Joshua Churchill.

VI. WALES.

From Wales there are two, who both come from that beautiful peninsula of Gower, which has been called 'Little England' beyond Wales; and both from the same town—Swansea.

They are Stephen Hughes and Daniel Higgs.

1. Stephen Hughes.

Stephen Hughes was one of the Welsh Nonconforming clergy. Calamy (III. 498, 499) gives us this name as ejected from Mydrym (or Mydrim) in Carmarthenshire, in the valley of the Kathgenny, north of St. Clare (or St. Clear). He was a native of Carmarthen, so that his living was not far from his home. But some time after his ejectment, Calamy tells he married 'a pious woman in Swansey, whose portion, 'frugality, and industry, contributed very much to his comfortable 'subsistence and future usefulness.'* By this modest competence he was able to print many useful works in Welsh; did much to encourage the illiterate to learn to read and write; and was an indefatigable evangelist, often riding eight or ten miles between two preaching services upon the same day. He was much persecuted and suffered long and close imprisonment in his native town.

Now the bare facts furnished by the licence-memoranda are rather puzzling; though they are naturally co-ordinated by the information supplied in Calamy's account.

His friends in England move early for him. In the first or second week in April, Richard Steele† applies on his behalf for licences for him to preach at Llanstephan on the southern border of his county, at the mouth of the Tovy, and at Penkader near its northern border.

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* As he had no home in Mydrim to which to ask her, he apparently went to live with her; at any rate, he settled down in Swansey.

† Were they college friends? Richard Steele was educated at Cambridge. Calamy does not seem to know anything of Hughes' education.

The memorandum of application is **320 (84)**; but a second application had to be made **320 (86)** before the licences were issued. Yet the three licences were ready by April 17, 1672 [**E. (26)**].

It must have been about this time that he determined to go up to London himself. He seems to have gone up with a second Nonconformist minister—viz., Daniel Higgs. His friend is before him in any personal visit to Whitehall; and Stephen Hughes' house in Swansea is one of the objects of Higgs's application. Most probably this was part of his wife's portion, which was such a practical help to the ejected minister. At first glance one would be tempted to conclude that they were living there.

There is good reason, however, to believe that they were not; and it is a practical proof of their religious earnestness that they should wish their house to be used as a place of Nonconformist worship; and it is a token of their ecclesiastical consistency that it should be licensed as a Congregational meeting-place, like those other three houses in Gower (at Bishopston, Nicholaston and Rhoscilly), which were licensed not for himself, but for Daniel Higgs to preach in. The application is made by Daniel Higgs on **320 (233)**. The licences were granted and issued April 30, 1672 [**E. (39)**].

Stephen Hughes's first visit to Whitehall seems to have been made in Daniel Higgs's company, for the first memorandum that bears his signature [**320 (235)**] bears Daniel Higgs's as well. It is a receipt form bearing no date, but acknowledging on his part the receipt of six licences —three for Glamorgan and three for Pembroke.

These licences had been all issued on April 30, so that Hughes and Higgs must have been in London together some fortnight or so before Hughes ventured with Higgs into the precincts of the Court in Westminster. Hughes's first visit seems to have been Higgs's last. Higgs returned to Swansea with what Welsh licences they had secured; and Hughes stayed on to receive more.

That was not till May 20, when he leaves the following memorandum:

321 (214):

> 'May the 20th 1672
>
> 'Received then a License for James Davies to preach in his owne house at Cardigan and another for Jenkin Jones to teach in his owne house at Kilgerran in Pembrokeshire
>
> 'In witnes whereof have heere unto set my hand
>
> 'STEPHEN HUGHES.'

It would be soon after this that he would return to Wales, not, I imagine, to Swansea, but to Carmarthen. I come to that conclusion for these reasons: Carmarthen was his native town; was comparatively near the village of Mydrim, whence he had been ejected; was a natural point from which to work Llanstephan in the south and Penkader in the north (the two places for which he had obtained licences through his friend Daniel Higgs, which were quite unworkable from Swansea), accessible to Kilgerran and Cardigan, the licences for which he took with him from London; and all too natural a place for him to be imprisoned in, as he would not observe the Statutes against Nonconformity.

2. DANIEL HIGGS.

Though wholly devoted to his Welsh flock in Gower, and closely associated with Stephen Hughes in this licence enterprise, Daniel Higgs was not a Welshman. He was a native of Chaddewich in Worcestershire, not far from Bromsgrove, to the north.

Calamy (III. 503, 504) calls it Chadwitch [Bartholomew marks it as Chadwick ('Manor' and 'Grange')]. Calamy tells us nothing of his schooling or collegiate education, save what is implied in his degree 'M.A.,' which he religiously preserves. But from Foster's 'Alumn., Oxon,' we learn he matriculated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Jan. 29, 1648-49, and graduated B.A., July 4, 1651.* He was appointed—one would like to know the why? (there must have been one)—to the little Rectory of Rhoscilly ('Rossilly,' Calamy calls it), right away in the western extremity of the peninsula of Gower.†

What a journey in those days, from his home, on his first settlement there! First down to Bromsgrove, and through Droitwich to Worcester, down the Severn Valley to Gloucester, and then skirting the Estuary, through Chepstow and Newport and Cardiff, across to Bridgend and by Baglan to Neath; across the Neath River to Morriston and Swansea, whence he would keep the high ground through Sketty and Killay past Ilston; through the lovely glen of Park Mill, Penmaen and Nicholaston, and by Penrice or Oxwich along the upland, leaving Port Eynon on the left (overhanging its lovely bay), through Pilton and Middleton to his destination. His Rectory looked down upon the three miles stretch of the purest sands to be seen in the British Isles (edging Rhossili Bay, due north and south), with the splendid headland just west of it commanding the beauties of Mewslade Bay, and the grand series of cliffs that run south-east right away to Port Eynon, and flanked by the chain of fantastic rocks which straggle out due west into the ocean, with the queer but appropriate title of Worms Head.

That was Daniel Higgs's sphere, and among the independent peasantry of his widespread parish he soon made a home and did a splendid work. But the Restoration brought a change in those parts, which were so largely Royalist in their inner leanings, and in 1660 he was ejected.

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* Foster's entry reads: 'Higgs, Daniel (Higes), pleb. Magdalen Hall, matric. 'Jan. 29, 1648-9; B.A. 4 July, 1651. rector of Rhosilly, co. Glamorgan. ejected 1661. 'born at Chadwitch, co. Worcester, rector of Port Eynon co. Glamorgan 1660. 'died Sept., 1691.'

† 'Little England beyond Wales' is its most apt description; for while all the natural features of the country have Welsh names, many of the villages (scarcely any of them are big enough to be called towns) have English names. [*E.g.*, Rhoscilli, of course, is Welsh; but Middleton close by is English, and so are Pilton (with Pilton Green), Overton, Horton, Port Eynon, Slade and Norton, Knelston, Reynoldston, Nicholaston, and Bishopston.]

In 1660 he had also received the Rectory of Port Eynon, and for a time, it seems, he was undisturbed. Port Eynon was a spot more sheltered than Rhoscilly. And there he quietly laboured until the Act of Uniformity in 1662 drove him thence. [Palmer's reference to it shows a delightful ignorance of Gower. 'He was cast out from 'some other living in 1662' (he says in a footnote to p. 503) 'which 'Dr. Calamy calls Portynon'; but no such place is to be found.] The Episcopal Returns of 1665 report him as late Rector of Portynon, but at that time out of the Diocese ; a statement which exactly fits Calamy's further statements. He says 'The lowest of the populace, too, turned 'against him.' He was 'forced to leave his house, and wife, and seven 'children'; and 'to avoid the fury of the mob, he retired' (Calamy says) 'to his father's in Worcestershire.

But he got very cold comfort there. 'His father told him he must 'expect no assistance or encouragement from him, unless he would conform, and urged upon him the strongest arguments he could think of: 'telling him how miserable and abject a life he must expect to lead, and 'what contempt he would fall under if he did not, etc.' But he replied 'that he would a thousand times rather trust himself and his family with 'divine providence, than offer to conform contrary to his conscience.' And Calamy adds: 'He was once in prison for Nonconformity,' but where he does not say, whether in Worcestershire or in Gower. I imagine it would be in Gower. For it is most probable that, after such a cold reception in his ancestral home, he would return to Gower ; and it appears that he settled down in Swansea with wife and family, and soon assembled a 'gathered Church there,' with small branches affiliated to it, in Bishopston, Nicholaston, and the place of his first love and first work, Rhossili. 'He was a good scholar,' Calamy writes, 'a judicious preacher, a vigilant 'pastor, and a strict observer of church discipline. He was indefatigable 'in his Master's work in Swansey, and the neighbouring parts.' And he adds: 'He preached constantly once a month at a place about ten 'miles off.' Unfortunately he does not tell us where it was, and relates how once, in riding thither, he felt constrained to change his subject, and how that service was more spiritually effective than any he had ever conducted.

When the Indulgence was declared, in March, 1672, he evidently consulted with his Congregational brother, Stephen Hughes. The Presbyterian minister there, Marmaduke Matthews, had availed himself already of it before they had thought of moving in the matter.

Matthews's licences were dated April 12 [**E (17)**]. But his two brethren were not long behind him. They determined to look after the matter for themselves ; and apparently made the long journey to London together. They would journey along the same road Daniel Higgs had travelled thrice already, as far as Portskewett or Chepstow, then cross the Estuary to the Old or New Passage, and on to Bristol ; thence posting due east to London by Staines and Hounslow, and past Hyde Park to Charing Cross. Where they lodged we do not know, nor exactly when they first went to Whitehall.

Two friends had exerted themselves on their behalf before they made a personal application.

(i) Richard Steele, first put in **320** (**84**) for both. Then Owen Davies called (whose multiplied service we have noticed elsewhere); and (ii) put in **320** (**85**), which was for Higgs alone, for a meeting-place which was never granted, and in a way which does not speak well for his knowledge of Welsh geography. It is endorsed: 'Swansey. 'Davies,' and reads:

320 (**85**).

'Walles [Wales.]

'Daniell Higgs preacher of the Congregationall way in Swansey, att 'Tho: Williams house Swansey pembrockshyere.

'O: D.'

Thomas Williams's house was never licensed, and you and I know that Swansea is in Glamorgan, not Pembroke (having the breadth of Carmarthenshire between). The beauty of the phrase 'of the Con-'gregationall way' is some atonement for his topographical mistake.

Disappointed at their friends' failures, they went together to Whitehall, and (iii) left **320** (**86**), which recounts the most pressing desires of each. It is endorsed: 'Swansey. Lancashire, not appr.,' and reads:

'Daniel Higgs. Congregat.
"not licensed" [in J. W.'s hand writing.]
Swansey Schoole house and his owne house, Glamorganshire.
'Stephen Hughes, congregat.,
at y^e house of Evan Morris of Lanstephan and at y^e widdow Jenkins of penkader, Carmarthen shire.'

The annotation, above 'schoole house' is in Sir Joseph Williamson's hand, and must have been made after April 17; when the applications had been considered; and, of the 'meeting-places' desired for Daniel Higgs, only 'his own house' in Swansea had been approved and 'allowed'; for in (iv) **320** (**88**) his application for the School House, is repeated in a long list of twenty-one licences, in Mr. Benson's handwriting: 'Daniel Diggs (*sic*) Congregationall, at the Schoole house in Swansey.'

That the application made in the case of **320** (**86**) was presented personally is a matter of conjecture as it is not signed. I have treated it as such because of its form. But we now come to a memorandum which is proof positive that Daniel Higgs is determined to see what a personal application can effect. (v) **320** (**233**) is headed by the line: 'A license is desired By Daniell Higgs Congr.', which is equivalent to the assertion that it was 'put in' or 'given in' by him personally. And in it he applies for licences for four houses: one for his friend, Stephen Hughes's house in Swansea, and three for houses of friends in that chain of Gower villages which linked Swansea with his old parish, the scene of his first ministry, Bishopston, Nicholaston, and Roscilly itself; 'to be 'publick meeting places, all in Glamorganshire.' The names of these good Congregationalists are worthy of record: Henry Griffith, Robert Gethen, and Richard Bevan.

The next (vi) **320** (**234**) is 'put in' by his friend, Stephen Hughes. The handwriting is clearly that of the first part of **235**, which bears Stephen Hughes's signature. The request in it is very distinct for these three houses, as his preaching-stations:—'Daniell Higgs desires a 'Lycence to preach in the house of M^r^ Henry Griffith & in the house 'of Richard Bevan & Robert Gethyn in the County of Glamorgan in 'Gower who is of the Congregationall perswasion' . . . besides others for Samuel Jones and Peregrine Philips.

By the 17th, licences had been issued both for his friend, Stephen Hughes, and for himself to preach at his own house in Swansea [**E** (**26**)]; but it was not till the 20th that licences were made out for the three meeting-places in Gower [**E** (**39**)].

It was some day after that that they called together at Whitehall, and were able each to *sign* the acknowledgment in the memorandum numbered **320** (**235**), of the licences in which each was personally most interested. Stephen Hughes for Samuel Jones's and Peregrine Philips's, in Llangynwyd and Haverfordwest; and Daniel Higgs for his three Gower friends. I quote the second half:

> 'Mr Daniell Higgs for the house of Rich: Bevan Robert Gethin & Henry Griffith in Glamorgan shire
>
> 'recd by mee,
>
> 'DAN: HIGGS.'

Probably Daniel Higgs returned to Swansea, as soon as he was able to take away these much-desired licences, that he might use them in the free and fearless exercise of his evangelistic and pastoral work in Gower. [Stephen Hughes stayed on in London for another month at least.] And so zealously and earnestly did he carry it on that, as Calamy expresses it, 'His hard study and labours at length brought on him such disorders 'and weakness as almost incapacitated him for public service; so that he 'left his people and retired into Worcestershire.'

Probably by this time his father had died, and he was able to live on part of his patrimony. 'But there,' Calamy adds, 'so desirous was 'he of advancing the public welfare that he undertook to teach aca- 'demical learning, in which he took great delight, and had good success.' How long this academic work at Chadwick went on we do not know. But gradually his health improved, and 'his indisposition at length wear- 'ing off, his people at Swansey earnestly desired his return; and he, 'willing to serve God and them to the utmost of his ability, complied. 'Not being able to go by land the whole way, he went by sea.' I suppose from Gloucester, or Bristol.

Was this about 1684 or 1685? The exhausting nature of this widespread work in Gower, however, soon wore down his strength again, and the return of his illness obliged him to take his final leave of them. He again retired into his own country, and preached as long as he could amongst his neighbours, in his own house, and died in September, 1691.

That this was at some distance from his paternal home is shown clearly by the terms of his will, given in a short article by G. Eyre Evans, in the Transactions of the C.H.S., Vol. II., pp. 290-91, No. 4 [January, 1906], as he describes himself as of 'the parish of Bromsgrove'; for Chadwick was at least five miles from Bromsgrove, in the parish of Hartlebury. At the same time, he leaves to his son John, whom he appoints his executor, besides 'all his study of books,' 'his house and lands at Chadwick, bought from brother Roger.'

For some time I was inclined to think that Marmaduke Matthews (like his two Congregational brethren) also went up to London some week or so before them. Two full application forms are preserved: in **320** (**36**) and **320** (**37**). Both by their form, the verb being in the present tense, suggest their being put in personally, specially the former, 'Marmaduke Matthews of Swanzey Humbly desiers to have a Lycence, 'etc.' But the two facts (1) that neither is signed nor dated, and (2) that the first is endorsed: 'R^d^ on Thursday 11 Apr. Swanzey,' are more consonant with the idea that he did not present them in person. The endorsement of **36**, indeed, is so exactly the formula with which Benson endorses all letters sent through the post that my final conclusion is that **36**, at least [and probably **37** as a duplicate] was sent in a letter addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson.

VII. LONDON AND SUBURBS.

A curious and most disappointing situation is revealed here. It would be natural to look for a large number of the ministers ejected in London, of the ministers ejected elsewhere but refugees in the Metropolis, and of the influential Nonconformists of the City, streaming into the Court Yard at Whitehall, and applying personally at Lord Arlington's Lodgings for licences under the Declaration of Indulgence. For there can be no question that the strength of Nonconformity in London was a most potent factor among the reasons which decided the King to issue it.

Yet from the whole London area—including such distant suburbs as Highgate and Hackney in the north, and Southwark south of the Thames—only eleven residents directly applied at Whitehall.

And only three of these were ejected London ministers: John Wills (or Wells), ejected from St. Olave's Jewry, who had retired beyond the walls to the great Nonconformist colony in the district of Moorfields; Thomas Watson, ejected from St. Stephen's, Walbrook, who was still living in Dowgate within the walls; and Edward Veal, of Wapping.

Two were non-ministerial residents in London. James March, the only one who hails from within the City walls, a substantial citizen of Eastcheap; and Widow Lloyd—a resident in the Strand—a devoted admirer of her old minister, Gabriel Sangar, at St. Martins-in-the-Fields. John Dan, a resident in the same neighbourhood (Westminster) is a non-professional preacher.

John Storer, who lives at Highgate, and Jonathan Tuckney, who is one of the Nonconformist colony at Hackney, are both sons of distinguished fathers; the former applying on his father's behalf, and the latter on his own. Peter Sterry, ecclesiastically somewhat of a free lance, like Tuckney, also lives at Hackney, and has enormous reputation and influence as a preacher.

The other two—men of real mark, each in his own way—are two of the host whom persecution had driven from the provinces up to London: Richard Steele, all the way from Flint; and Andrew Parsons, his friend and neighbour now, who had been driven up from Shropshire.

1. John Wills (or Wells).

About John Wills we have unfortunately very little direct information. Calamy, indeed (I. 171), in addition to giving his name, 'M^r^ John 'Wells,' as ejected from the Vicarage of St. Olave's, Jewry (in the City), only has a character-sketch extracted from a funeral sermon preached in his memory by his old neighbour, Thomas Watson (who had been ejected from St. Stephen's, Walbrook); the implication is that he was educated in St. John's College, Oxford, and that he died in June, 1676, only four years after he had secured his licences under the Indulgence, and scarcely three after the Indulgence had been withdrawn.

Still, Informers' papers, preserved in the Record Office, and the Episcopal Returns of 1669, do much to sketch his activities after his ejectment, and these Indulgence documents show that he was willing to serve his brethren as well as get licences for himself.

As early as 1664 the informers reported him as preaching at a Conventicle held in the St. John the Baptist Tavern, Ludgate Hill; and three several times in 1665, at Conventicles held in his own house in Middle Moorfields and in the parish of Shoreditch, all in the month of May; viz., on the 1st, the 8th, and the 10th.

In 1669 a 'John Wells, sometime Chaplaine to Col: Ingoldsby* & 'Col: Kelsey' was reported as one of the preachers at a Conventicle in Major Dunch's house in Pusey, Berks [**R. 241**]; and a 'M^{r} Wells' is reported as 'Preach^{r}' or 'Teach^{r}' of a Conventicle of fifty 'At the 'Blackmore in Wood Street,' London [**R. 220**]. Of course, it is not impossible for the same 'John Wells' to have preached in Pusey, Berks, the same year that he ministered to a Conventicle in Wood Street. And in that case we should be gaining from Seth Ward's Report the additional biographical information, that soon after his ejectment from St. Olave's, Jewry, he had acted as chaplain to Colonel Ingoldsby and Colonel Kelsey. That may seem a little improbable. It would be quite natural, however, and becomes almost certain, that our ejected City minister it was who was keeping Conventicle in Wood Street.

In 1672, too, he secured licences for himself and his house in Middle Moorfields (Shoreditch parish). But it was only after three applications.

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* Colonel Richard Ingoldsby had been Governor of Oxford under Cromwell, and one of Charles I.'s judges; but in 1660 sided with his son, captured Lambert in Northants, and for that service was pardoned, made K.B. at Charles II.'s coronation, and retired to Letherborough, Bucks.

(i) The first was made on his behalf by Robert Mascall, London merchant, in his usual stately style, as part of **320 (93)**.

'2. John Wells Teacher Presbiterian

> 'The Meeting Place in his dwelling House in y^{e} Midle Morefields in y^{e} Parish of Shoreditch in y^{e} County of Midlesex.'
>
> 'And
>
> 'not app. Lorimers Hall in y^{e} Parish of S^{t} Gileses Criplegate London.'

(ii) The second is on a paper **320 (94)**, the latter part of which is in Francis Benson's handwriting, and applies by way of meeting-place not for his house, but for the 'Lorimmers hall,' which was just outside the City wall, in Fore Street, between Cripple Gate and Moor Gate.

It reads :

'M^{r} John Wells, Presb. Lorimmers hall in Cripplegate parish. not approved.'

(iii) This application being refused as a Public Hall, we find a third application 'put in,' in which 'Lorimers' Hall is dropped. This time the application is made by John Wells himself on **320 (124)** :

> 'ffor my house in y^{e} Middle Moorefeilds.
>
> 'JOHN WILLS.'

The licences thus asked for both by Robert Mascall and by himself (who, by the way, calls himself 'Wills' not 'Wells') are granted on the 17th of April.

They are entered on **E (26)**—

'Wells Presb. Morefields	'Licence to John Wells to be a Presb. Teacher in his howse in Middle Morefields in the Parish of Shoreditch, Midd. 17. Apr. 72.
'Morefields Pr. Wells howse.	'The howse of John Wells in Middle Morefields in the Parish of Shoreditch, Middl. licensed for a Pr. meeting place. 17. Ap. 72.'

Be it noted that the phraseology of the entry shows that the Whitehall officials drew out the licences from Robert Mascall's application rather than from Wells's own. All this, too, had been negotiated in little more than a month after the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence. But the point we wish, of course, to emphasize here is, that though a friend took the initial trouble, to go to Whitehall for him, John Wills (Wells) did go to Whitehall himself to secure the licences. His house is described as in Middle Moorfields, in the Parish of Shoreditch.

The exact situation of Middle Moorfields, it is not at all easy to determine. Both Upper Moorfields and Lower Moorfields appear clearly enough in old maps of London. Lower Moorfields is the space, preserved as a recreation-ground due east of Moor Gate, bordered west by Finsbury and east (in its northern part) by the old Bethlehem

Burying Ground and Hospital, and the road from the southern part of which, Petty France, ran eastward into Bishopsgate Street.

Upper Moorfields is a similar space, due east of the Artillery Ground, its southern limit in a line with Chiswell Street eastwards, and its northern, a lane called Windmill Hill Row, which starts at the point where Royal Row and Windmill Hill diverge (the former running almost due north and the latter north-east) and running east, is lost in Worship Street.

Was Middle Moorfields identical with 'Moor Fields,' due south of Lower Moor Fields now occupied by Finsbury Circus? Or was the space east of Upper and Lower Moorfields, bordering on Bishopsgate Street Without? Whatever the exact location of his house, however, we can imagine—with something approaching to certainty—the way John Wells would take to reach Whitehall.

He would almost certainly first make his way to the Bishop's Gate, which was untouched by the Great Fire of six years before, and, traversing Bishopsgate Street Within, Gracious Street, and Gracechurch Street, pass down the steep declivity of New Fish Street to London Bridge. He would then take boat at one of the numerous stairs west of it, and row along the magnificent waterway of the river, unencumbered by any other bridge, right away to Whitehall Palace Stairs. Embarking there, he would take the course we have seen Nicholas Blakey take before him, walking to the Great Court past both Buttery and Chapel and turning sharp to the left, pass to the eastern door of Lord Arlington's, close to the northern end of the Great Stone Gallery.

Arrived at the office, he would give in his slip across the counter. So far documentary evidence takes us with certainty. Beyond that we can but conjecture. There is no memorandum of receipt, so that we cannot be said to know who took the licences away. What more likely, however, than that when he handed in his application the clerks told him the licences were ready, and that he might take them there and then? If so, he made his journey to Westminster either on the 18th or 19th of April. [The licences were made out and entered on Wednesday the 17th, so that he might well have taken them on the Thursday or Friday.] All this will have been negotiated in little more than a month after the Declaration of Indulgence.

This is not the whole of John Wells's connection with the Indulgence. Only three weeks later he exerts himself for two friends in the neighbourhood of London. Not that it is clear that he went a second time to Whitehall; though, if he did, he put himself under the wing of Colonel Blood. All that we can positively say is that he writes a request for these two friends on a paper which he commits to the care of this notorious man (now high in the favour of the Court). Whether he writes it in the office, under the eye of his advocate, or had written it at home, and committed to Blood's care, when Blood had called upon him, does not appear. The fact is the paper [**321 (55)**] presents a complicated problem. Below Wells's memorandum is another, written on it by Mr. Sharpe; and below that again are added four lines in Blood's own execrable scrawl, the whole signed, not at the foot, but at the back. 'Tho : Blood :' and endorsed by Benson : 'Mr Blood's note.'* The first section reads :

'Desiered by Mr Wells of London
'A Licence for Allderman Daniell Andrew's howse at Laitonstone in Essex for A presbiterion meeting place
'Also for Mr David Kings howse in Kings howse in Kingsland in Middlesex'

The applications for Mr. Andrews's house have a curiously confused history :

(i.) First, we have an application from James Innes, junior, who in **321 (21)**, among a number of 'Meeting places for Presbiterian ministers 'who have taken out Licenses for their persons already,' put last on the list, 'the house of Daniell Andrews Esqr in the parish of low Layton in 'Essex. Presb.'

(ii.) Then comes **321 (55)**, in which we have the appln 'desiered by 'Mr. Wells of London,' and put in by Thomas Blood, 'a Licence for 'Allderman Daniell Andrews's hows at Laitonstone in Essex for A 'presbiterion place.' The matter is not allowed to rest there.

(iii.) In **321 (118)** James Innes, junior, puts in a second application for 'the house of Daniell Andrews Presb. in the parish of Lowlayton in 'Essex'; and

(iv.) In **321 (210)** we find Thomas Blood giving in a second application on (Sunday), May 19th, for 'The howse of Alderman 'Andrews in Essex.'

In response to these varied applications, we have two licences granted :

(1) One entered on **E. (111)**.

'The howse of Daniel Audny in Laitonstone, Essex Pr. Meeting 'Place. 13 May'

(2) The other entered on **E. (114)**.

'The howse of Dan: Andrews in the Parish of Low Clayton, Essex. 'Pr. Meeting Place. 16 May.'

And beyond all these, on **321 (206)** we have a Receipt (among other licences) of that for 'Dan: Andrews house,' dated 18 May, and signed by Ja : Innes, junior.

It looks very much as though James Innes, junior, and Thomas Blood were making independent efforts, each ignorant of what the other was doing; young Innes knowing his client simply as 'Daniel Andrews 'Esq.,' or as 'Daniel Andrews'; while Blood, acting for 'Mr. Wells 'of London,' knows him as 'Alderman Daniel Andrews,' or 'Alderman 'Andrews.'

Probably, too, the second of the licences issued—viz., that entered on **E. (114)**—is intended as the response to James Innesjunior's two applications; for in both his applications the place was called 'Low

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* Blood may have gone on to Mr. Sharpe's from Wells's house and got Sharpe to add his 'desires'; or it may have been that, while he and Wells were in Arlington's Office, Mr. Sharpe came in, and at Blood's request added his request below that of Mr. Wells, in either case adding his own memorandum to fill up the page.

'Layton'; and 'Low Clayton' is only a clerical error of Sir Joseph Williamson's chief clerk, Francis Benson.

That would make the first licence [entered on **E. (111)**]—Whitehall's response to Blood's application on behalf of 'Mr. Wells of 'London'—the document we are specially considering. And that is likely enough, as the place is written 'Laitonstone,' exactly as in the application, though a clerical error as to the householder's name is made even more serious than that made in the other over the place—viz., 'Daniel Audny,' instead of 'Alderman Daniel Andrews.' I suppose, too, that when (two days after the second licence had been made out and entered) James Innes called for his licences, he would take away that second licence (spite its alteration of 'Layton' into 'Clayton'), and leave the licence for 'Daniel Audny' as no concern for him.

Further, when Thomas Blood called on May 19th, and had tacked on a second application for Alderman Andrews's house to the application he was making for two Reading licences, he would doubtless find that his kindly offices were useless, as the officials would be sure to tell him that James Innes, junior, had taken away a licence for it the day before.

Mr. Wells's exertions on Alderman Andrews's behalf were therefore useless though well-intentioned.

His other client was a Mr. David King, and it was for King's house a licence was 'desiered.' In its description and allocation, at first sight, there seems such a repeated play upon his name that it suggests some joke rather than a serious application.

It is for 'Mr. David King's howse in King's howse in Kingsland.' A more careful study of the typographical problem involved shows that it was all most seriously intended.

At the mutual limits of the parishes of Islington and Stoke Newington, at a point almost due west of the southern end of Stoke Newington Road, is Newington (Stoke) Green, about three-quarters of a mile due south of St. Mary's Church, the Parish Church of Stoke Newington. On its southern side was a large mansion, which had been a Royal Palace in Henry VIII.'s days, and for that reason was called the King's House. The country in its vicinity east and south of it was for that reason called King's Land, which name ('Kingsland') clings to it to the present day. This mansion had been divided into two or more tenements in Stuart days, and in 1672 Mr. David King was in occupation of one of these. King's house on the south side of Stoke Newington Green was in Kingsland (had indeed given it its name), and Mr. David King's house was in it as part of it. He had fitted it up as a Presbyterian meeting-house. Was this intended for the ministry of Daniel Bull of Stoke Newington, and for Samuel Lee and George Fowler of Islington?

Whether this was so or not, Blood had made application for it about a week before on the back of **320 (268)**, giving it a description which gave no idea of its ownership, and only a very general one of its location: 'Meeting house in Kingsland Middlesex presbiterian.'

The licence is issued on May 13th, the very day on which 'Daniel 'Audney's' was granted in 'Laitonstone,' a fact which confirms our conclusion that this was the licence issued in response to Mr. Wells's application for Alderman Daniel Andrews's. It is entered on **E. (110)**: 'The howse of David King in Kingstone Middl. Pr. Meeting Place. '13 May.' Only another clerical error (inevitable on this particular date?) changes 'Kingsland' into the impossible 'Kingstone.'

We have no documentary proof when it was called for and taken away. But we will hope that the clerical error did not defraud Mr. David King of his licence, or the Presbyterians of Kingsland of their meeting-place in the old Royal Palace on the south side of tree-shaded Newington Green.

In this case, at any rate, Mr. Wells's kindly offices were not without result. There are two other contemporary references to John Wells in the Records of the City which I may cite.

In the Lay Subsidy Records for London, preserved in the Record Office, I found the following:

(i.) In 1666, a house in St. Sepulchre's Precinct, in Christ Church parish, thus assessed for Hearth tax ($\frac{147}{627}$):

		H.		l.	s.	d.
'John Wells	...	3	...	0	9	0'

with the pathetic note appended to so many names 'Brent' (Burnt), as proof that the house had been destroyed in the Great Fire that year; and

(ii.) In 1668 ($\frac{147}{616}$):

'In London Wall ... John Wells ... xviij^{d}'

As our John Wells had certainly retired to Little Moorfields as early as 1665, and he was residing there both in 1669 and 1672, these Lay Subsidy Rolls must mean one of two things. Either John Wells owned houses in London Wall and close to St. Sepulchre's, as well as that in which he lived in Little Moorfields, in which it shows him to have been a man of substance, or these houses belonged to relatives, and suggest that he was a Londoner by birth, sprung from a good City family.

2. THOMAS WATSON.

Thomas Watson (M.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge) had been Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, more than fifteen years when ejected on St. Bartholomew Day, 1662.

Calamy (i. 188-191) can tell us little about him, though the list of his published works are a splendid proof of his abilities and of his power as a preacher. The Parochial Records, Vestry Minutes, and Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, however, tell us much [they are preserved in the Crypt of the Guildhall Library]; and these Original Records take up the tale where these records fail us.

Dr. Thomas Howell had been Rector from 1635 to 1641, when he was sequestered from the living; but he was consoled for his loss of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, by being appointed Bishop of Bristol (Charles I. sanctioned the appointment from his Court at Oxford in 1644), and he retained the position as long as Bristol was held by Prince Rupert for the King.

After Dr. Howell's sequestration the Rectory of St. Stephen's was supplied somewhat irregularly till 1644, when Humphrey Chambers was appointed. His ministry lasted little over two years, and Thomas Watson did not settle in the living till 1647, after Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Arthur Jackson, and Gaspar Hickes had all been unsuccessfully approached by the parishioners.

The living was in the gift of the Grocers' Company, and we cannot doubt that it was to secure their consent to the appointment of Thomas Watson that the Petition was made in 1646-47, which is referred to in the following entry in the Churchwardens' Accounts.

'Paid for drawing a Petition to the Grocers Company 0 2 6.'

That the parishioners of St. Stephen's were drawn to him strongly and valued him highly is shown in a very practicable and unmistakable fashion. They gave him £20 a year more than they had given to previous Incumbents—viz., £120 (instead of £100):

'164$\frac{7}{8}$ P^{d} Mr. Watson our Minister ... ... 120 00 00.'

An entry in the same record in the following year shows alike Dr. Walker's inaccuracy in his account of Dr. Howell as one of the suffering clergy, and the generous sympathy alike of his old parishioners, and of their Puritan pastor.

On the authority of Lloyd, Dr. Walker puts Dr. Howell's death in the year 1646, the year after the recapture of Bristol by the Parliamentary forces, suggesting that the cruelty of the Puritan party sent him to his grave not long after his poor wife. But he must have survived her for at least two or three years; for in the year 1648-49 the parishioners of his old London living, doubtless with the sanction, and probably under the leadership of their chosen Puritan minister, voted him £20.

'164$\frac{8}{9}$ P^{d} Docto^{r} Howell by order of Vestry ... 20 00 00.'

They must have heard of his cruel sufferings, and the ruin of his fortunes on his expulsion from Bristol; indeed, the personal payment of the above suggests that he had returned to London after his extrusion from Bristol, and that it was probably from his own lips that the story came which was told to the Vestry, when so far from rejoicing in the news (if the legend of the cruel bigotry of the Puritans were true), they show their compassionate sympathy with him by this substantial money vote.

This generous gift is recorded just before the entry of the payment of their young minister's salary:

'Paid Mr. Watson for one year, ended 25 March
1649... ... ... 120 00 00.'

The year's 'Sallary' of £120 is repeated in 1650, and in 1650-51 his absence for one Sunday is noted by the entry of the payment of a 'Supply':

'165$\frac{0}{1}$ Paid for a Sermon preached the 8 October in our Minister's absence*	001	00	00.'

But their appreciation of his ministry, too, became warmer with the lapse of time.

For in the year 1652-53 they voted an extra £80 as a proof of their appreciation:

'165$\frac{2}{3}$ paid Mr. Watson for one yeares Sallarie to Lady day	120	00	00
— paid Mr. Watson ffor a Gratuitie given him by the ꝑish	080	00	00.'

Yet this same year there is an entry in the Vestry Minute Book, pointing to an incident that might have caused trouble.

At a Vestry held April 1, 1653, provision was made for payment for two special sermons to be preached in connection with a fast ordered by authority, but though requested to preach them himself he refused.

His reasons for refusing are not given. Could it have been in connection with the Election of Members to serve in the Parliament summoned by the Lord Protector to meet on July 5, 1653? His letters of Summons were issued on June 8th, and this fell in Whitsun week in that year. Watson, we know, was no lover of Oliver's régime, being implicated in Love's plot, apprehended with six other City ministers, though 'after some time released on their petition for mercy, and 'promising submission to the govrnment for the future.'†

Anyhow his people respected his scruples, did not quarrel with him over the matter, and secured the services of someone else. The payment of the preacher or preachers is entered in the Churchwardens' Accounts:

'165$\frac{2}{3}$ paid for 2 sermons preached att y^{e} ffast in Whitsun week	001	05	00.'

For the five years from 1654 to 1658 there is the annual entry of payment to him of £120 for 'a yeares maintenance.'

In 1644-45 a 'Morning Exercise' is held at St. Stephen's. This, again, was not given by Mr. Watson, but by a Mr. Ewer, evidently with Mr. Watson's consent and sympathy, as is testified by the following entries in the Churchwardens' Accounts:

'P^{d} Mr. Ewer for expenses at y^{e} Morning Exercise	02	13	00
'P^{d} Mr. Wattson being spent on a Supper for y^{e} Ministers	001	00	00.'

There must have been in Mr. Watson a certain 'aloofness,' too, from all sublunary matters even in connection with the Church, for there is no sign of his attendance at a single Vestry Meeting in the years 1656, 1657, or 1658. But his parishioners are careful of then and eager to keep these 'externals' in the best order, for in the year 1658 extensive repairs are carried out on the Church building at heavy cost:

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* Was he then in prison for his share in Love's plot? (A. G.)

† Neal's 'History of the Puritans,' vol. ii. 581.

> 'To y^{e} Steeple & Church windowes of St. Stephen,
> Walbrook ... ... 264 0 0.'

And this in no way injures their Pastor. In the very next year they give further proof of their appreciation of his ministry and of their considerate care of him. They raise his salary to £150, and supply him with ministerial assistance:

> '165$\frac{8}{9}$ Paid Mr. Watson for a year Maintenance due
> att Lady-day £150 0 0
> — paid Nicholas Shepheard Reader, for one year £10 0 0.'

This enhanced Salary and the payment for a Reader are repeated the two following years, 1659-60 and 1660-61, and at the end of the Accounts for the former year is the following noteworthy entry:

> 'Memorandum—
> 'That This Account was examined & Audited on the same day that Charles the 2^{d} was proclaymed Kinge of England & Scotland France & Ireland—año dom: 1660.'

In this year of the Restoration Mr. Watson presided at two Vestries—those of May 22nd and October 17th—for the previously sequestered minister, Dr. Howell, having died in the early years of Watson's ministry, there was no one living to dispute his claim to the Rectory, and his royalist proclivities secured him from disturbance.

A vestry was held early in the following year, on March 21, 1660-61. At this Mr. Watson was not present, but a parishioner, a Mr. Juxon, took his place in the chair. This fact is worthy of note, as no doubt he was one of two brothers, Nicholas and John Juxon, relatives of Dr. William Juxon, who had been Bishop of London in the reign of Charles I., and had been just appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. These brothers had a thriving business in Walbrook, as 'Brokers and 'Sugar bakers' by trade, and a country house at East Sheene [*vide* an Informer's paper of the year 1664 (S. P. Dom. Car. II. 109, 64)].

Nicholas Juxon had been made a J.P. in Oliver's time. John was a quieter man, but a good Puritan. It was probably John who presided at the Vestry Meeting in Mr. Watson's place in 1661, and in 1672 this same John Juxon acted as a Licence-Agent (for a friend in Gloucestershire) just about a month after his old pastor, Thomas Watson, went to Whitehall to get a licence for himself (as we shall see presently).

There is no forecast of the trouble coming in 1662, for there are payments entered for repairs to the Rectory (Mr. Watson's house), and of the pavement in front of it. These are the entries:

> '166$\frac{1}{2}$ P^{d} & given the Workmen at Mr. Watson's
> house 000 01 00
> — p^{d} the pavior,—raysing Mr. Watson's
> pavement ... ... 001 08 00.'

And they maintain his Salary at its highest level:

'P^{d} Mr. Watson for halfe a yeare ending at Michaelmas	075	00	00,
also paying his tithes ("Tenthes")	001	05	09,
and half a year's stipend to Mr. Martin, the Reader	005	00	00.'

But the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1662-63 give unmistakable signs of Thomas Watson's ejectment on St. Bartholomew's day. His last payment had been at Michaelmas, 1661. This year, 1662, they pay his salary up to Midsummer at the same rate (of £150 per annum), three-quarters of a year £112 10s., and £1 for a special Lent sermon':

'166$\frac{2}{3}$—July y^{e} 15th p^{d} M^{r} Watson $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yeare & lent Sermon ... ... 113 10 0.'

And for the Reader they paid at the same rate, only they pay it to the Pastor:

'p^{d} y^{e} Reader $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yeare—unto M^{r} Watson ... 07 10 0.'

It is well known that the date on which the test-declaration was to be publicly made was fixed for St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th (about a month before Michaelmas), so that the ejected should be punished in their pockets (as well as wounded in their tenderest feelings) by forfeiting one quarter's salary at the least (if it was paid quarterly), and one whole year's salary if it was paid annually at Michaelmas.

The affection of his parishioners would not allow Mr. Watson to suffer this, and the following entry shows that in Special Vestry they voted him the whole quarter (though at a lower rate, £120 per annum):

'p^{d} M^{r} Watson y^{e} Minister to Mich^{s} by Order of the Vestry ... ... 30 00 00.'

They see, too, that he shall have his proportion of a lease:

'p^{d} M^{r} Watson for his p^{t} of M^{r} Cooks lease ... 6 13 4.'

As to his career after he was compelled to leave St. Stephen's, Calamy has little to say. All he can tell us is that: 'After his ejectment 'he continued the exercise of his ministry in the City as Providence 'gave opportunity for many years; but his strength wearing away, he 'retired to Essex, and there died suddenly in his closet in prayer.'

We gather something, however, from Informers' Reports preserved in the State Papers (Domestic Series), something from the Episcopal Returns of 1669, and something still further from the Indulgence Documents.

From the Informers' Reports we find that he was 'conventicling' as early as May 29, 1664, only twelve days after the passing of the First Conventicle Act; that on June 15 he was preaching at Mr. Doelittle's house in Bunhill Fields; that eleven days later (June 26th) he was preaching in the Half Moon and Seven Stars on Ludgate Hill; and only three days after that in Mr. Bailey's House in Ironmonger Lane; that early in December (December 4th) he was preaching at a large meeting in Dr. Annesley's house in Spittlefields;

while in 1665, on May 5th and May 8th, he was preaching 'in his 'own house in the Minories.'

An indication, that last note, that after his ejectment he had retired first to a house in the Minories.

He probably was still living there when Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, in 1669, sent in his report to Sheldon of the Conventicles held in his Diocese. He reports (**R. 220**) that Thomas Watson was the regular preacher of a large Conventicle—'Much 'resorted to'—held in Devonshire house in Bishopsgate; and (**R. 223**) that he with seven other noted preachers (Peter Sterry, Philip Nye, Thomas Goodwin, John Griffith, Thomas Brooks, Dr. John Owen, and Dr. William Bates) preached in turn with them in a 'Lecture by Combination' held at Hackney, probably in the house of Alderman Ashurst in that hamlet. By the time Charles had Declared his Indulgence in 1672, he had removed from the Minories to a house in Dowgate, much nearer his old sphere.

It was little more than a month after the issue of the Declaration—that was March 15—that he determined to avail himself of the King's favour. Probably, in the first instance, he had sent a verbal message about it through a friend; or he may have made a visit to Whitehall himself and given in his name orally to Sir Joseph Williamson or Francis Benson, over the office counter. At any rate, in **320 (125)** an Official List of 'Persons & Places desired to be licensed,' and dated '18 Apr. 1672,' the fourth and fifth lines read:—

> 'Licence desired for the howse of Thomas Watson in Dowgate London to be a Presbyterian Meeting Place.'

> 'License desired for Thomas Watson to be a Presbyterian Teacher in his howse in Dowgate, London.'

Beside this, however, there is an application drawn out and put in by Thomas Watson himself, which Benson endorses in this curiously indefinite fashion, 'London,' and is calendared as **320 (133)**:—

> 'Thomas Watson Presbyter minister in y^{e} city of London. The place, my owne Howse in Dowgate lond.'

May I suggest that the paper is displaced, and that it is the original personal application, put in by Thomas Watson, on the 17th of April or earlier, from which (with others similar to it) the Official List **320 (125)** was compiled April 18?

One thing, at any rate, it makes clear—that about the 17th of April, 1672, Thomas Watson left his home, passed down the steep declivity of Dowgate Hill, and the lane bordering the Styl Yard to the west, to one of the numerous 'Stairs' which almost covered the northern bank of the river between London Bridge and Blackfriars, took boat there, and was rowed down the river to the Whitehall Stairs—taking the same course as John Wells had taken two or three days before—and left in Lord Arlington's Office this memorandum of application. Nor had he to wait long for his licences. They were issued April 19, as entered on **E (32)**:

'Watson Pr. Dowgate	'Licence to Thomas Watson to be a Presb. Teacher in his howse in Dowgate, London. 19. Apr. 72.
'Dowgate Pr. Watson's howse.	'The howse of Thomas Watson in Dowgate, London licensed to be a Presb. Meeting place. 19. Apr. 72.'

When Thomas Watson left London for the quiet of retirement in Essex, and where he settled in that county, to die there in the act and attitude of prayer, we do not know.

Calamy's story as showing his remarkable gift in extemporaneous public prayer is worth citation. 'Once on a lecture-day, before the 'Bartholomew Act took place, the learned Bp. Richardson came 'to hear him, who was much pleased with his sermon, but specially 'with his prayer after it, so that he followed him home to give him 'thanks, and earnestly desired a copy of it. "Alas!" (said Mr. Watson) '"that is what I cannot give, for I do not use to pen my prayers; it '"was no studied thing, but uttered, *pro re nata*, as God enabled me, '"from the abundance of my heart and affections." Upon which the 'good Bishop went away wondering that any man could pray in that 'matter extempore.' His farewell sermons preached on Bartholomew Day (or the Sunday before), are full of serious thought and tender feeling, and the list of his works given by Calamy on pp. 190-91 of Vol. I. suffices to show the vigour of his intellect, and the fulness of his scholarship as well as the depth of his piety. Of one volume I can speak from personal acquaintance with it, 'The Beatitudes: or a Discourse upon part of Christ's Famous Sermon on the Mount.' It shows that Watson knows the Fathers well, Greek as well as Latin, and knows how to quote them aptly; as well as his Bible—Old Testament as well as New. Evidently, too, spite the Penal Statutes, he was not afraid to appear in print, and still call himself 'Minister of the Word at *Stephens* '*Walbrook* [N.B.—*Not St.* Stephens] in the City of London.' Even the year after the passing of the Second Conventicle Act, and the year before he secured his licences under the Indulgence; for the title-page bears the foot-note: '*London.* Printed for Ralph Smith, at the sign of 'the Bible under the Piazzo of the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil.* 1671.'

3. EDWARD VEAL.

Yet a third we have in Edward Veal; and he exerts himself for others as well as applies for his own licences.

He is noticed by Calamy (I. 210) as having been educated, first at Christ's Church, Oxford, and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin, where he obtained a Fellowship; that while there, he was a good teacher (of youth) and an able minister. On his ejection from his fellowship in 1662, he came back to England, was first chaplain to Sir William Waller in Middlesex, and afterwards settled 'as a Nonconformist in Wapping.' In 1669 he is reported by the Bishop of London as only recently settled in the Parish of Stepney, in the following uncomplimentary terms. 'Also one M^r^ Veale, an Independ^t^ hath lately 'set up a Meeting in this parish, And first sollicited for Subscriptions, 'before he would come' (**R. 221***b*). Of these licence-documents of 1672, four are more or less directly connected with him.

One [**320 (61)**] seems to show that he was well known at Whitehall, and has been consulted as one of the more influential of the London Nonconformist ministers in the conferences which led up to the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence. It is a letter by Dr. Butler to Sir Joseph Williamson, and in it Dr. Butler speaks of 'Mr. Veale' as 'our good frend.' Dr. Butler found, I presume, that Mr. Veale was going to Whitehall, and he entrusts him with a letter about some licences to deliver to Sir Joseph. The documents which he took to Whitehall on his own account are **320 (62)** and **320 (63)**.

320 (63) is a list drawn up in his own handwriting involving applications for six licences. Four ejected ministers are concerned. Nicholas Thorowgood, of Canterbury, desires licences for himself and 'a house' there. 'Edward Veal,' as a Presbyterian in Wapping, asks also licences for himself and 'a house there'; while Matthew Sylvester, of Coleman Street, and Thomas Birdsall, of Popleton, near York, each wants only a personal licence.

This paper (though undated) he evidently handed in at the same time that he delivers Dr. Butler's letter; and another paper, **320 (62)**, of a composite character. It contains a note, evidently intended for Sir Joseph Williamson; for though it is not addressed, it begins 'Hon^{d} Sir'; asking that 'the licences for M^{r} Nicholas Thorowgood, M^{r} Thomas Byrdsell, M^{r} Matthew Sylvester, & mine' may be sent 'to our friend.' Is it Dr. Butler whom he thus describes?

It will be noted that these are the four particularized on **320 (63)**. The note, however, is not a self-contained document. It is appended to a memorandum of application, written by Mr. Nathaniel Willmot, a Kent minister (who had been ejected from Faversham), applying for licences for himself and two houses, one in Davington (close to Faversham), and one in Wye. So that Edward Veal's errand was a treble one in going to Whitehall: to apply personally for six licences, two being for himself; to hand in Mr. Willmot's application for himself and his two friends; and to deliver to Sir Joseph Williamson a note from Dr. John Butler.

He was perfectly successful in his own application. All six licences were issued on the same day, April 13, 1672, and most probably were handed him before he left. The house he applied for in **320 (63)** simply 'as a house there (in Wapping),' is described more fully in **320 (49)**. 'The name of the Meeting house in Wapping is in Globe Alley. Knowne by all, standing near . . . ,' and in the entry of his personal licence on **E (20)** as 'y^{e} house knowne by all in Globe Alley in Wap'ping,' must, I imagine, be the same as 'the house of . . . near the herm'itage by Wapping,' the licence for which is entered on the line above.

Of the two 'lay' Londoners, who apply at Whitehall for their own licences, one is a lady—viz., Widow Lloyd.

4. WIDOW LLOYD.

This good lady, was willing—wishful—to have her 'mansion-'house' in the Strand licensed as a meeting-place for the Presbyterian Nonconformists in the Parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. She and they were still eager to avail themselves of the ministrations of their old Pastor, Gabriel Sangar, who had been compelled to leave them in 1660, on the distinct warning of Lord Clarendon that, as he would not conform, he must leave St. Martin's and remove further from the Court. He had since been living at Brompton and Ealing, and for some time, since 1665, at Brentford. He certainly had not forborne frequently to visit and minister to his old parishioners; for in the 1669 Conventicle Returns, the very first reported by Bishop Henchman is one 'At 'Richard Newby's house in the Strand,' where 'Gabriel Sangar formerly of St. Martin's in y^e^ feilds' is 'Preacher or Teacher' (**R. 219**). And more recently still he has taken a house or 'private lodgings' in the parish, so as to carry on the work more continuously. Indeed, in **320 (200)**, we have preserved a Petition from twelve of his old Parishioners desiring licences for Gabriel Sangar as Preacher, & for 'his 'owne private lodgings in the pish of S^t^ Martin in the Fields,' and also for 'the house of Widdow Lloyd in the Strand.'

And the very next document in Vol. **320** is a letter from her to the same effect. [**320 (201)**.]

'I, Catharine Floyd widow dwelling in y^e^ pish of St. Martin in y^e^ Fields doe desire that a roome or roomes in my own proper dwelling house in y^e^ Strand may be allowed for a Meeting House :

'In witness whereof I have subscribed my name
'KATHERINE FLOYDE Widow.'

[The variations in spelling are very noticeable, though evidently regarded as absolutely immaterial. The 'Lloyd' of the petition is altered by the lady herself into 'Floyd' and 'Floyde'; and 'Catharine' of the text of the letter becomes 'Katherine' in the signature.]

The other is a gentleman :

5. JAMES MARCH (or MARSH).

Five memoranda bear his name—viz., **320 (216)**, **320 (218)**, **321 (12)**, **321 (334)**, and **321 (359)** ; and a sixth **320 (217)**, though it is not signed by him, is a résumé of the first, drawn up either by himself or by one of the Whitehall officials.

The first two of these memoranda are applications, both of them including an application for his own house as a Congregational meeting-place ; and the third **321 (12)**, acknowledges the receipt of the licence for it.

From these three documents and the official résumé in **320 (217)** we learn that he was a resident in the parish of St. Clement's, Eastcheap. The first [320 (216)] describes it in a rather puzzling way, *inasmuch* as it asks 'For the Roomes in the great James in St. Clements East-'cheape London in the house of James March.' As it is signed very distinctly by James March himself, moreover, the description is authentic. Was 'the great James' the name of the house?

In **320** (**218**) he describes it more simply, if a little more vaguely, as 'the house of James March, In the parish of St. Clements Eastchepe, 'London.' In **320** (**217**) also, the description is virtually the same, as in it 'Ralph Venning . . . desires A Lycense for the house of James March 'to preach In St. Clements Eastcheap—London.'

It must have been a commodious building, for it is 'desired' as a 'meeting place' for two of the ejected London ministers to preach in: in **320** (**216**) and **320** (**217**) for Ralph Venning, who was ejected a Lectureship of St. Olave's, Southwark; and in **321** (**218**) for 'Robert 'Barker of the parish of St. James, Dukes place.' This last, however, must be a mistake for Matthew Barker, who was ejected from St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, quite near to St. Clement's. [Eastcheap was divided into two sections, by the great street running north from London Bridge, called New Fish Street, south of Eastcheap; and Gracechurch Street, north of it; the western portion of Eastcheap being called Great East Cheap, and the eastern, Little East Cheap. 'St. Clement's, East-'cheap,' was in St. Clement's Lane, north of Great East Cheap; and St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, was at the mutual corner of Little East Cheap and New Fish Street (south of the former and east of the latter).

So that Ralph Venning and Matthew Barker had been near neighbours in Commonwealth times, as good Puritan ministers of adjoining parishes.

Barker, apparently, had retired from his parish after his ejectment, and was living in a part of the city, which though within the walls had escaped the ravages of the Great Fire—that very near to Ald Gate, in Duke's Place, in the parish of St. James. [Duke Street, which runs parallel to, and only just within, the Old City Wall, at the point where it was pierced by Ald Gate, was the thoroughfare into which Duke's Place ran at right angles to it.]

Barker's licence must have been made out in a very bungling fashion from James March's memorandum [**320** (**218**)]; for in **E.** (**143**), it is entered, 'Licence to Robert Barter (*sic*) to be a Congr. Teacher in 'the howse of James March in the Parish of S^t Clements Eastcheap, 'London. 29 May.' But his right name is restored to him in the receipt which James March leaves at Whitehall when he calls a fortnight later [**321** (**359**)].

Having left his applications for these two ministerial neighbours of the old time some time in April, the last week or so of the month, James March does not trouble further till, on the 6th of May, he calls at Whitehall. He then finds that the Whitehall officials have only one licence ready for him, that for his house. And this he takes away.

Witness **321** (**12**)

'Received a Lycence for the house of James March In the parish of St. Clements Eastcheape by mee

'JAMES MARCH.

'Maie the 6th 1672.'

He had not been very eager about the other licences. Even that of his old pastor, Ralph Venning, he had allowed John Hickes (the Presbyterian) to call for four days before, May 2, 1672, as we see in **320** (**281**). And Matthew Barker's (whom he had miscalled 'Robert'), he leaves another month and more.

But he is soon seen applying for licences for Edward Alexander, a Kent minister ejected from Wickham, who had come to live in James March's neighbourhood, in the parish of St. Martin's Orgars (the tract between St. Martin's Lane and Miles' Lane, south of Great Eastcheap). The application is contained in **321** (**334**) :

'Edward Alexander minister of the Congregationall way desires License to preach in the ordinary allowed places, & particularly in his owne dwelling house in the parish of St. Martin Orgars in the city of London.

JAMES MARCH.'

The application receives due attention: whether promptly or not, we cannot tell, because it is undated. Both licences are granted; and they are entered as made out, June 10 1672 [**E.** (**157**)].

'Licence to Edw: Alexander to be a Congr. Teacher in his howse in the Parish of St. Martin Orgars London. 10 June.
'The howse of Edw: Alexander in the Parish of St. Martin Orgars,
'London Congr. Meeting Place. 10 June.'

He did not lose much time in securing them, for he went to Whitehall two days after and brings away the three licences, Matthew Barker's, which had been waiting for a full fortnight, and Edward Alexander's; as we see by **321** (**359**):

'June the 12th 1672
'Received these Lycences following
'A lysence for Mr Matthew Barker of London of the Congregationall way.
Another for Mr Edward Allexander of the Congregationall way and one for his house

'Received by mee
'JAMES MARCH.'

6. JOHN DAN OF ST. MARTIN'S, WESTMINSTER.

The next to be noticed was a preacher; but one who (as far as I have been able to ascertain) had had no ministerial training. He lived in the same parish as Widow Lloyd; but further south, in the northern part of Westminster.

About him there is enough of mystery and interest to make us hope that further research may reveal his status and connections. He was not a 'minister' in the accepted sense of the term. He was not known to Calamy as one of the 'ejected,' and we have discovered no evidence that he was trained for the Christian ministry. But the two documents which bear his name show that he was a friend and associate of Mr.

Steele (Richard Steele, the friend of Philip Henry, who, after his ejectment, had come up to London and was living in Westmorland House, Aldersgate). One of them, too, which is in his own handwriting, by its caligraphic peculiarities reveal a man by no means of ordinary type. It is small, firm, and of antique style, and written in an ink of such remarkable quality that for clear blackness it stands alone among all these licence-documents. Looking at its crabbed strength we involuntarily say, 'I should like to have known that man. He must have been a 'character.'

The two documents are **321** (**15**) and **321** (**62**), and both are endorsed by Benson, 'Dans note.' The former, however, **321** (**15**), though subscribed 'To be called for by Mr Dan,' appears to be in Richard Steele's handwriting; and the latter, **321** (**62**), while evidently written by Mr. Dan, and signed 'J. Dan,' has the note appended at the foot of the back, 'For Mr Steel.'

321 (**15**) is an application, made out by Richard Steele, for six licences—two for Yorkshire, two for Derbyshire, one for Wilts, and one for Berks; and J. Dan evidently took it for his friend to Whitehall on Tuesday, May 7, 1672, pledging himself to call for it a little later.

That pledge he keeps when he returns to Whitehall two days later. Apparently the licences are not ready. There is, at any rate, no memorandum preserved at the Record Office of his having received them. But this we do know—that he then leaves a memorandum of application for four licences, having arranged with his friend, Mr. Steele, that he will call to secure them. This was only two days after his first visit—viz., on Thursday, May 9.

His applications are for two licences for John Leighton, of Greasley, Notts; one for Robert Perrot, of Grub Street, London; and one for himself. This last reveals his residence, as he describes himself as 'of 'St. Martin's, Westminster.' It shows, too, that he must have lived in the northern part of Westminster, for 'St. Martin's' must be 'St. 'Martin's-in-the-Fields.'

These two memoranda receive very different treatment from the Whitehall officials. Of the six licences asked for on **321** (**15**), the first four (those for John Dent and Simon Barrett) are not issued till August 10, full three months later; and the other two were not made out till June. Of those he applied for himself, the first two (for John Leighton) received no better treatment than those for John Dent and Simon Barrett; but his own and Robert Perrott's are entered as issued only four days after he had left the application—viz., May 13, 1672.

His own, in the last line on **E.** (**98**):

> 'Licence to John Dan, of St Martin's Westminster to be a Pr. Teacher Grãll. 13 May'

and Perrott's on **E.** (**99**), the very next entry:

> 'Licence to Rob. Perrott of Grubb Street London to be a Grãll Pr. Teacher. 13 May'

Nor does he have to wait for his licence long, though it is not Mr. Steele who calls for it, as arranged. It is James Innes, junior, who [as we see in **321** (**150**)] calls the very next day after they have been issued and takes them away.

Of Robert Perrott, we know from Calamy (I. 282, 283) that he was ejected from Dean, in Bedfordshire; that in the years 1666-1669 he retired successively to Kettering, Nottingham, and Rede; and that in the last-named year he came up to London.

Of John Dan we know nothing, but should be glad to know much.

The next two of this London group come from the influential colony of Nonconformists in Hackney.

7. JONATHAN TUCKNEY.

The first we notice is Jonathan Tuckney. Only one document bears his name—viz., **320** (**299**).

He was the son of Dr. Anthony Tuckney, who was Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; was successively Vicar of Boston, in Lincolnshire and minister of Michael Quern, Cheapside (just at its junction with Blowbladder Street, now Newgate Street); in 1643 being appointed member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. In 1645 he was made Master of the college in which he had been student and Fellow. In 1648 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, and in 1653 was made Master of St. John's and Regius Professor of Divinity. In 1660, being deprived of these University preferments, he was given the Rectory of Somersham, in Hunts; was made one of the Commissioners at the Savoy; but soon retired from public life on a pension of £100, paid by his successor, Dr. Gunning. He lived in London; but, in 1665, fleeing the Plague, he retired first to Oundle, and then to Warmington (Northants). In 1666 he removed to Stockerston, in Leicestershire, and thence returned to Tottenham, near London; finally settling in 'the Spittle' (Spittlefields) in 1669, where he died, February, 1670.

Jonathan Tuckney, Calamy says (I. 266-67), was a prodigy as a schoolboy, had a remarkable memory, and 'attained to great eminence 'in literature'; 'but,' he adds, 'it was rendered almost useless by an 'habitual melancholy.' His ability secured him a Fellowship in St. John's, Cambridge, whence he was ejected. On his ejectment he probably came to live with his father in London, and finally settled in Hackney. It was as a resident in Hackney he secured licences under the Indulgence. An application is preserved in **320** (**252**); and though it is unsigned and undated, its form is quite compatible with the idea of his having taken it to Whitehall himself. Three licences bearing his name are entered in **E.**: two on **E.** (**65**)—for himself as Presbyterian teacher and his own house in Hackney as a meeting-place; and, curiously, a second licence for his house on **E.** (**71**). The first two are dated May 1, and the third is dated May 2. Nor does he leave them at Whitehall long. He calls there on May 2; and in **320** (**299**) he acknowledges the receipt of four licences: two for Josiah Rock, at

Bole, in Nottingham; and two for himself. It is dated 'May the '2nd 72':

> 'Recd then a Licence for Jonathan Tuckney to preach in his own house at Hackney in the county of Middlesex;
>
> 'I say Recd
>
> 'p JONATHAN TUCKNEY'

8. PETER STERRY.

The second is Peter Sterry.

Peter Sterry was evidently a man of great preaching gifts, for though he does not appear in Calamy's list of ejected ministers, he was more valued and sought after than many that were.

In 1669, according to the Henchman's Return of Conventicles, a Lecture was held by Combination at Hackney by eight of the best preachers in the City—men like Philip Nye, Thomas Brooks, Dr. Tho. Goodwin, Dr. William Bates, and Dr. John Owen; and 'Peter Sterry' heads the list.

And under the Indulgence he is licensed to preach in a greater number of designated places—or, should I say? more meeting-places are specially licensed for him to preach in than any other preacher.

Three of them were to be in 'Greater London,' for all three of which he applies himself on 'May 10th 1672.' Two of them belong to a Mr. Edward Bushell: probably the City one his place of business, and the Hackney house his place of residence.

The memorandum is preserved as **321 (81)**, is endorsed 'Sterry's note,' and reads:

> 'May 10th 1672
>
> 'A License is desired for the houses of Mr Edward Bushell in Hackney and at Little St. Hellens in London as also for the house of Mr John Berry in Filpot (Philpot) Lane, London. For Mr Peter Sterry to preach in
>
> 'PETER STERRY'

The memorandum is written on a piece of paper torn off a legal documentary form, engraved with the words: 'Sealed and delivered in 'the presence of.'

Three of these four licences in Greater London were issued within a week of his application—*i.e.*, on May 16, 1672; and they are all entered on **E. (117)**. His personal licence is made out for himself as a resident at Hackney; and his special meeting-place is his friend Edward Bushell's house in Hackney. His second licensed meeting-place is John Berry's (given in the licence-entry as 'Perry'), in Philpot Lane —in the very heart of the City. Bushell's house in Little St. Helen's is not licensed. As occupier of that house Edward Bushell was a neighbour of Dr. Nicholas Butler.

Even these exceptionally numerous licences do not satisfy him. In July he applies—or friends apply on his behalf—for licences for Berkhamstead, in Herts (full twenty-five miles from London); and they are issued on July 22, being entered on **E. (205)**.

'The howse of Rich: Pemble in little Barkhãstead, Hartford. Pr. 22 July
'Licence to Peter Sterry to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Rich: Pemble in little Barhãstead, Hartford. 22 July'

It is curious, to say the least, that of such a preacher neither Neal nor Calamy has anything to say. Bishop Burnet refers to him, but only to quote a phrase he used about Richard Cromwell on a fast day in Whitehall a week after Oliver's death. (It is on the authority of Tillotson.) 'Sterry, praying for Richard, used these indecent words, 'next to blasphemy, "Make him the brightness of the father's glory, '"and the express image of his person."'

But Baxter has some very full and candid allusions to him. At first his impressions, both of the man and of his views, he confesses, were very unfavourable; and (in Orme's Abbreviation of 'The Life and Times of Richard Baxter') in a passage, in which (Vol. I., pp. 106-8) he is describing the five sects which sprang up in the last years of the Commonwealth period, he speaks first of '*the Vanists*,' or 'Sir Harry Vane's disciples'; and, in noticing Vane, couples with him Mr. Peter Sterry. He says (I. 75): 'His' (Sir Harry Vane's) 'unhappiness lay in this: that his Doctrines were so cloudily formed 'and expressed that few could understand them, and therefore he had 'but few true Disciples. The Lord *Brook* was slain before he had 'brought him to Maturity; M^r^ *Sterry* is thought to be of his Mind, as 'he was his Intimate; but he hath not opened himself in writing' '[Marginal Note: "A posthumous Book of M^r^ Sterry's is since pub-'"lished'] and was so famous for Obscurity in Preaching (being, said 'Sir *Benj. Rudiard*, too high for this World, and too low for the other), 'that he thereby proved almost Barren also; and *Vanity* and *Sterility* 'were never more happily conjoined.' But Orme adds this note: 'Baxter's opinion of Sterry underwent a great change after this punning 'passage was written. He thus speaks of him in his "Catholic '"Theology": "It is long since I heard of the name and fame of M^r^ '"Peter Sterry. His common fame was, that his preaching was such '"as few or none could understand, which increased my desire to have '"heard him, of which I still missed, though I often attempted it. But '"now since his death, while my book was in the press, a posthumous '"tract of his cometh forth, of Free Will: upon perusal of which, I '"found in him the same notions as in Sir Harry Vane; but all handled '"with much more strength of parts, and rapture of highest devotion, '"and greater candour toward all others, than I expected. His preface '"is a most excellent persuasive to universal charity. Love was never '"more extolled than throughout this book. Doubtless his head was '"strong, his wit admirably pregnant, his searching studies hard and '"sublime, and, I think, his heart replenished with holy love to God, '"and great charity, moderation, and peaceableness towards men; in-'"somuch, that I heartily repent that I so far believed fame as to think '"somewhat hardlier of him and his few adherents, than I now think '"they deserve."'

Orme sums up: 'While this passage does great credit to the candour 'and honesty of Baxter, it shows us with what caution we ought to 'receive his opinions of the sectaries of the Commonwealth.

'Sterry has, like many of the men of that period, been most 'unrighteously abused. He was mystical; but so were Fénélon, Madam 'Guion, Henry More, and many others, whose talents and piety have 'never been questioned. His works prove that he was no fool, and his 'conduct shows that he was not a knave. He was a man of a highly 'poetical mind, which soared far above the turbulent atmosphere by 'which he was surrounded, and most of the creatures who floated 'in it.'

In his 'History of Religion in England' (Vol. IV., pp. 348-49) Dr. Stoughton notices him favourably. 'Peter Sterry, one of Cromwell's 'chaplains, is described as a "high flown mystical Divine." After 'being first much abused and then long neglected, he has of late been 'named with honour in high literary quarters. "The Rise, Race, and '"Royalty of the Kingdom of God in the Soul of Man" is a publication 'in which the characteristics of the author's mind and teaching may be 'fully seen.'

This is the man whose autograph application for licence to preach in five different meeting-places (one in Herts and four in London) is preserved in **321 (81)**.

One ejected minister, whose activities both before ejectment and after were almost wholly confined to the County of Lincoln, I place doubtfully in this list—because it is possible that at the time he made his personal application he may have been living in the London district, in the suburban village of Stoke Newington. I refer to

9. JOSEPH CAWTHORNE.

He was ejected from St. George's, Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and it is for Stamford that he successfully applies for licences at Whitehall.

All that Calamy knows of him is that he was educated at Cambridge University, and that 'some time after his ejectment he came to London, 'and preached there occasionally,' adding that 'At last he settled at 'Stoke Newington' (II. 433).

He also notices most favourably 'Mr John Richardson,' who was ejected from St. Michael's in the same town of Stamford: who came up to London from Uppingham, where he was residing, on this licence-business. So that if Cawthorne was already at Stoke Newington, the old neighbours in Stamford would meet at Whitehall on this same great quest.

Clearly they were interested in one another and their neighbours in both Lincoln and Rutland. It is Mr. Richardson who moves first, and, in **321 (274)**, we find him applying, May 27, 1672, for eleven licences in these two counties. But not long after Mr. Cawthorne calls, to make a second application (for almost exactly the same list), as the licences were not ready. This time the officials respond, and the licences are all issued June 10, 1672—as witness the entries on **E. (160)**.

Of course, all this may have been before his advent to London. And if so, he belongs to the noble band of those who came up from the provinces specially to London.

The last to be noticed of this London group are the most interesting. They are (10) Richard Steele and (11) Andrew Parsons.

10. RICHARD STEELE.

Richard Steele is one of those whom persecution had driven from the provinces to settle in the metropolis; so to enrich and strengthen the Nonconformity of London, and in this year of Liberty to act for their provincial brethren.

He was a native of Cheshire, being born at Barthomley, on the border of Staffordshire, in 1629. His father is described in the Matriculation books of St. John's College, Cambridge, as 'Robert Steele of 'Barthomley near Nantwich Cheshire, husbandman.'* We should call him 'a respectable farmer.' Richard must have been of 'precocious 'wit,' for he was entered a 'sizar' of St. John's College, Cambridge, April 1, 1642, when only fourteen. He graduated B.A. seven years later—1649; and proceeded M.A. 1654. When he attained the higher degree he had been already four years in the active ministry, for he was appointed Vicar of Hanmer, Flint (its detached portion), about twenty miles west-south-west of his home in Barthomley, in 1650. He must have had a high reputation for scholarship as well as piety, for in 1656 he was incorporated chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

During his ministry at Hanmer he formed a very close friendship with Philip Henry, who was only two years his junior, and had settled in the neighbourhood—first as tutor to the sons of John Puleston, of Ennal, and chaplain to the family, then as minister of Worthenbury Chapel; and on the constitution of Worthenbury as an independent parish in 1658, had been made its first incumbent. Philip Henry was further attached to this neighbourhood through his wife, whose father was freeholder of a good estate at Broadoak, quite close to Richard Steele's vicarage in Hanmer. Richard Steele's status was further acknowledged as a member of the Presbytery in the district 'classis'; and in that capacity it is interesting to know that he joined in the ordination alike of Philip Henry in 1657, and of his son (the celebrated commentator), Matthew Henry. From his ecclesiastical and social position he would often be brought into contact with the leading ministers of the district, and, among these, Henry Newcome, of Manchester, was one of the most prominent.

Richard Steele was ejected from his living in Hanmer in 1662, but continued to live in the neighbourhood, in constant intercourse with his friend Philip Henry, who had that year gone to live on his wife's estate at Broadoak. The following year (1663) they were both arrested, on the charge of being implicated in some plot—the abortive insurrectionary plot which fizzled out in Yorkshire—and were lodged together in Hanmer gaol. The charge was supported by no manner of proof, and they were discharged on 'parole.' But we have incidental proof (from an Informer's Report) that Steele was up in London in 1664; for he is 'informed against' as holding a Conventicle in Cheapside, at the 'Golden Goat,' on August 7 in that year. In 1665 they were both appointed sub-collectors of taxes for the township of Iscoed. It proved their known reliability and probity; but was intended, doubtless, as a practical proof of the invalidity of their 'orders' as ministers by their public appointment to a *layman's* office. Later the same year they were again imprisoned in Hanmer gaol. On the passing of the Five Mile Act he and his friend removed temporarily to Whitchurch; but being followed by persecution there, Philip Henry was able to return to Broadoak, and Richard Steele determined to leave the country and seek the greater security—because the greater obscurity—of London. Even then he was arrested as he was starting on his journey, on the old charge of being concerned in some political plot; and, finding no evidence, they seized his papers—among which was his Diary. They then trumped up a case of immorality against him, because of some entries in it touching the case of a young woman in whose spiritual welfare he was deeply concerned. They could not sustain the charge, however, and were compelled to let him go.

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* *Al. Cantab.*, 'Steele, Richard.'

He thus commenced a residence in London at the end of 1665 or the beginning of 1666, which lasted till his death—more than a quarter of a century later. It was to a city decimated by the Great Plague that he came, and one that was destined to be purged by the Great Fire only a few months after.

Where he went to live we are not definitely informed, but in 1672 we know he was living near Alders Gate, in 'Westmorland House, neere 'Bartholomew close' [**320 (127)**] in a turning out of Aldersgate; and the probability is that he had settled there at the first. It was very near to Little Britain, where Dr. Jacomb was residing in the mansion of the Dowager Duchess of Exeter, and just outside the area destroyed by the Great Fire—which burnt itself out in that part of the City, just north of the City wall and south of Little Britain. It was a quarter manifestly very strong in Nonconformity, for the Conventicle Returns of 1669 (only three years after his coming up to London) report two Conventicles close by: one in Horne Alley, just the other side of Aldersgate Street to that of Steele's own house, where, according to **R.** (**220**), the Teacher was 'M^{r} Grimes'—a name which was the London 'alias' for Robert Chambers (who had fled from Dublin on the discovery and suppression of Blood's attempt to seize the Castle); and one in 'St. 'Bartholomews Close' itself, 'neere y^{e} Church,' where (according to **R. 220***b*) 'another Scotchman' (other, that is, than the 'one Bruce who 'held a meeting at y^{e} George Inne in Smithfield') was the 'Preacher or 'Teacher.' We cannot help hazarding the conjecture that Richard Steele would occasionally, if not often, take part in the services in one or other of these places; though he did not confine his ministerial activity to the neighbourhood of his adopted home.

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (or his subordinate, the Archdeacon of Shrewsbury) reports him as preaching at a Conventicle of eighty in Whitchurch (whence he had fled to London) in association with three other ejected ministers (**R. 192**). Mr. Lawrence, of Baschurch, seems to have been the principal, as the Conventiclers, reported as 'most women' (though including Robert Benyon, Thomas Kelley, Ralph Eddoes, and John Beard) are said to resort to Mr. Lawrence every Sunday. But 'Mr Steele' is mentioned as 'formrly Minister of 'Hanmer in Flint,' together with his fast friend 'Mr Henry formerly of 'Worthenbury in the same com̃ (county),' and 'Mr Thomas Gilbert 'formerly of Edgmond in Salop.' The same Bishop, too, on **R. 197***b*, reports him, with six others, as preaching to Conventicles 'of above '300' 'at the houses of Mrs Pearson, Mr Fowler, & Mr Eves' in the town of Walsall in Stafford, which is at a great distance from Whitchurch, but might be visited by him on his way thither from London, or on his return thence to the Metropolis.

Two years later (1671) he received a visit from his old friend Philip Henry, who came up to London to lodge his nine-year-old boy, Matthew, in Mr. Doelittle's Seminary in Islington. [Mr. Doelittle had had to disperse it in the Plague year 1665; but it had been soon re-established, and had rapidly grown in favour with Nonconformists.] When the Declaration of Indulgence appeared in 1672, Richard Steele was evidently one of those most eager in its welcome, and most alert to secure its benefits for himself and his friends. It is greatly to his credit, however, to observe (from the testimony of the licence-documents) that the earliest of them, in his handwriting and bearing his name, show him applying for others rather than for himself.

His handwriting is fortunately very characteristic: small, but very distinct, and scholarly; so that though only eight of these licence-documents bear his signature, twelve others are quite indubitably from his pen, making twenty memoranda left by him at Whitehall. From one of these we learn his London residence. For appended to **320** (**127**), which is an application for seven licences, is this note: 'These 'are desired by me Richard Steele & that they may be sent (when 'signed) to him at Westmorland house, neere Bartholomew close. 'London.'

From other two we find that he was on terms of intimacy with two at least of the brethren resident in London; from **320** (**88 A**) with Andrew Parsons, who was living with or near John Turner, ('neer 'ye Red hart') in Fetter Lane; and from **321** (**15**) with Mr. Dan, of Westminster. For he arranges with Parsons that he shall call for licences for which he (Richard Steele) had applied; and with the latter (Dan) that licences Dan had applied for he (Richard Steele) shall go to Whitehall to fetch away.

The first licences he applies for are for three of his London brethren, and a neighbour and friend of his in the North. The memorandum is numbered **320** (**83**).

The three London brethren are the two brothers Bruce, who have Conventicles in West Smithfield, and John Turner, of Fetter Lane.

For these we have a second memorandum in his writing, **320** (**84**), and for one of the brothers (William) a third, **320** (**87**).

The Northern minister is Henry Newcome, of Manchester, a great friend of Oliver Heywood, and a centre of great influence in South Lancashire. Appended to the application is a very interesting document [**320** (**83** I)], namely: a petition from 'severall Inhabitants of the 'Towne of Manchester in y^{e} County Palatine of Lancaster,' asking that Henry Newcome, M.A., their former minister, may be allowed and licensed 'To exercise his Ministerial function' amongst them, and that a house hired for the purpose by him may be allowed for their meeting. The petition appears to be in his handwriting, but the signatures are all autographs. So that Newcome must have got his friend Steele to draw up the petition and send it down to Manchester for signature, returning it to London for Richard Steele to lodge at Whitehall. One would have thought that a request so formally presented would have been granted at once. The licences for himself and his private house were promptly issued—viz., on April 15th [**E.** (**21**)], but that for the 'hired house' (which would doubtless be the recognized chapel) was not granted till May 8th [**E.** (**89**)], and it was not till May 10th that Steele had the satisfaction of taking it away from Whitehall [**321** (**91**)].

He had left a second application-paper [**320** (**84**)], in which he put in a word for two South Wales ministers (Stephen Hughes, of Carmarthenshire, and Daniel Higgs, of Glamorganshire), as well as for his three London friends, before he made any application for himself. When he did so, in **320** (**87**), he applied as well for four other London ministers—Henry Stubbs, of Jewin Street; Andrew Parsons, of Southwark; and Edward Lawrence and Henry Vaughan, both of Spittlefields—and renewed his applications for William Bruce and Henry Newcome. But what is of special interest is that he applied also for his old intimate, Philip Henry. No doubt for the others he was acting by their special request. But in Philip Henry's case, as we know from Henry's Diary, Steele made the application on his own initiation. But three other applications had to be made before the licences were secured. The second was made in **320** (**127**), in which we have seen Richard Steele asked the unusual favour of having the licences sent to his house. [The rule evidently was that applicants must call for the licences at Whitehall, the officials declining the trouble and expense of sending them to the licensees.] The third application for Philip Henry's licences was made by Nehemiah Lyde in **320** (**128**), and as Henry Newcome's is placed beside it, the probability is that Richard Steele had asked him to make this application.

The licences were not issued till April 30th, a fortnight later than Henry Newcome's personal licences [**E.** (**49**)]. Whether in the end they were sent to Steele's house (as he had desired), or had been fetched from Whitehall by himself or Nehemiah Lyde, we do not know, for no memorandum of their receipt has been preserved. We do know, from the testimony of Philip Henry's Diary, that when he had secured them he sent them down to Mr. Yates, and Mr. Yates sent them on to

Philip Henry. There were two Yates's licensed in the Northern Counties: Robert Yates, who had been ejected from Warrington, and secured licences to preach in his old parish, though not till the end of July [July 15th, as entered on **E.** (**211**) and **E.** (**217**)]; and Thomas Yates, of Whitchurch, who is not in Calamy's list at all, but who had licences made out for him and his house in Whitchurch, on **E.** (**186**) and **E.** (**189**). These entries are not dated, but they must have been made out before the end of June, as those next dated bear the date June 29th.

It is almost certainly this Thomas Yates who is intended by Philip Henry, as it was at Whitchurch that both Richard Steele and Philip Henry lived a while in 1665; and it is quite near to Broadoak, across the county-border in Flint detached. The appearance of these licences almost startled Henry, for under date May 7, 1672, he writes in his Diary: 'This day I received my license unsought and unexpected, pro-'cur'd by Mr. Steel, sent in a post-letter to Mr. Yates, who had 'publish'd it before I knew it, else my intention was to have said nothing 'awhile.'

Evidently Steele must have sent off the licences as soon as he obtained them, for (though Mr. Yates had published the news before he sent them on to Philip Henry) only a week has elapsed between the date of their issue, April 30th, and the day of Henry's actual receipt of them, May 7th.

As might be expected, it is almost wholly for brethren whom he knew and met as neighbours in the time of his active ministry (living in the counties adjacent to Flint detached) that he makes application at Whitehall; viz. in Denbigh, in the southern part of Cheshire, and the northern parts of Shropshire and Staffordshire. In Denbigh he interests himself in behalf of John Hughes, of Wrexham [**321** (**5**) and (**6**)]; in Cheshire, for George Moxon and Andrew Barnet, of Astbury (north-east of Barthomley) [**320** (**219**) and **321** (**5**)]; and for J. Ravenshaw, of Wybunbury, quite near to Barthomley [**320** (**219**)]; in Shropshire,—doubtless through the influence of his friend Edward Lawrence, who had been ejected from Baschurch, had then retired to Whitchurch (as both Steele and Philip Henry had done), and, like himself, had been driven thence to London—for Francis Keeling of Baschurch, and Gurnall Taylor, of Wem [**320** (**88 A**)], as well as for John Bryan and Charles Doughty [**321** (**5**) and (**6**)]; and in Staffordshire, for Mrs. Machin's house in Stoke (*ibid.*), and for J. Barker in Lichfield [**321** (**187**)]; and specially for Richard Bell and three houses in Walsall [**320** (**88 A**)], the town in which he was reported as preaching in 1669, whose licences he personally received at Whitehall [**321** (**91**)] and sent down to them.

It was not wholly so, however. He applied for licences in Gloucestershire [**320** (**165**)] (John Fox in Marshfield and his barn in Nailsworth); in Oxfordshire, at Deddington and Milton; in Bucks, for Samuel Clarke and Rowland Steadman, at Winchendon [**321** (**311**)]; and in Warwickshire (James Wagstaffe at Knightcote) in [**321** (**311**)]; and as far South as Kent, where he applied for John Brice, of Beckenham, and Francis Ligo's house there [**320** (**121**)]. The last two applications he 'put in,' moreover, on **321** (**327**) and **321** (**341**), it is difficult to assign to any special interest in the cases; since the former was for the city of Chester, for John Glendole and Hugh Harvey's house there; and the latter for three licences in Daventree in Northants (for James Cave as preacher), and the houses of Mrs. Manley and John Hawtyn as meeting-places.

It is worthy of note that the last three memoranda of application take the form of notes, rather precise and formal, addressed not to Sir Joseph Williamson, but to Mr. Benson, his chief clerk.

Was it because in nearly all the other cases, he could put in his applications to Sir Joseph with the confidence of personal knowledge of those for whom he applies; while in these he acts simply as an agent, applying to an official, whom he had come to know in the course of his numerous visits to Whitehall?

It is rather remarkable that of the twenty memoranda Richard Steele put in, only two are memoranda of Receipt, and one of them is only the central section of a long list—viz., **320** (**242**), the first section of which is signed by Joshua Churchill of Dorchester, and the third by James Innes, junior. Richard Steele's are for Banbury and Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire, and for Goosetree in Cheshire, none of which were applied for by himself. The other is **321** (**91**), dated May 10th. For all mentioned in it, he had applied himself. William Cooke's, of Chester, twice; Edward Lawrence's (of Spittlefields), thrice; three meeting-places in Walsall, and Richard Bell's as preacher there, once; while for the last, 'a house neer the Colledge in Manchester,' for Henry Newcome to preach in, we have seen what a special interest he had taken, and how much his patience had been tried. His other applications did not fail, but some one else, in every case, went for them to Whitehall, possibly (as in the case of Philip Henry's) bringing them on to Westmorland House for him to despatch to his friends, or may be, relieving him of all further trouble by sending them down by post.

Beside all these documents, which show either the lasting and practical character of his old friendships, or his larger willingness to help any who ask his good offices, there is one which shows as clearly that he has not forgotten the special claims of the place of his birth.

In **321** (**246**) we have a letter addressed to Mr. Benson, unsigned (but certainly in his hand), bearing date May 24, 1672, praying him 'to 'expedite' licences for one teacher (Mr. Nathaniel Mansfield) and four meeting-places, the last of which is: 'For y^e House of Robert Steele 'of Bartomley in Cheshire for Presbyterians.' A fortnight later we find it issued. The record of it is in **E.** (**152**): 'Like for the howse of 'Rob: Steele in Bartomley, Chestr. 10 June.'

'Robert' was his father's name, we know. Was the licence for his old home, still inhabited by his aged father? It is quite possible, but further facts make it even more probable that it was an elder brother.

By the fall of the year, we find that Richard Steele had taken out a licence to be a Presbyterian teacher in his native place. The record is on **E.** (**250**), and is dated September 30, 1672:

'Licence to Rich. Steeles to be a Pr. Teacher, of the pish of 'Barthamley in Chesh. Sep. 30.'

And further, in January of the following year, he has licensed a house of his own in the town of his nativity. The entry is undated, but other entries on the same page **E. (284)** are dated January 13, 1672-73. It reads:

'The house of Richard Steeles of Barthamley Chest^{r} Pr.'

Does not this suggest, rather, that the father had died, and that in the division of the family property in Barthomley, his elder brother, Robert, had inherited the old home, and that he had inherited another house in the same town?

Though his interest was thus revived in the scenes of his childhood, and it is more than probable that he went down to preach there; it is most likely that on the withdrawal of the Indulgence, only a week or two later, he would give up the idea of resorting thither. And we gather from Calamy that he settled in London for the remaining twenty years of his life, for he says: 'Fixing afterwards at London, he became 'pastor of a congregation there, and died November 16, 1692, aged 64.'

On his frequent journeys to Whitehall we can with certainty picture the first section of his route. He would walk down the narrow lane from his house into Aldersgate, turn to the right and through the Gate in the City wall, down St. Anne's Lane into Foster Lane, and at its southern end turn sharp round past St. Michael's Quern Church and pass into St. Paul's Church Yard.

Thence he had a choice of routes: (1) He might cross the Yard to the centre of its southern side, and through St. Paul's Chain, go down Godliman Street and St. Bennet's Hill into Thames Street, cross Thames Street, and down the lane opposite, to the River Bank; taking boat from the stairs and rowing to the Palace Stairs, and up the way we know so well into the Courtyard.

Or (2) He might keep along the northern side of St. Paul's Churchyard to Ludgate Street, pass through Lud Gate and down Ludgate Hill across the Fleet Bridge into Fleet Street, and along the Strand to Charing Cross, and so down Whitehall and through the Palace Gates into the Great Courtyard. In the former case he would turn sharp to his left; in the latter cross the Court to its south-eastern corner to Arlington's Office.

I append a list of the documents in **320** and **321**, which are in his hand—**320**: **(83)**, **(83 I.)**, **(84)**, **(87)**, **(88A)**, **(121)**, **(127)**, **(165)**, **(219)**, and **(242)**; **321**: **(5)**, **(6)**, **(15)**, **(61)**, **(91)**, **(187)**, **(246)**, **(311)**, **(327)**, **(341)**.

11. ANDREW PARSONS.

The last of those who went to Whitehall in person from the London district was Andrew Parsons.

Calamy (III. 162) makes him a native of Devon, but Foster's *Al. Oxon.* makes him a Somerset man, giving him as born 1616 (which agrees with Calamy's notice of his age at his death), a son of John Parsons, of Milton, Somerset, 'pleb.' [Is this an error of Foster's, and the Milton where he was born, after all, the South Milton, near

Salcombe, in South Devon ?] If his father were not reckoned in the heraldic gentry of the County, he was yet able to give his son a University education. He sent him to Oxford, where he matriculated at Christ Church in 1634, at the age of 18. Though he was late beginning, however, he was very rapid in his advancement, according to the custom of those days, for he graduated B.A. the following year, July 8, 1635, and proceeded M.A. April 20, 1638. According to Calamy, he settled in Devon, where 'he was minister some years before 'the civil war.' So that he must have entered the ministry soon after graduating B.A., apparently as a Puritan, for the authorities (at that time strongly Laudian) did not favour him, and he was 'driven thence 'to London.' There he became well acquainted with Mr. Pym.

With the advent of a Puritan parliament to supreme power in 1640, matters were altered; he was appointed to Wem, near Salop (by Mr. Pym), as chaplain to the garrison there. There he remained for twenty years: a strong Puritan, but a zealous Royalist. 'He ran several 'hazards,' says Calamy, 'of losing his life and estate when King 'Charles II. passed with his army to Worcester. This was in 1651, and 'when eight years later there was a rising in the North under S^r W^r 'Booth' (Aug., 1659), 'he sent a horse and arms to Chester.' Still, this notorious loyalty to Charles II. did not prevent him being attacked by the Anglicans after the Restoration. They twisted some words he used in a sermon preached towards the close of 1660, in which he had likened the devil to a king courting the soul, into the assertion that 'the 'king was like a devil.' Though in his trial, in May of the following year, this slanderous evidence was disproved, 'he was found guilty, fined '£200, and sentenced to be imprisoned till it was paid.'

After remaining in prison for three months, the King remitted the fine, and he was set at liberty. The Chancellor of Lichfield, however, sequestered him from his living, and he came to live in London; Calamy telling us that he finally settled south of the Thames in Southwark, and that for several years he was assistant to Mr. Wadsworth.

His assistantship to Mr. Wadsworth, however, must have been subsequent to 1672, for the Conventicle Returns of 1669 give Mr. Wadsworth's associate as Mr. Chester, and in 1672 Parsons obtained licences to preach in his own house in Deadman's Place, Southwark, which was south-east of Maiden Lane, for which Mr. Chester was licensed. Indeed, we have evidence that he was in London as early as 1664, for in Informers' Reports he is returned as preaching at Rev. A. Jackson's, in Whitefriars, on May 25, 1664; and at the Pheasant Inn in Friday Street, on June 5th, the same year.

An application for licences to preach in his own house in Deadman's place is recorded in **320** (**87**), which is in Richard Steele's hand. It is placed in the same list with those for Mr. Vaughan and Mr. Edward Lawrence in Spittlefields; Mr. William Bruce in West Smithfield; Steele's friends, Mr. Philip Henry at Broadoak, Flint, and Henry Newcome at Manchester; and included one for Richard Steele himself. Were Andrew Parsons and Richard Steele personal friends?

Andrew Parsons's licences were part of the first batch of licences issued, bearing date April 2nd, and are entered on **E.** (**5**).

The early date of these entries, however, shows one of two things. Either the application was needless, because the licences had already been granted; or the memorandum is misplaced in **320**.

An odd coincidence suggests an affirmative answer to the question. The personal licence follows immediately the entries for Richard Steele's. Here it is:

'Parsons Pr. T^{r} in Southwark or any all^{d} pl

'Licence to M^{r} Andrew Parsons to be a Pr. Teacher in Deadman's Place in Southwark or any other allowed place. 2 Apr. 1672.'

The other is last on the page:

'Parsons howse in Deadman's place Presb. place for a T^{r}.

'Licence allowed M^{r} Andrew Parsons' house at Deadman's Place in Southwark to be a Place for a Pr. Teacher. 2 Apr. 1672.'

More, the comparative nearness of their respective spheres in the Commonwealth days makes such a friendship almost certain. True, Steele's living of Hanmer was in Flint, and Parsons's Rectory of Wem was in Salop. But the mutual border of detached Flint and Salop was not far from the centres of their two parishes. They were not eight miles apart 'as the crow flies,' not quite ten by road.

They were, therefore, naturally interested in the same places and the same persons, and had doubtless kept in close touch with each other ever since they had come to London. Indeed, it would appear that while Parsons's preaching-place was south of the Thames, a house he owned or rented in Deadman's place, Southwark, and it was for this that he took out his preaching licences; his residence was north of the Thames, not far from Richard Steele's—viz., in Fetter Lane. That, at any rate, is the conclusion we naturally draw from the note appended to the memorandum of applications, preserved as **320** (**88**A): 'To be 'sent to Mr. Parsons house neer y^{e} Red hart in Fetter lane.' Further, the form of it is so like that in **320** (**127**) that it suggests conference between the two applicants, and an agreement on the point, and part at least of **88**A seems to be in Mr. Steele's handwriting.

The memorandum, too, refers to many of the names which are found side by side with his in **320** (**87**). [Vaughan and Lawrence of Spittlefields, London, a house near the College, Manchester, for Henry Newcome, and for Mr. Gurnall Taylor, who is holding the flag in the place from which he was ejected—viz., Wem of Salop.]

The only other document in these licence-memoranda which bears his name **321** (**339**), is an application for:

'A License for

'M^{r}. Samuel Wills of y^{e} P^{r}sb: perswasion

'at his house called Whitley house in the county of Coventry.' [An interesting phrase, for the City of Coventry had also a County.]

This is signed 'And: Parsons.'

It was answered by the issue of the two Licences desired on June 10th, **E.** (**164**):

'Like to Sam: Wills in his howse in Coventry. 10 June'

'The howse of Sam: Wills in Coventry for Presb. 10 June'

This Samuel Wills was (Cal. III. 339-40) born at Coventry, educated at Cambridge, settled first at Croxall (Staffs), was then Minister at Great St. Helen's, London, and afterwards for twenty years at Birmingham, whence he was ejected. In 1669 he was reported as maintaining a Conventicle in his own house at Hampton-in-Arden (south-east of Birmingham) [**R. 194***b*]. In it he is described as 'Mr 'Willis, late Minister of Birmingham.' He received two licences for preaching at Birmingham. The first was dated May 1, 1672 [**E.** (**59**)], and the second July 22, 1672 [**E.** (**207**)]. In obtaining these licences for Coventry, we see then that Wills was returning to the home of his birth and childhood, so that the probability is that Whitley House was his paternal inheritance.

II. THOSE WHO WENT (OR SENT) TO WHITEHALL TO SECURE LICENCES FOR OTHERS.

These may be fairly described as licence-agents.

They are a motley company, and it is difficult to group them according to any intelligent principle.

(I.) EJECTED MINISTERS.

But there is one group which we may well place by themselves —viz., the ejected ministers, whose own licences had been secured by someone else, but who devoted themselves with more or less vigour to this truly brotherly task of going to Whitehall and negotiating 'licences' for their brethren, both in town and country. They were all men who belonged to the provinces. A few came up to London from the country for the purpose, but most had settled there, having been driven up to town by persecution.

These refugees who are willing to put themselves out to go to Whitehall, however, were very few, as compared with the total number living in and around London. Of these ministerial refugees in London there were no fewer than fifty-six (sixty?), who in 1672 obtained licences under the Declaration of Indulgence; but only eight or nine set themselves to this fraternal task.

Whether those who did wrought for nothing—or rather for nothing but 'love to their brethren'—we do not know. If they did, it was a fair and fitting thing for them to do; if they did not, their poverty must be their excuse for not refusing a small fee as remuneration for their trouble.

Let us look at them in the alphabetical order of their names.

1. R. Brinley.*

R. Brinley's name appears as the signature of two application-memoranda—viz., **321** (**344**) and **321** (**369**). In **321** (**344**), 'R. 'Brinley' applies for three licences for Suffolk Congregationalists: for John Stark, teacher, in the house of George Groom in Rattlesden, almost due west of Stowmarket in the central portion of the county, and for the house of Elizabeth Rust, widow, in Rickingale, which is on its northern boundary.

[John Stark was living at Wingfield (where he secured a licence for his house. He also had a licence to preach in his own house at Syleham [**E.** (**89**)])].

Mrs. Rust . . . was possibly an ancestor of the Editor's mother, whose family had branches in the Eastern Counties, specially in Norwich.]

In **321** (**369**) R. Brinley also applies for two licences in Essex on the northern (Suffolk) border of it.

It is an application form for two licences in Dedham, one for Samuel Brinley, a Presbyterian preacher, and the other for his sister's house as a meeting-place for both Presbyterians and Congregationalists. It has a dash of originality in its phrasing:

> 'Samuell Brinley of Dedhem in Essex, Presƀ. preacher
> & to such, & Congregationall hearers desires
> one License for his sister house Elizabeth Thompson of Dedham in Essex & one Gennerall Licence for Every place Licenced &c
> 'To be đđ to me
> 'R. Brinley.'

It is most natural to suppose that the 'R. Brinley' who applies for 'S. B. and his sister' is brother to both the would-be licensees: to S. Brinley, the minister, and to Mrs. Thompson his sister. Nor can we be far wrong in supposing that this 'Samuell Brinley' is Calamy's 'Mr. Samuel Brinsley' (II. 185, 186), who was ejected from Alphamston in Essex, almost due west of Dedham, farther up the River Stour, which divides Essex from Suffolk in that district. Calamy's information about him is meagre but interesting. He says he was 'Sometime 'Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.' That speaks for his culture and scholarship. 'He was a pious and laborious minister of Christ. 'After his ejectment he resided principally in and about London. But 'it doth not appear that he had any stated congregation. He died 'about the year 1695.'

What 'doth appear' from this licence-'mem.' is that he went to live at Dedham with his sister, *before* he retired to London; that on the appearance of the Declaration of Indulgence, they moved their brother Robert to go to London and apply for a general licence for himself, and one for her house—so that he might preach there, if he had no more definite ministry to perform elsewhere; and that this brother, R. Brinley, went to London and applied in person for them at Whitehall.

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* In a memorandum of receipt for poll tax of 1667 (Lay Subs., London, 147-611), dated April, 1667, 'Richard Brinley' is credited with the payment of 2s. 'at his dwelling house in Blanchappell Court,' doubtless *i.q.* Blanck Appleton Court at north-west corner of Mark Lane (O. and N., London, Vol. II., 178).

Calamy mentions also a *John* Brinsley of Yarmouth, himself the son of a good Puritan, who had been ejected from Yarmouth, who had been dead seven or eight years; having died in 1665. We can be in no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the Robert Brinley who thus acts for Samuel and his sister, is the 'Robert Brinsley, M.A.', whom Calamy notices (I. 263).

He was a Graduate (? Fellow) of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the same University in which his brother Samuel was Fellow of St. John's. Calamy tells us that 'after being ejected, he took his degrees in physic at *Leyden* and practised at Yarmouth.' At Yarmouth he would be comparatively near his brother Samuel, when living at Dedham with their sister, Mrs. Thompson, and doubtless made a special journey to London to secure their licences. But Calamy adds the interesting clause, 'where (*i.e.*, at Yarmouth) his father had been many years minister.' This must be the John Brinsley who was ejected from Yarmouth (Cal. III. 17), and had died there in 1665. Indeed, Brown ('History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk,' p. 137) takes this for granted, speaking of 'his son Robert.'

So that we have the whole family group exhibited clearly before us:

1. John Brinsley, Puritan clergyman, of Ashby de la Zouch,* whose wife was sister of Bishop Hall.

2. John Brinsley, his son, born at Ashby, educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who accompanied his uncle, Dr. Hall (then Dean of Worcester), as his amanuensis to the Synod of Dort, 1642; who was appointed pastor of Somerleyton, and afterwards at Yarmouth, continuing to live there, in retirement, till his death in 1665.

3. Samuel Brinsley and Robert Brinsley, John Brinsley junior's sons; Samuel, living at Dedham with his sister; and Robert practising as physician at Yarmouth.

There is also connected with these applications a third memorandum numbered **321** (**370**), which in its confusion of disconnected elements and bits of evident scribbling, makes it difficult to assign it its true value, if it have any. Its contents are as follows:

'Hugh Reynolds is my name, and with my pen I wrote the same and if my pen had Been †

'Elizabeth Thompson's house in Dedham in Essex, to Preach to the People com̃only called Presƀ and Congregationall

'Samuell Brinley of Dedham in Essex: Presƀ. desires a Licence to
Preach in any place Licenced

[*at back*] 'Jn^{o} Chames Cheindy.'

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* The Rusts were of Ashby de la Zouch. Does that account for R. B. applying for a licence for Eliz. R. of Rickinghall?

† Hugh Reynolds is one of the clerks in Sir Joseph Williamson's employ, a subordinate in Lord Arlington's Office at Whitehall

[*At back.*]

‘S^{r}

‘I wood have you to remember your friends and not forgett them as you doo, for it is not good to forgett frinds as times goes now.

‘S^{r}

‘I am yo^{r} Sarvant,

‘ROB: FR.’

‘My Lady Commanded me to Inclose this Letter to you [erased] and shee Most.’

‘James Jno Chame

Jn^{o}	Jn^{o} Jn	Thomas
France and	France Cohming	Jonas Jn^{o} as Comand^{r}
France and by the	Richard Thomas.	

‘Thomas

‘I am

‘CHAMBERT.’

Later and closer examination of this puzzling paper has enabled me to sift its contents into four sections, as indicated in the reproduction in Vol. I., p. 406.

The second section is in Robert Brinley’s handwriting, and is evidently a second application for licences for his brother Samuel and his sister Elizabeth.

It appears, then, that Robert Brinley made one application for John Stark and Elizabeth Rust, and two for his brother and sister.

These applications were all attended to, and issued, I imagine, at one time, about the middle of June, 1672. The first pair are entered on **E. (167)**, and the second pair on **E. (172)**.

As neither applications nor licence-entries are dated, we can say nothing as to the promptitude or otherwise with which the officials acted.

2. WILLIAM CARSLAKE.

William Carslake must be associated with John Hickes as a most energetic agent for Devon Nonconformists. In one way, he was more truly a Devon minister than John Hickes; for though John Hickes’s first ministry was in Devon, at Stoke Damarel, just above Plymouth; and for another six years or so (after 1665) he retired to Devonshire for refuge, it was actually from a Cornish living at Saltash that he was ejected, and for the three years following his ejectment he was a resident there. William Carslake was a Devon minister, and it was from a Devon living—viz., at Werrington—that he was ejected.

He was educated at Oxford; and from Foster’s ‘Alumni Oxonienses’ we learn the full particulars of his University career. He entered Exeter College as ‘servitor,’ matriculating thence February 13, 1648-49. He graduated B.A. February 26, 1652-53, and proceeded M.A. June 17, 1657. His first and only sphere was Werrington in Devon; but situated in a part almost detached from the rest, because on the west of the Tamar, just north of Launceston and St. Stephens, and so in a tongue of territory which intrudes itself into the natural area of Cornwall. [In some eighteenth-century maps, indeed, it is represented as in Cornwall.] After ejectment from Werrington, he retired to London, and Calamy tells us that William Carslake was one of the heroic band of Nonconformists who 'preached much about London all 'the time of the Plague,' and so supplied the lack of service of a panic-stricken and fugitive clergy. From the Conventicle Returns of 1669 (**R. 264***b*) we learn that he then was ministering to a small Conventicle of sixty Presbyterians and Independents [the strange variant is given 'Interpend^{ts}'] who met 'Att the house of one Price a wine cooper' in Fishmonger Alley, in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

The Bishop's informant has not got his name very accurately, however, though it is interesting to find that he has rightly discovered his origin. He calls him 'one Castlake a Devonshire nonconformist.'

Three years later he secures a licence under Charles's Indulgence, though it is not definitely or specially for the Conventicle in Fishmonger Alley. It is to be a Presbyterian Teacher in any allowed Place. He did not apply for the licence in person; though only a very little afterwards, we find him going to Whitehall to secure licences for others.

Two application forms are preserved in which his licence is named with others. The first—**320** (**45**)—(though unsigned), the handwriting proclaims unmistakably to have been put in by James Innes, junior. His name is the second on that list (the first being James Janeway's of Bermondsey); and the description given of the licence required is—

'M^{r} W^{m} Carslake Presbiterian a personall License only.'

The second, also unsigned and undated **320** (**46**), simply gives his name (the sixth in a list of eight) 'W. Carslake.' I have not been able to identify the writer. Both must have been early moving for their friend: for the licence was issued April 11, not a month after the Publication of the Indulgence. The entry is on **E.** (**14**) and reads:

'Carslake Presb. Teacher in any licensed place'	'W^{m} Carslake of Southwark to be a Presbyt. Teacher in any licenced place. 11. Apr. 1672.'

His handwriting is bold and clear and free, and his signature 'Will: 'Carslake' bespeaks a candid energy which naturally (almost) accepts and acts upon any call which opportunity makes for uncalculating service. It was so when London was desolated and decimated by the Plague. It is so now, when the Royal Indulgence offered liberty to suffering Nonconformists all the country over.

So he is glad to give his services to country brethren, to secure the liberty gained by him so early, and we can picture him taking boat at Shad Thames—that would be the landing-stage or stairs nearest to him—and being carried by the sturdy rowers along the broad curve of the river, under the arches of London Bridge, with its burden of shops and houses, as well as of passengers and wheeled traffic—the only bridge that in those days spanned the Thames—right away to the Palace Stairs at Whitehall, to do this useful work.

Three journeys at least he seems to have taken, it may have been more.

The first call recorded was on May 14th (rather more than a month after he had received his own licence), a Tuesday, which seems to have been a very busy one for Nonconformists at Whitehall.

(i.) From **321** (**149**) we see he then received three licences for Berks, and no less than fourteen for Devon, his own county. Only one of the places to which the licences applied was near his old home—viz., Holsworthy; the others were scattered over the county. North-west (Torrington), north-east (Tiverton, and Culmstock and Honiton), south-east (Exton, Teignmouth, Newton Abbott, and Totnes), south (Buckfastleigh, and Kingsbridge—John Hickes's quarters), and south-west in Plymouth.

It seems not improbable that he undertook this work to relieve the overburdened shoulders of John Hickes, the practical efficiency of whose service to the Devon brethren had proved out of all proportion to his bustling activity.

Whether it was on the same day that he presented his first signed application or no, we cannot definitely say, as it is undated.

(ii.) It is contained on **321** (**232**), which, by the way, is a replica of another memorandum, **321** (**231**), signed by John Hickes. It was not (like the previous one) almost wholly for his Devon friends, but mainly for his Metropolitan and Surrey friends, with two for Sussex.

There are two licences asked for neighbours in Southwark. [John Peachie as teacher, and George Ewer's house], one for a (widow's ?) house in Gracechurch Street, London, just across the Bridge, and two for Blechingley in Surrey. A note is appended, which substantiates the inference previously drawn from the large number of licences for Devon (John Hickes's natural 'sphere of influence'), to secure which had been the object of his first visit to Whitehall;—'these formerly desired by John Hickes nowe by me Will: Carslake.'

I should add that the Calendarist at the Record Office evidently thought that it was on a separate visit that he made this application, as the memorandum is placed among those dated May 21st and 22nd.

(iii.) The next, **321** (**247**), is a second application-paper, dated May 24th. It is for ten licences—eight in Devon, and two in Hampshire; and he indicates that of them four for Devon and two for Hants had been applied for before, but fruitlessly; while four other licences for Devon are new. The note—'These are nowe desired' (May 24: 1672)—is inserted between the two sets, the 'these' clearly referring to the four which follow it. Is it not natural to suppose they had been 'put in' by John Hickes? As the memoranda are not preserved we cannot test the supposition. He does not begin his task of looking up old applications very happily. The licence for the very first on the list, 'John Rowe's (or Rewe's) house in Shobrooke in Devon,' he had signed for on the occasion of his first visit to Whitehall, ten days before; but it is clear that the licence he had taken was for Mr. Rewe (Rowe's) person, not his house, which was issued May 13th, as entered on **E.** (**103**), and that the third on the list for 'Thomas Wellman, a

'Congrẽg. teacher in Luppitt in Devon,' had been granted more than seven weeks ago, to the good man as a Presbyterian, on April 11th [**E. (13)**] though in that he is described as of Buckerell.

Moreover, of any previous application for the other four (two in Devon and two in Hants), I can find no trace in the memoranda preserved in the Record Office. Of the four new ones, too, for Devon, one 'Chidwicke,' which should be 'Chideock,' is not in Devon at all, but in Dorset. The others are Tavistock in the south-west; Crediton, in the centre; and Kentisbeare, north-east of the county.

(iv.) In **321 (248)** he repeats his application for the four 'old' licences for Devon, including the one for Shobrooke, which he had signed for as already received; and the two for Hants, adding one for the Congregationalist, John Smith, in the Isle of Wight. This memorandum is undated, concluding simply with the words:

'these desired by Will: Carslake.'

This was probably left at the same time as **321 (247)**, though it is a separate paper; as the next, which is a Receipt,

(v.) **321 (256)** is dated the same day, May 24th. It shows that the Whitehall officials have attended to his first application [**321 (232)**] with fair promptitude, for he thereon acknowledges the receipt of the whole of the seven he then 'desired.'

(vi.) His next and last visit is not paid for another eleven days. The memorandum **321 (310)** is dated June 4th, and contains application for eleven licences: seven old, and four new; the same formulæ prefixed to the two sets which he had used in **321 (247)**. He makes application for some licences and receives others.

The 'Licences' which 'were desired before' were: one for Cornwall, one for Dorset, and five for Devon. The licence for Cornwall is rather an interesting one. It is for Charles Morton's house in St. Ives—almost at Land's End—whose owner had applied at the same time for a licence for another house of his in Kennington, Surrey, quite close to London.

This is certainly a case in which John Hickes's repeated applications had been neglected. He had applied three times for it, if not four, without success. Though the odd thing is his applications for the Kennington house had been attended to, and Charles Morton had had his licence for it issued as early as April 11th. Even now, when Will. Carslake takes it in hand on June 4th, this application is disregarded for nearly another seven weeks, and **E. (206)** shows that the licence is not issued till July 22, 1672, nearly four months after the first application was put in at Whitehall.

The licence for Dorset is the one for Chideock or Chidderwick, which he had before misplaced in Devon. This application is attended to more expeditiously, for the licence is issued six days later, on June 10, 1672, as witness entry on **E. (150)**. But the licence is made out from the previous application-memorandum, for the house is placed in Chidderick, Devon. Of the five for Devon, that for Shobrooke is dropped, the personal licence for which was issued April 11th (the same date as Charles Morton's house in Kennington);

but the Luppitt application is repeated, though it is in the same case. An application for Tavistock is now corrected to Tettcot, which was near his own old parish of Werrington. The others repeat his request of May 24th.

The new one for Devon—for Milton in Halberton—was granted before June was out, if granted at all (which is doubtful), as the entry on **E. (167)** is not dated. The Sussex applications are all for Arundel. These had precisely the same fate as the Milton one.

(vii.) On the same visit in which he 'put in' all these applications, he took away four licences, as we see by **321 (312)**. Three of them are for Hants. The two for Hayling-North he had applied for May 24th, and they were issued the very next day, May 25th, so that they had been ready waiting for him nine days; and the third for Widow Complin's house, which had been applied for by Samuel Tomlyns, the ejected minister of Crawley now living at Upham, had been issued April 13th, so that it had been waiting for more than seven weeks for some one to take it away. The other was for a house in Salcome, at the southernmost point of Devon, close to Bolthead. This licence was in exactly the same case as the two for Hayling-North. It had been issued the day after he had applied for them, so that he might have taken it away nine days before.

That is all that we are able to say of Will. Carslake's work, seeing that the records for the next six or seven months are lost or destroyed. For these three weeks he did well.

3. THOMAS DANSON.

A very full account of Thomas Danson is given by Anthony Wood in his 'Fasti Oxonienses,' which has been (almost bodily) cited by Palmer (Cal. III. 286-87), and is the substance of the Article in the National Dictionary of Biography. Wood is compelled by the facts to think so highly of his abilities and scholarship that he is fain to end his notice of him in these remarkable words: 'If his juvenile education had been among orthodox persons, and his principles consequent to it, he might have done more service to the Church of England than for Nonconformists.'

He was a Londoner by birth, being born in the heart of the city in the parish of Mary le Bow, Cheapside. As a boy he was educated in Latin and Greek by Rev. Thomas Wise in the neighbouring parish of St. Thomas the Apostle; and as a youth, in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, by Dr. Ravis, Professor of Oriental languages. He made such signal progress that in 1646-47 he was entered a student of New College, Oxford (under the newly established Parliamentary régime).

In 1648 he was made chaplain of Corpus Christi College by the Parliamentary visitors. In 1649-50, February 19th, he graduated B.A.; and three years later (1652) was elected Fellow of Magdalen College; and by dispensation proceeded M.A. There is no doubt that his remarkable linguistic gifts marked him out for the Professorial profession. A sickness about this time seems to have turned his thoughts to the ministry, and he soon became a zealous and noted preacher. He gave up his University future, and accepted appointment first at Berwick-on-Tweed. Then he was removed to the Rectory of Sandwich, in Kent, by the presentation of Oliver Cromwell ; and there he remained till the Restoration, when he was ejected, on the alleged illegality of his presentation [though the legal patron, the Dean of Canterbury, had died when he was appointed to fill the vacancy]. Still, he was transferred to Sibton, in Suffolk (in the north-east corner of the county), and there he remained for two years ; but, refusing to conform to the terms of the Act of Uniformity, he was ejected, 1662. Thereupon he retired to the city of his birth and early education, settling in Spittlefields, where there was a small colony of Nonconformist ministers : Dr. Annesley, Thomas Vincent, Henry Vaughan, and Edward Lawrence.

He seems to have kept 'quiet,' for his name does not appear in the return of Conventicles for 1669. With the appearance of the Indulgence, he determined to avail himself of it. He did not apply for licences himself, but apparently engaged the good offices of young James Innes ; at any rate James Innes junior fetched away the licences for him. They were issued April 22nd, as we see in **E.** (**43**) :

'Spittlefields Pr. Danson's howse.	'The howse of Thomas Danson in Spittle Fields Midd. licensed to be a Presb. Meeting Place. 22. Apr. 72.

and **E.** (**44**) :

'Danson Pr. Spittlefields.	'License for Thomas Danson to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Spittle Fields, Midd. 22. Apr. 72.'

But **320** (**295**). whereon James Innes, junior, acknowledges the receipt of these licences (together with some score or more of others), is not dated, so we cannot tell exactly when Danson received them.

Not long after, he must have heard from his old friends in Suffolk asking his offices to secure licences for them. He was licensed as a Presbyterian himself, and his first visit to Whitehall was for one of the very few places in that part of Suffolk which had adopted the Presbyterian judgment. They nearly all followed the Congregational 'way.' But the first document that bears his name is for a Presbyterian brother in Rendham, a village on the River Alde, quite close to his old parish of Sibton. It is numbered [**321** (**111**)], and is endorsed : 'Danson's 'note. Suffolk x.'

> 'Thomas Nuttall for his dwelling House in Rendham in the County of Suffolk, of the Presbyterian perswasion
> 'To be Called for by
> Tho: Danson.'

He is not bigoted in his denominational preferences, however ; for a day or two later we find him applying for Smith of Wesselton, and the Mannings (three brothers) of Peasenhall and Walpole—all of them Congregationalists ; all the places in the immediate neighbourhood of his old sphere (Peasenhall, indeed, adjoins Sibton). This we see in **321**

(117), a memorandum, plainly drawn up by him, though it does not bear his signature. These licences were all issued May 13th [**E. (100)**]; and five days later he calls at Whitehall, and is able to bring them all away (the two Presbyterian ones, which he had first applied for, as well as the eight Congregational). This he acknowledged in **321** (**203**), in which the date is given, both at its head and its foot:

'May 18: 1672.

. . . . .

'R^d^ the Licenses for the persons and places above mentioned
'p me THO: DANSON.'

May 18: 1672.

The third and last memorandum of his is **321** (**338**) which is specially interesting as containing applications for three licences for Sibton, as well as five others, for Middleton, Swafling, Knodishall, and Dunwich, all in its immediate neighbourhood, though east of it, almost on the sea coast. They are all 'Congregational,' including the brother 'John Hurnon (of the congll perswasion),' who asks a licence for himself and his own dwelling-house in Sibton, and 'Edmund Bellamy's 'house in Sibton in the same county.'

This group was not applied for till a month nearly had elapsed. At least, the licences were not issued till June 10, 1672 [**E. (155** and **156)**].

Quite late in life he married the daughter of a Dr. Garbrand, a Nonconformist physician in Abingdon, Berks; and he left London to settle there in 1679, preaching in private houses, and sometimes in the Town Hall, though not without frequent opposition.

He did not end his days there, however, for in 1692 he returned to his birthplace, dying in London, 1694.

The panegyric of his scholarly friend, William Jenkyn (who was ejected from Christ Church, Newgate), was as true as it was sententious: 'vir doctissimus, totus rei domus zelo ardens,' 'a most learned man 'whose whole being glowed with zeal in everything which concerned 'the house of God.'

4. JOHN DONN.

I put this name, problematically, in this list, because its right to this position depends upon the somewhat doubtful identification of the surname 'Donn' with 'Donne.' Hesitation on that score is less necessary, as there is no room for question that the 'John Donne' of Calamy is the 'John Dun' of the Episcopal Returns. If 'Donne' and 'Dun' are the names of the same person, there can be little doubt that 'Donn' is only another spelling of the same name.

Of John Donne's early life, all that Calamy (I. 284) has to tell us is that he was educated at King's College, Cambridge; and that he was ejected from the Rectory of Pertenhall in Bedfordshire. During his tenure of the living in the Commonwealth days, he was one of the thirty-six signatories of a Letter,* addressed to the Protector in 1653, announcing to him their choice of Nathaniell Taylor and John Croke,† both J.P.'s, as representatives of Bedford in his Little Parliament (or 'Parliament of Saints'); and four years later he signed a document, called 'A Serious Testimony, &c.', deprecating any departure from the 'Commonwealth' form of government, and declaring against the restoration of monarchy (even a limited monarchy) in the person of Cromwell.‡

Calamy says: 'After his ejectment he lived at *Keysoe* in the neigh'bourhood; where he had a congregation, among whom he took great 'pains; preaching constantly at his meeting every Lord's day, and 'sometimes also on week-days.'

The Episcopal Returns for 1669 confirm this statement as to the place of his residence, and give independent testimony as to his ministerial activity in the neighbourhood. The Bishop of Lincoln reports, under the heading of the 'Eaton Deanry,' two Conventicles at Bolnhurst (**R. 203**).

One was of 'Independ^{ts},' 'about 80' in number, 'of meane 'Condic̃on'; and its 'Head or Teacher' was 'John Dun, ejected out 'of the Rectory of Pertenhall in Beđ:shire'—a most interesting note being added—'upon the Kings returne, he was apprehended teaching 'att a Conventicle by Wiłł^{m} Foster Esq^{r} a Justice of peace att (*i.q.* and) 'committed to the gaole att Bedford, where he should still remaine have 'received his tryall upõ the Statut: for Banishment of Conventiclers, & 'Convicted thereof He usually preaches at his house in Keysoe.'

In this year of grace, 1672, he was licensed to preach in his own house at Keysoe. The application for the licence stands first in the long list on the memorable paper **321** (**58**), which was for many years accepted as unquestionably coming from the pen of John Bunyan. His name receives a fresh variation.

'John Dorne for his own & the house of Georg ffowler in Kaishow.' Though undated, it was demonstrably put in either on the 29th or 30th of April, or on the 1st of May, 1672.

The licences were issued May 8. The entries are on **E.** (**88**) and **E.** (**90**); the personal licence on the last line of **E.** (**90**):

> 'Licence to John Donne to be a Congr. Teacher in his howse & Geo. Fowler's in Kaishow, Bedford, 8 May'; and

the licence for the house on **E.** (**88**):

> 'The howse of John Donne & George Fowler in Kaishow Bedford Congr. Meeting Place. 8 May 72.'

Thomas Taylor called at Whitehall to receive the licences. The memorandum is preserved in **321** (**75**), on its second line (where his surname gets a fourth variant):

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* It was entitled a 'Letter from the people of Bedfordshire to the Lord General Cromwell and the Councell of the Army' (*vide* Dr. Brown's 'John Bunyan,' pp. 101, 102).

† This John Croke, J.P., must be the John Crooke, or Croote, who is reported several times as a Quaker teacher in 1669.

‡ Dr. Brown's 'John Bunyan,' pp. 107-109.

'John Don his own & George Fowlers house in Kaishow.'

This was almost certainly on May 10, 1672.

His licences were therefore negotiated and secured for him by Thomas Taylor, who had long been a resident in Town—in the first ten days of May.

Yet it is to this period that the application-memorandum belongs which bears John Donn's name. It is for a William Donn of the adjoining county, Huntingdon, to be a 'general' Presbyterian Teacher. What makes it the more difficult to assign it to any other person than John Donne, formerly of Pertenhall, now of Keysoe, is that in the endorsement, Benson restores to the name Calamy's spelling of it, 'Donne' [**321 (18)**]. He endorses the paper 'Donnes note, Huntingdon.' It reads :

'William Donn of Oldweston,* In Huntingdonshire of the Presbyterian Persuasion, humbly desires a generall Lycence to preach the Gospell.
'To be called for by
'May 7th 'JOHN DONN.'

If it be he, then, we find John Donne of Keysoe, coming up to London, and leaving this application for William Donn of Oldweston, at Whitehall, seven or eight days after Thomas Taylor has left an application for a licence for him (John Donne) ; and the day before licences for him were actually made out and entered.

One would have thought that he would have known that John Bunyan was moving for licences for his friends in Bedfordshire and the adjoining counties ; and would have suggested to 'William Donne' to send his name in as well. The reason for his going to Town may have been his discovery that while Bunyan's long list included names for 'Northamptonshire,' 'Cambridgeshire,' 'Harfordshire,' and 'Bucks.' 'Hunts' had been omitted ; and he did not wish his friend to be left out in the cold.

Especially might this have been the case, were this William Donn his brother. On the identity of 'William Donn,' I have no information. His name does not appear in Calamy's brief list for Huntingdon. Still it is quite possible that he had been ejected in that county : for the cases are very few where the applicants to preach to 'Presbyterians' were not previously trained men, who had been ejected from their livings for nonconformity.

Only further documentary evidence can settle the question. We have no record of when John Donne called to receive the licence. It was issued two days after he had put in the application, and the day after his own had been made out and entered—viz., May 9th. It is entered on **E. (97)** :

'Licence to Wm Donne of Old Weston, Huntingdoñ to be a Grãll Pr. Teacher. 9 May.'

But here ends our information.

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* Old Weston is on the shoulder of a spur of the range of low hills which, on the north-west, form the border of Hunts, where it is contiguous with Northants, and looks down on a valley watered by one of the affluents of the Ouse, which it joins at Huntingdon.

5. STEPHEN FORD.

Stephen Ford comes before us as Agent, on only one occasion; and as desiring five licences for four persons. His is an interesting personality, made the more interesting through the unworthy attempts of the self-constituted champions of the Church of England to belittle him.

Of his birth and early life we have no information. Thus much, however, we know of him—viz., that he first occupied a ‘menial’ position in the establishment of St. John's College, Oxford, though he afterwards received such education in the University (or under Thankful Owen's personal supervision), as to fit him for the ministry of the Church of England, and that in the time of the Commonwealth he was appointed Vicar of Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire.

The first of these facts we learn from a double source, though in both cases, our authorities seem to have the vaguest information based on legendary hearsay rather than definite knowledge: the Episcopal Returns of 1669, and Dr. Walker's ‘Sufferings of the Clergy.’

In the Returns of Conventicles (ordered by Archbishop Sheldon), the Bishop of Winchester reports six Conventicles in the Parish of St. Olave's (**R. 264***b*), and the first is described as ‘One in Mill Lane Att ‘the malthouse of one Walker a Brewer,’ frequented by 200; with no less than four ‘Heads’ or ‘Teachers’ ministering in it. Of these four, the first is our friend; and he is described in this very remarkable fashion, ‘one Ford, a servant to Thankfull Owen.’*

Our second authority, Dr. Walker (‘Sufferings of the Clergy,’ Part II., p. 319) is noticing the case of John Norgrave, who was sequestered from Chipping Norton, and he says: ‘One of those who ‘succeeded him was one Ford, who had been, as ’twas reported, a ‘servant to an Head of an House.’

From the first phrase, ‘servant to Thankfull Owen,’ one would naturally infer that this ‘Ford,’ at the time the return was made, was a domestic servant in some gentleman's establishment of that name, and while there was an occasional preacher in Mill Lane, Southwark; and from the second, it would be as natural to infer that ‘he had been footman or butler in some private mansion.’

A little fuller information, however, puts the matter in quite another light. In 1669, it is true, ‘Thankful Owen’ was living in retirement in London, ‘much respected,’ and had been so living for some nine years. But previous to this he had been for some years ‘President of St. John's College, Oxford.’ So that he had been ‘Head of an House’ in a very special sense; a sense which might have been understood by any University-trained man into whose hands Dr. Walker's book might fall, but certainly would scarcely be suspected by the ordinary public; and it appears that Stephen Ford was servant to Thankful Owen, *not* in 1669, when he was one of the preachers in Mill Lane, Southwark, but in his early days, fifteen or twenty years before. In Oxford, not in London, was he servant to Thankful Owen; and 'servant to him,' not as a private gentleman, but as the Head of a College House, the President of St. John's College. So that we have to think of him when a young man, as one of the domestic staff of the College, either waiting personally on the President, or upon the students in the Common Hall under the President's orders.

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* Thankful Owen, born in London, 1630; matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, 1636; made a Fellow of Lincoln, 1642; graduated M.A., 1646; made a Delegate of the Parliamentary Visitors, 1647; elected one of the Examination Committee (for Fellowships), 1648; Proctor and President of St. John's, 1650; acted as Visitor to the University from 1652 to 1657; was ejected 1660, and died 1681 (Burrow's ‘Register of the University of Oxford,’ 1647-1658).

It would further appear that the President came to think so well of his 'man,' of his piety and fitness for the ministry, that he provided for his education, so as to fit him to pass Oliver's Triers, and secure his appointment as Vicar of Chipping-Norton. For we know, on the authority of Mr. Dewes of Chipping-Norton (as quoted by Palmer in continuation of Calamy (III. 121), that he 'pursued his studies at '*Oxford*, but at what College does not appear.'* The sort of man he was we may gather, too, from an Epistle of his to his people at Chipping-Norton, cited by Mr. Dewes, in which he says: 'When the blessed 'God inclined my heart to the ministry, my earnest request was that he 'would be pleased to cast my lot in a place where I might be eminently 'useful in the church and cause of Christ. At the time I became your 'minister I had three places offered me: one of them was worth nearly 'twenty times as much as this poor Vicarage. But I found my heart inclined 'more towards you than towards any of the said places, and through 'grace I refused them all for your sakes.' That being the spirit in which he entered on his ministry, it is not surprising to learn that 'in a 'short time he had the satisfaction to find his labours among them 'crowned with eminent success.' In 1662 he was ejected from his living. As long as he could after this, he remained in 'Oxfordshire, to 'preach among his people as he had opportunity; but was sadly harassed, 'and at length some of his enemies threatened his life, so that he was 'forced to fly to London.' He probably settled in Southwark (where in 1669 he is returned as one of the preachers in Mill Lane). One thing Calamy tells us which places him on the bead-roll of the Nonconformist heroes of 1665. 'He often preached in London,' he tells us, 'in the time of the Plague, when many others fled into the country to 'escape it.' It is clear, too, that he continued an active preacher, as opportunity offered, right through the seven years which passed before the Declaration of Indulgence was published; and he was one of those in evidence in the negotiations which were carried on in the latter half of 1671, which issued in the Declaration. Indeed, he is referred to by name in the Diary notes of Joseph Williamson under date November 4, 1671. The reference, however, is not a very complimentary one. He has referred to West some time before as 'a shrewd man'; but all he has to say for Steven Ford is: 'Ford, a silly fellow.' Probably his 'Independency,' his spiritual enthusiasm, his openness and simplicity, would be enough to stamp him as 'silly' in the eyes of a man of the world like Williamson. [Especially if he knew anything of his humble origin.] In 1672 he secures licences to preach in a house near Miles Lane.* It is one of the first batch issued, dated April 2, 1672.

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* I may add that his name does not appear in Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses.'

They are entered on **E. (6)** and **E. (7)** on the last line of the former and the first line of the latter :

' Stephen Ford Congr. Miles lane London.	' Licence to Stephen Ford to be a Teacher of the Congregationall way in a place or Howse near Miles lane London. 2. Apr. 1672
' Howse in Miles lane, London Congr.	' A certaine Howse or Roome near Miles lane London licenced to be a place of meeting of the Congregationall way. 2. Apr. 1672.'

[' Miles' Lane was so called because the Church in it was called St. Michael's: of which 'Miles' is only a contraction.] Calamy refers Miles Lane to 'Canon Street,' but it really connected Thames Street with Little East Cheap, the continuation of Cannon Street, eastward as far as Gracechurch Street, rather than with Cannon Street itself.

It was here, he tells us, Stephen Ford finally settled down. When 'liberty was granted, a meeting-house was erected for him in Miles 'Lane, Canon Street, where he was pastor of a Congregational Church. 'Here he held a catechetical lecture for young men at seven o'clock on 'Lord's day mornings, which he afterwards changed to the evening; 'and which, it was hoped, did much good.'

The only documentary traces of his good offices for others, in the way of securing licences in 1672, is a letter, dated May 7th, but not addressed. It may have been written to Sir Joseph Williamson, but if so, it is clear he thought that he stood higher in Sir Joseph's esteem than he actually did: or possibly it may have been addressed to Mr. Benson, Sir Joseph's chief clerk. Anyhow, it commences: 'Deare Friend.' It reads :

[321 (19)].

Endorsed : 'Ford's note. Sussex.'

'Deare ffreind,

'Lewes

'The back howse of Mr Tho: Fissenden the person. Mr John Crouch the younger of Lewes, Congregationall Sussex

'Haylsham.

'The house of Mr John Lover in Lewes in Sussex the person Mr John Lover congregationall Sussex

'Mr John Wakely of Thorncomb of ye presbyterian perswasion in Devon

'To be calld for by mee
'STEPHEN FORD,

'May 7th.'

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* After the contemptuous allusion which Sir Joseph Williamson had made to him only in November of the preceding year, it is an instance of the 'irony of fate' that his licence should have been obtained through Sir Joseph's intervention. By the introduction of James Innes, senior, Nathaniel Vincent and William Whitaker

It was doubtless through his personal acquaintance with John Crouch that he made application for these Sussex licences. John Crouch was a native of, or at any rate a resident in, Lewes, waiting to enter the ministry in 1662 (Cal. III. 337), when the Act of Uniformity made it impossible for him conscientiously to do so.

He was as closely identified with London as with Lewes; and it was undoubtedly in their ministerial work in London that he and Ford got to know each other. For Calamy writes of him (III. 337): ‘Mr John Crouch, of Lewes. Of Oxford University. He was never pastor to any congregation, but sometimes preached occasionally in the country, and sometimes resided in London.’

Calamy's negative appears curiously inaccurate, for John Crouch was pastor of a Church in White's Alley, Little Moorfields—unless this John Crouch of London were his father.

Joseph Williamson, in his Notes under date Thursday, November 16, 1671, refers to him and his meeting in these terms: ‘Lord Mayor sent an Officer Sunday the 4th [should it not be the 5th ?] the next day I had been with him. Sent to Crouch's meeting in Little Moorfields, and called for the teacher out of the pulpit. The teacher escaped. The Monday sent for, by his Marshall, the preacher &c.’

On June 10, 1672, John Crouch (after two applications—the second by Joseph Crundall) secured a licence to preach in Widow Holmes's house in White's Alley, Little Moorfields [**E. (164)**].

But Calamy's vague assignment of Crouch to the country as well as to London is borne out by Crouch's licence to preach in the back-house of Mr. Tho. Fissenden, in Lewes, applied for by Stephen Ford on May 7 [**321 (19)**], and actually issued only two days later, May 9, 1672 [**E. (95)**]:

> ‘Licence to John Crouch to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of Thomas Fissenden, in Lewes Sussex. 9 May.’

6. John Light.

There can be little doubt that this is the ‘Mr Light’ mentioned by Calamy (II. 175) as one of those ‘ejected in the County of Dorset, from places unknown.’* If so, after his ejectment he must have come up to London and settled in the City, just on the rising bank of the river. For he sought and obtained a licence early in 1672 for himself

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had gone to Whitehall to secure licences for themselves. Sir Joseph notes at the foot of Innes' letter to him [**320 (35)**] their names and addresses; but also adds: ‘Mr. Stephen Ford, Congreg. at a place neare Miles Lane, London.’ Either Vincent or Whitaker had given in his name.

* Dr. Whitley questions this, saying: ‘In 1652-1654 he had been member of the curious London Church, composed chiefly of General Baptists, which was nearly wrecked by Dr. Peter Chamberlen, and whose remnants seem to have merged into the Bullstake Alley Seventh Day Church, whose pastor, John James, was hanged and quartered in 1661’ (*vide* Records in B.H.S. *Transactions*, ii. 134). Rev. A. Gordon, however, confirms Calamy's statement by the information that John Light was curate or lecturer at Preston, Dorset, where (according to Hutchins) his wife Mary died August 4, 1660.

and his house in Thames Street ‘for the Congregational perswasion.’ His application was made early, as the licences bear date within a fortnight of the issue of the Declaration. It is contained on **320** (**79**)—a very slipshod production, not in Light’s handwriting.

Only two names are on it: that of ‘John Light of the Congrega-‘tionall Persuasion. His owne house in Thames-Street,’ and that of Richard Kentish, a brother in the Congregational faith, also living on the northern bank of the Thames, only beyond the Tower and City wall in Wapping. The odd thing is that Richard Kentish’s name and his requirements are scrawled in a huge sprawl on the back of the paper as well: ‘M^{r} Richard Kentish of the Congregationall Persuasion. A ‘house neare the Hermitage in the P.’ [I suppose that means ‘in the ‘Parish’—referring to Wapping, as it is described on the face of the paper as ‘A house neere the Hermitage by Wapping.’] Richard Kentish had ministered for forty years in the Collegiate Chapel of St. Katherine’s within the Tower, so that in his active retirement he was carrying on his irregular ministry in the shadow of the walls which enclosed his former sphere.

All four licences were issued on April 13, Richard Kentish’s being entered on **E.** (**19** and **20**), and John Light’s on **E.** (**21**), as follows:

‘Thames Street Congr. Lights howse.’	‘The howse of John Light in Thames Street licensed for a Congr. Meeting Place. 13. Apr. 72.
‘Light Congr. Thames Street.	‘Licence to John Light to be a Congr. Teacher in his owne howse in Thames Street. 13. Apr. 72.’

The first sign we have of his exerting himself to help his brethren to secure the liberty his own licences had given him is in **321** (**60**), the application paper which Francis Holcroft, of Cambridge, had drawn up and signed with his own hand, for himself and his friends Sam Corbyn, Joseph Oddey, and Thomas Lock to preach in Cambridge, Meldred, and Willingham.

Holcroft has written at the back—his handwriting is unmistakable: ‘Taken out y^{e} Licences’; but at the foot of the memorandum itself John Light has written (his handwriting quite as characteristic): ‘M^{r} Light remaineing behind.’ How are we to interpret these various elements of the document?

Was it not this? Francis Holcroft came with John Light to Whitehall (was he staying with him in Thames Street?), and saw the matter actually taken in hand by Sir Joseph Williamson or Mr. Francis Benson, and so endorsed the paper: ‘Taken out y^{e} Licences,’ making it a Receipt as well as an application. But he could not stay to receive all the licences across the counter, and got his friend to stay until they were all ready to deliver. Indeed, the question does suggest itself—as the second item in the paper commences with the word ‘Taken’ instead of ‘Take,’ as in the first—that Holcroft took with him the licences that were ready and left Mr. Light to receive and transmit the rest.

It is evidently the view of the arranger of the papers in Vol. **321**; for the preceding paper, **321 (59)**, is dated May 8, and the one which follows, **321 (61)**, is dated May 9; while the entries of all the licences on **E. (80)** and **E. (81)** bear the former date—May 8, giving striking confirmation to our supposition.

That he was a personal friend of Francis Holcroft and thoroughly enjoyed his confidence is made abundantly clear by this fact, that three of the five application-memoranda which bear his name are principally for Congregationalists in the County of Cambridge.

321 (85) is dated May 10, only two days after he had been with Holcroft to Whitehall, and applies for three houses in the town of Cambridge. [The three others on the same paper are for general preaching licences for three Congregational brethren—Nathaniel Ball, William Green, and Owen Stockton, of Suffolk, Hunts, and Essex respectively.]

321 (197) asks for three more licences for Cambridge County—houses in Hadenham, Strettam, and Ockington respectively, 'All for Meetings of people of y^{e} Congregationall perswasion.' This was put in exactly a week later. It is dated '17: May,' and he curiously signs the paper 'M^{r} Light.' The licences were not issued till eight days later. They are all entered on **E. (138)**, and dated May 25. They were called for at Whitehall, and taken away by Nathaniel Ponder, the Printer, on May 28 [**321 (278)**], 'by y^{e} direction of M^{r} Holcroft.'

321 (270) is the last of Light's applications for his friend Holcroft. Of course, all were for 'y^{e} congregationall perswasion' Cambr:sh^{r}—the first for a Room in the town of Cambridge; the second a general licence for James Hay (or Day), of Haginton; and the third for James Austin (or Autrin), of Meldreth. The memorandum is not dated, but it is signed 'By John Light.' The licences were all issued like the three above mentioned on May 25, and the first of them was taken away with them by Nathaniel Ponder.

The other two memoranda that bear Light's name have this note of special interest—that they are for four intelligent laymen who desire licences, not as hosts, but as teachers or preachers. **321 (290)** is an application for them. It is almost startlingly brief and concise:

'4 Licenses for Canterbury. Congreg^{a} Persuasion
'For Thomas Scott
Zechary Lee
Edward Hyrst
John Jacob.

'ꝑ JOHN LIGHT'

They were all four issued on May 29, and are entered on **E. (143)**:

'Licence to John Jacob of Canterbury to be a Congr. Teacher Grãll. 29 May
'Like for Edw: Hyrst of Canterbury. 29 May
'Like for Zachary Lee of Canterbury. 29 May
'Like for Thomas Scott of Canterbury. 29 May'

A week later John Light calls for them at Whitehall. His acknowledgment is not of the stereotyped form.

It is on **321** (**314**), and reads as follows:

> 'Recd 6° of June 1672. out of the Honble Earle of Arlingtons office 4 generall Licences for Canterbury
>
> 'vizt one for Tho: Scott one for Zachary Lee; one for John Jacob; & one for Edward Hyrst
>
> 'Per me
>
> 'JOHN LIGHT.'

That they were laymen, not ministers, would be a matter of probable conjecture only, were it not for the clear testimony of the Episcopal Returns of 1669. Their names do not appear in Calamy, it is true. For all that, they might have been ejected ministers of whom he had failed to get information.

The Report of Archdeacon Parker makes it clear in a very interesting way. In reporting the Conventicles of Independents [**R. 154**], '500 'at least,' who 'meete in ye morning in St. Petrs, afternoone in St. 'Pauls,' all four of these names are mentioned in the column for 'Principalls & Abettors,' and their callings and social positions are given in each case. 'Tho. Scott Esq:' heads the list, and he is described as 'a Ringleadr of the Peticon for the Ks tryall'*; 'Ed. Hirst' stands fourth, and is given as 'Attorney'; 'Joh. Jacob' next as 'gen.' or a gentleman of independent means; while 'Zach: Lee' follows (the last of the four) as 'Hattr.' [It is singular that two of John Bunyan's chief supporters in the town of Bedford, and assistants in the preaching ministry, were hatters: John and Samuel Fenne. Dr. Brown refers to them often. On p. 170 he says: 'Samuel Fenn, John Fenn, and many more of his fellow-members in Bedford Church were there'—that is, in Bedford gaol—'as his companions in tribulation'; and on p. 187 he notes how John Fenn was associated with John Bunyan in a petition to the King in Council, which was sent up for the Prisoners in Bedford gaol 'for being at Conventicles and Nonconformity,' and so on; and they are mentioned in the Pamphlet which was published in 1671 as a True Narrative of the Sufferings of Nonconformists in Bedford.]

Of these lay preachers of Canterbury, then, who secured the services of John Light to obtain licences for them, three were distinctly educated men in good social position—one an Attorney and two gentlemen of independent means. And the fourth a tradesman of substance, a 'hat manufacturer.'

There is a Stephen Light, noticed by Foster in his 'Alumni Oxonienses,' who was born in 1658 in South Petherton, Somerset. His father, also Stephen Light, is described as 'pleb'; but he was of sufficient means to secure him a University training at Oxford, where he matriculated March 10, 1675-76.

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* From the Commonwealth Letter Book of the Council of State (S. P. Dom. Inter. 98, 10), too, we find that 'Thomas Scot' was, in 1659, a citizen of such influence that, in writing to the civic authorities of the City of Canterbury about a disturbance created in the Cathedral by Quakers, the President of the Council addressed his letter to him (and four others) with the Mayor.

7. W. Maddox.

This is the ‘William Maddox’ whom Calamy (III. 346) notices as ejected from the vicarage of Kenilworth (‘Kenelworth’ he gives it), in Warwickshire. He can tell us nothing of his early home or of his education. He does tell us, however, ‘he was young when he came to this living, and when he left it.’ In Foster's ‘Alumni Oxonienses’ we have a William Maddock, who was born in Gloucester City, 1649 (his father Geo. William), and matriculated from St. Mary Hall, March 29, 1667. He was probably a son or nephew. It must have been late in the Commonwealth days, therefore, that he received the appointment, and at the hand of Oliver's triers.

That he was much persecuted under the Penal Laws we should gather from the terms of Calamy's statement, that ‘when he was older, ‘he never repented of his choice to suffer affliction with so many of the ‘servants of Christ.’ That he was ‘presented’ in the ecclesiastical courts, and had been excommunicated by the Episcopal authorities soon after his ejectment, we have indirect but conclusive proof from the Visitation Act Books preserved at Lichfield. In the Act Book for 1665 we have this most interesting entry, under the head of ‘Kenelworth’: ‘cives ibm̃’—*i.e.*, several citizens of the town:

> ‘for not receiving the Sacrament att Easter Last, and for imployinge M^r William Maddocke a Nonconformiste & excoícate pson to preach att Kenilworth, & for not Recking with theire Minister att Easter.
>
> ‘Ex.’

Evidently Maddox had remained in the town or neighbourhood for some years, and had had the hardihood to preach in the town, spite the Conventicle Act of 1664. The Five Mile Act of 1665 would not specially affect him, as Kenilworth was not a corporate town or borough. Calamy says: ‘When the country was too hot for him, he ‘hid himself in a wood, and afterwards went to London.’ The statement sadly lacks topographical and chronological definiteness. It was probably in 1666, or later, that he came up to London. We should like to know whether he was one of the noble band of men who preached to the multitudes rendered ‘destitute’ spiritually, as well as temporally, by the Great Fire—almost in the ashes of the great City. But it certainly seems likely that it was in the City proper and its immediate surroundings, that he exercised his powerful ministry; where, Calamy tells us, ‘he was presently noticed for his useful preaching’; for in 1672 he secured licences amongst the very first to preach in Bartholomew Lane—which was within the old City wall—and in the Spittle, which was not far outside the Bishop's Gate in it. It is of special interest to find him mentioned by Sir Joseph Williamson in his Official Diary, under date April 3, Wednesday. On Tuesday he had noted William Jenkin's licences as ‘the first that was (were) taken out’—a fact which shows that he considered the Indulgence an epoch-making event in the political (as well as religious) history of the country. [He had entered these two licences in **E.** with his own hand; and to start this Entry Book had transcribed them fully—*verbatim et literatim*—so that these two entries occupied the whole of page 1.] This Wednesday he jots down in his Diary five other licences, entered on pages 2 and 3, as 'Licences to Preach'; and the first of the five is W. Maddox, only he spells the name in his own way. The list is 'Madockes, Vincent, 'Sharp, Blackey, Cawton.' Six other licences are entered on the second page, which he takes no notice of. Evidently the reason is that they are country licences [two are for Tiverton, two are for Exeter—these in Devon—and two are for Wickham (Wickhambrook) in Suffolk], which had been given—the first four to Mr. Teart (?) and the last two to Mr. Jenkin, 'to send down.'

These five are all London ministers, and in **E.** he puts in a note himself: 'Delivered These above to y^{e} partyes themselves Apr. 3. 72.' So that William Maddox had gone to Whitehall [with Thomas Vincent (who had been ejected from Milk Street); James Sharpe, who had been ejected from Gravesend, but was living in Beech Lane (Cripplegate); Nicholas Blakey, who had been ejected from Pebmarsh, Essex, and had settled in Blackfriars; and Cawton, of Merton College, Oxford, who was living in St. Ann's Lane, Westminster—quite near, therefore, to Whitehall], and had had his licences given him in person by Sir Joseph.

The licences are entered thus [**E.** (2)]:

'Maddockes. Presbyt. London.	'Licence to W^{m} Maddockes to be a Teacher in M^{r} Broomes howse in Bartholomew Lane & in M^{r} Gould's howse in the Spittle. Apr. 2. 1672. Presbyterian
'Broomes house Presb. London	'Licence allowing M^{r} Broomes Howse in Bartholomew lane to be a Place for a Presbyterien Teacher. Apr. 2. 1672.'

The reference to Mr. Gould's house as a second meeting-place for him to preach in seems to be an error, for in the entry immediately preceding the former of these two Mr. Gould's name is erased, and Mr. Vincent's inserted in its place.

Maddox put in six papers in the interest of various brethren; but though they were all for 'the provinces,' none for London, only one is concerned with the county where he had laboured: an application for two licences for the town of Kenilworth, where he had been vicar, and whence he was ejected. These licences, however, were for two houses only, none for a teacher.* Indeed, the singular thing is that though six houses were licensed in Kenilworth, not a single teacher was provided for them. This one Warwickshire paper is **321** (**197***d*).

* One of these is for A Roome or Roomes in the house of William Smyth of 'Kenelworth in the County of Warwicke for those that are of the Presbyterian 'perswasion'; and it is good to find from the archives of Lichfield that he was so staunch a Nonconformist that four years afterwards (1676) he was 'presented,' with fourteen others, as 'non com̃cantes in Fest. Pasch. ulti.'

It is endorsed 'Maddox's note,' and is dated '16 May.' Nor did he concern himself any further with the matter. So that we need scarcely be surprised to find that the licences were not issued for more than a fortnight later [they are dated May 29, 1672—**E. (142)** and **(143)**], and he leaves it to the 'universal provider'—James Innes, junior—to go and fetch the licences away, which Innes does two days later [**321 (297)**], May 31, 1672.

The fact is that, in this licence business, Maddox mainly concerns himself with lodging applications at Whitehall. In the first paper, **320 (224)**, he applies for licences for two Teachers and four houses in Suffolk, so that we are tempted to think that his earlier associations were with that county; but it contains applications as well for two Teachers and two houses in Lancashire—in Manchester and the immediate neighbourhood. Further, the other four papers are every one concerned mainly with Lancashire: containing, besides, just two incidental or casual applications for Bucks and Surrey. It seems more likely, therefore, that his most intimate relations were with South-East Lancashire.

Two of them, indeed, have special interest—those concerned with Henry Finch, of Manchester, as Teacher, and the Private Oratory of Thomas Birch, Esq., of Birch Hall, as meeting-place for Presbyterian Nonconformists.

320 (225) is a second application for these two; and

320 (226) is an application for a second preaching-place for this same teacher (Henry Finch)—viz., his own house in Manchester.

[The other documents connected with the Oratory at Birch Hall—viz., **320 (38)**, **320 (155)**, and **320 (155 I)**—are of special interest, giving that particular Presbyterian meeting-place a place quite unique in this licence literature.]*

In **321 (105)** he makes application, May 13, for licences for one House in Bucks and one Teacher in Surrey; but also for two licences for Lancashire, in which he shows an interest stronger than that he has shown in any others—so strong, indeed, as to send him to Whitehall on a special journey to take away the licences for which he had applied nine days before. These licences are for Peter Aspinwall, of Haw, and for 'a Roome or Roomes' belonging to the house of John Johnson, *alias* Robinson, 'of Ashton in Lancashire'; and on May 22 he acknowledges the Receipt of both in **321 (227)**:

'May 22
'Then Received
'A License for the house of John Robinson in Lancashire
'A License for M^r^ Peter Aspinwall. Presbyterian
'W^M^ MADDOX'

They had been promptly made out and issued. For they are dated May 16; so that when he called for them they had been ready, awaiting him six days.

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* We deal with the case in detail in Chapter VI. *in loc.*).

They are both entered on **E. (125)**:

'Licence to Peter Aspinwall to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of John Robinson in Ashton, Lancast^r. 16 May'

'The howse of John Robinson in Ashton, Lancas$\tilde{t}$r. Pr. Meeting Place. 16 May'

After the Indulgence had been withdrawn, William Maddox seems to have retired to the South of the Thames, and to have laboured in Bermondsey (in the parish of Southwark). Calamy says he was 'chosen 'pastor to a congregation in *Southwark*, where the two *Whitakers*, 'father and son, had laboured before him.'

As the son died only a year after the Indulgence [Calamy says (III. 127) in 1672; but Neal ('History of the Puritans,' III. 192) in 1673], it was probably in 1673 or 1674 that he settled in Southwark. There, Calamy tells us, he 'continued in very good esteem till 'death ended his labours.'

8. Mr. Althorne and Edward Newton.

I link these two names together, because they are associated in the documents concerned with the licences issued to the Presbyterians of Lewes (Sussex).

Edward Newton had been incumbent of St. Ann's, Lewes, and still lived in Lewes after his ejectment (Cal. III. 320-1). A native of Maidstone (in the neighbouring County of Kent), he was educated in both the great Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Foster's record ('Al. Oxon.') alternates from the one to the other. It begins with Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1647-48 from Jesus College. He was then incorporated at Oxford, June 18, 1650. But he had become a Fellow of Balliol College in 1649. He proceeded M.A. at Oxford, July 27, 1650, and two years later was incorporated at Cambridge, 1652. He was presbyterially ordained at Salisbury in 1652, and first settled in Sussex, at the tiny hamlet of Kingston-on-Sea, close to Shoreham; but in 1656 he succeeded his father-in-law (Mr. Benjamin Pickering) at St. Anne's, Lewes, and Southover.

Ejected from the living in 1662, he still lived in Lewes, and continued to preach as opportunity was given him. In 1665 the Five Mile Act drove him from his home in Lewes for a time. He was presented in the ecclesiastical courts and excommunicated for not appearing. But though a writ was issued against him '*de ex-* '*communicato capiendo*,' he was so skilfully cared for by his friends that he was never taken. Indeed, in 1669, Bishop Gunning has to report him as daringly active, preaching at South Mawling with Mr. Earle to a Presbyterian Conventicle of 'at least 500' [Mr. Earle was ejected from East Terring near to Newhaven, not far from Mr. Newton's sphere at Southover] [**R. 175**], and at Brighthelmstone, with his friend and neighbour, and six other ejected ministers, to a Conventicle of 'about 200' [**R. 173**].

In 1672, he and his friends determine to avail themselves of the Indulgence, and to gain their object they wrote a letter to a Mr. Althorne, which is calendared as **320** (**209**), and is so noteworthy in its form as well as its issues that I reproduce it verbatim :

'Mr. Althorne,

'We whose names are here under Written doe For our selfes and many others desire the Favour of you to usse your indeavour to obtayne a Licence For the house of Mr. William Harrise in the parish of Alsaints in Lewes. To bee usste and bee imployed in the worshipp of god one all occasions For us of the presbiterian Judgmt And wee alsoe desire a Licence for Mr Edward Newton to bee teacher to the same congregation.

'And wee alsoe desire (if it may bee obtayned) that Mr. Edward Newton may have in his Licence the Liberty to usse the house of Miss Frances Vickring in the parish of St. Michille in Lewes.

'Sir, pray will you usse your indeavour to obtayne these Licences this weeke that if possible wee may receave them and what charge you are at wee shall thankfully repay

'and ever bee

'Yr obliged Frends and servants

'Edward Newton
Wal. Brett Senr
Henry Panton
Tho: Matthew
Walter Brett Jun
Samuel Dutton
Will Humphrey

'Lewes the 30th of Aprill 1672.'

Of Mr. Althorne I have as yet been able to obtain no information. We may probably gather from what follows that he was in some way better known to or especially connected with Sir John Trevor than with Lord Arlington or Sir Joseph Williamson and his staff. Else it would have been the obvious and natural thing for him to go to Lord Arlington's Office, the recognized headquarters of this Indulgence-business, and put matters in train by making application there. What Mr. Althorne evidently did, however, was to go to Sir John Trevor, for the licences for Mr. Newton and his meeting-place are actually entered in Sir John's Entry Book (No. 27).

If Mr. Althorne acted so far promptly, however, the business was not taken up very energetically in Sir John Trevor's office. The letter was written on a Tuesday (April 30th), and they hoped to get their licences by May 4th, at the end of the week. They have no response to their letter; and when a fortnight has elapsed without their hearing anything of the fate of their application, Mr. Newton goes up to London himself, determined to urge on the matter.

He probably went up on Monday, May 13th. We know, at any rate, that he was in London on Tuesday the 14th, for in **321** (**146**) we have a memorandum under his signature bearing that date.

He quite naturally went up to Whitehall, making his enquiries in Sir Joseph Williamson's Office. He finds, to his amazement, that they know nothing of his application. He learns, however, that there are several licences for persons and places in Sussex, in Lewes, and its neigbourhood of Lewes. So he gladly takes them away, undertaking to deliver them to their respective owners. The memorandum of Receipt is calendared **321 (146)**, and reads:

> 'Received 14 May 1672 these licenses following:
> 'For y^e^ house of S^r^ John Staply in Hove in Sussex
> 'For y^e^ house of John Fryland in Brightolmston Sussex
> 'For Joseph Osburne Brightelmston Sussex
> 'For William Wallis of Hove Sussex
> 'For y^e^ house of Tho: Fissenden Lewes Sussex
> 'For John Crouch Lewes Sussex
> 'EDWARD NEWTON.'

The first four are for Brighton and Hove, and in the first of the four Mr. Newton would have a special interest, for Sir John Staply was the sitting Member for his own town Lewes, in the first two Parliaments of Charles II.'s reign. Sir John was therefore his Member at the time. The first three (of the four) had been applied for by a John Moxham [**321 (46)**], and had been issued on May 8th [**E. (83)**]; as was that for William Wallis, so that all four had been ready a week when Mr. Newton called. And the last two are for Lewes itself, though for the Congregationalists, not those of his own (Presbyterian) persuasion.

The minister, John Crouch, was much his junior, as Calamy tells us (III. 337) that he was one of the 'persons who were candidates in 1662.' [These licences had been applied for on May 7th by Stephen Ford [**321 (19)**], and were issued May 9th (**E. 95**), so that they had been ready six days when Edward Newton called.]

Very possibly, the officials in Arlington's Office had suggested to him that Mr. Althorne may have gone to Sir John Trevor. At least, when we find that Edward Newton's licences are entered in Sir John's Entry Book, under date May 15th [**B. (34)**], the 'morrow' of his visit to Whitehall, the suggestion (or inference?) is irresistible, that he went round to Sir John Trevor's the next day, and that, in response to his enquiries, Sir John had his licences made out then and there, so that Newton would be able to take back with him to Lewes the whole of the licences for Lewes, for Brighton, and for Hove. There is still something that requires explanation, and which only facts not yet discovered could really explain. He and his friends had asked (in their 'round robin' to Mr. Althorne) for licences for two houses as well as for him as Teacher. One was that of 'Mr. William Harrise in the parish of 'Alsaints' (All Saints); and the other was that of 'M^ris^ Frances 'Vickring in the parish of St. Michille' (St. Michael's). In **B (34)**, only two licences are entered: one for Edward Newton, and the other the house, not that of Mr. Harris, nor that of Mrs. Vickring, but of '. . . Swan, Widow.' Why the alteration was made, perhaps, it is idle to conjecture. It may have been that in consultation with his friends in Lewes before coming up to town, they had agreed that they would have a better chance of getting a licence for one house than two, and that as it would now be invidious to choose, it would be better to ask for another, that of Mrs. Swan. It is these two licences which he takes back to Sussex. The entry is:

> ‘Mr. Newton
> ‘Edward Newton—licence to be a Teacher of the Congregac̃on allowed in the house of . . . Swan Widow in the Towne of Lewis County Sussex Presbyterian perswasion. May 15th 1672.
> ‘The sd house licensed ꝑ forma.— same date.’

We learn from Foster that in 1688-89 (January 14th), that when a widower of sixty years of age he was licensed to marry Mrs. Margaret Lane, widow, of Southover, and that he lived to the ripe age of 84, dying in January of 1712.

9. JOHN SHELDRAKE.

John Sheldrake was a Nonconformist minister, ejected from Wisbech, in Cambridgeshire, just on the borders of Norfolk.

His brother, William Sheldrake, was also one of ‘the 2000,’ being ejected from Reepham, in the north-eastern portion of Norfolk.

The latter was ousted in 1660 by the minister (Mr. Gardiner) who had been sequestered; and for the maintenance of his family, William Sheldrake became a dealer in wool and yarn [Cal. III. 13], showing in this trade very signal business capacity. For ten years he continued in business, preaching as he had opportunity, apparently in the town of Yarmouth. Mr. Bridge, who had been the founder and pastor of the Independent Church of Yarmouth, first when they were all in exile in Rotterdam, and ever since their return, at this time had a Mr. Tookie associated with him as additional Teacher. But Mr. Bridge was much away, and on December 29, 1669, the Church wrote to him and Mr. Tookie ‘for their advice about a third person to help in the work of the ‘ministry.’[*] They thought Mr. Sheldrick (*i.e.*, Mr. William Sheldrake) a fit man for them. But February 4, 1669-70, Mr. Bridge and Mr. Tookie wrote them, and recommended them to ‘desire Mr. ‘Sheldrick to give him their constant help for some time.’ The following month Mr. Tookie died, and on May 12th the same year, 1670, Mr. Bridge died also, after having been their pastor for more than thirty years. So in June, 1671, ‘it was ordered that Mr. Sheldrick ‘should have liberty to join the Church—in order to office’; and on January 24, 1671-72, the Church met, and with joint consent did renew or rather confirm their covenant, and also did ordain or set apart Mr. William Sheldrick to the office of pastor over them.

In this year of the Indulgence, then, William Sheldrake was the newly-chosen Pastor of the Congregational Church at Yarmouth.

The only fact Calamy gives us with reference to John, besides his ejectment from Wisbech, is that either he or his brother William was author of a book entitled ‘Popery a great Enemy to Truth, and no ‘Friend to Peace.’

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[*] Browne's ‘History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk,’ p. 234.

We have no documentary evidence whether John Sheldrake remained in Cambridge county after his ejection from Wisbech, as his brother William stayed in Norfolk after his ejection from Reepham. If he did, he came up to London on purpose to secure licences for his brother's old Norfolk friends. If he did not, and, like so many other of the ejected ministers, had gone to reside in London, he was probably appealed to by his brother, and was glad to exert himself on their behalf. The two memoranda which bear his name are **321** (**308**), and **321** (**322**) [Have they got misplaced? Is **321** (**322**) the earlier, dated June 1st? Query: Is not the date imperfect? the month only being given and not the day 'Junij'].

321 (**322**) is endorsed 'Licences for the county of Norfolke,' is throughout in his handwriting, and is fully signed 'Jo: Sheldrake.' **321** (**308**) is a very different affair. The handwriting of the list is certainly not his. It is dated June 3, 1672, and is signed hastily with his surname merely, 'Sheldrake.'

321 (**322**) is very carefully drawn up under five heads or in five groups. The first four are all for Norfolk, and for places in that north-east corner in which William Sheldrake had been minister up to the year 1660, and all of them teachers and meeting-places for that 'Congregational Judgment' of which his brother was so strong a champion.

The fifth is for 'Gosport in Sussex,' which, of course, is really in Hampshire; and in the presence of this application on the list, we may perhaps see confirmation of the suggestion that he was now residing in London. Gosport is south-west of London, and Norfolk north-east; and if through some personal circumstances of which we have no knowledge, Mr. Whitmarsh was acquainted with John Sheldrake, it would be natural for him to appeal to John Sheldrake if he was resident in London, but most unnatural and unlikely if he was still residing in Cambridgeshire, or the adjacent parts of Norfolk.

The other memorandum, **321** (**308**), is dated June 3rd (in the Latin form 'Junii 3^{tio}'), and applies for seven other licences, five of them being for Norfolk (his brother's county), and the other two for Boxtead, in Essex (close to its Suffolk border)—all, therefore, for the Eastern Counties.

This seems to have been the extent of his exertions for his Nonconformist brethren, the giving in at Whitehall of these applications on June 1 and 3; or, more probably, June 3 and some other later date, only prior to June 10, 1672. The applications were effectual, however, for licences were issued for them all on the 10th, as we see in **E.** (**157**), (**165**), and (**170**), save in the cases of Oldton and Tunstead, which had to wait till a month later. Of course he may have called at Whitehall, and taken away the licences he had been successful in obtaining, but we cannot tell, because no Receipt-memoranda for these licences have been preserved.

It may seem strange, however, that he should have done nothing for his brother William at Yarmouth. Yet the silence of the licence-memoranda does not preclude that. Licences were issued to 'William

'Sheldrake' quite early on April 23rd, almost seven weeks before those issued for his old friends in the north-east of the county. But they are not recorded in **E.** where 99-100 of the licences are entered. They are entered in **B.**, which was kept in Sir John Trevor's Office, not Lord Arlington's; and Sir John kept none of the memoranda either of application or receipt, as Sir Joseph Williamson did for Lord Arlington. So that John Sheldrake may have gone to Sir John's Office, and got them there. The entries read :

[**B.** (**33**)]

'Mr. Shildrake.

'W^m^ Shildrake Licenced to be a Teacher of those of the perswasion com̃only called Congregationall in the House of William Burton in Great Yarmouth in Com̃. Norfolk 23th of Apr. 1672.

B. (**33***b*)

'M^r^ Burtons house Licenced.

'William Burtons house Licenced accordingly to meet in.
Apr. 23th 1672.'

10. THOMAS TAYLOR.

Thomas Taylor deserves from the historian very special notice, inasmuch as he was agent for and closely associated with JOHN BUNYAN. This is clear from the first of the memoranda which bear his name **321** (**75**). It is a receipt for eleven Bedfordshire licences, the first two of which were for 'John Bynion'; viz., one for himself, as Teacher or Preacher, and the other for the house of 'Josiah Roughead in Bedford,' as the meeting-place in which he was to preach. But the whole series is a most interesting one: and, for its full understanding, needs to be studied in connection with a memorandum unsigned but which has been assigned to John Bunyan himself by no less an authority than Dr. Brown, the author of the Immortal Dreamer's classic biography.

In the signed series there are eight memoranda—viz., **321** : (**75**), (**83**), (**101**), (**116**), (**151**), (**222**), (**225**) and (**298**); but the unsigned memorandum, which alone gives significance and coherence to all the rest, is earlier than any of them, **321** (**58**). It is this for which the fascinating claim has been made that it is an autograph of John Bunyan.

Let us review the series in the order of their numbers; for such a conspectus of their contents alone can satisfy us on the point whether the unsigned memorandum and the eight signed by Thomas Taylor, together form an organic series or no.

(1) To begin, then, with the unsigned, **321** (**58**). It contains applications for no less than 57 licences in 6 counties.

These counties are not 'disjecta membra,' brought together hap-hazard by applicants for all parts of the country. They are all contiguous counties in the eastern half of the Midlands. Bedfordshire is the centre of them. The other 5 encircle it. [Hunts to the north, Northants to the north-west, Cambridge to the north-east, Herts to the south-east, and Bucks on the south-west.] Of the 57 licences, too, Beds is clearly the centre of interest; for Beds claims 36, while there are only 4 for Hunts, 6 for Northants, 4 for Cambridge, 2 for Herts, and 5 for Bucks.

Of the 36 Bedfordshire licences, the first 14 seem to occupy a premier position of importance, as they are the first to receive attention. They are for six teachers and eight meeting-places.

To us they have chief interest because the last teacher of this first group is 'John Bunyon'; and his meeting-place in 'Josias Rougheads 'house in his orchard in Bedford'—the John Bunyan whose fame has since filled the world. We must, however, bear this in mind that in the year of the Royal Indulgence, he was known only as a steadfast Nonconformist who had suffered long years of imprisonment in the Town Gaol of Bedford, had thence published two or three devotional books of great religious shrewdness and fervour, and had just gained his liberty on a petition sent direct to the King. It was only after the Indulgence had been withdrawn, and Bunyan's persistence in his ministry had brought him a second time to prison, this time to the cell over Bedford Bridge, that he dreamed that dream of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' which has made his name immortal. That even in 1672, however, his name and his chief associates had won notice at Whitehall, is pretty evident by what follows.

(2) Thomas Taylor goes to Whitehall, to take away the licences which had been desired, and which evidently he has been asked to secure. We do not know how long before the application had been 'put in,' because the application-form [**321 (58)**] was not dated. In what follows, we shall see reason for assigning the application to the 29th of April or the 1st of May (or thereabouts), and Thomas Taylor's call for the licences, to some two or three days before the 10th of May.

So that we imagine Taylor allowed an interval of four or five days to elapse between his application for the licences and his call. When he goes, however, he finds only eleven licences ready out of the fifty-seven for which application had been made. Five of them are for teachers, and six are for meeting-places. They all belong to that first group of six teachers and eight meeting-places which stand at the head of the long list in **321 (58)**. One teacher of the six has been dropped; viz., John Wright of Blunham. But of the other five, the law is fulfilled, 'The last shall be first,' and 'John Bynion' in the house of 'Josiah Roughead in Bedford' stands first. [The rest are not (as we might expect) John Bunyan's ministering elders.] The licences for two meeting-houses also are not forthcoming: William Jarvis's own house, and the Lake House barn at Blunham. He leaves behind him the memorandum of receipt for them [**321 (75)**].

(3) **321 (83)** is a further Application-memorandum. It is for no fewer than forty-three licences; is dated May 10; and has this footnote: 'These names and places were put in 10 or 12 days since by Tho: Taylor.' This footnote it is which enables us approximately to assign dates to the two undated memoranda **321 (58)** and **321 (75)**.

These 43 names all appear in the first list **321 (58)**. The order in which the counties are mentioned is different. There are 3 for

Bucks (leaving 2 unnoted): the whole of the 6 for Northampton are repeated, and all the 4 for Hunts; while of the 36 for Beds, 24 are 'put in' again, which, remembering that 11 were already taken away, would seem to leave one unaccounted for.* Both of the 2 for Herts and all 4 for Cambridge are also repeated. Evidently, Thomas Taylor is not pleased with the neglect of these applications, and renews his urgency.

According to the date on **321** (**101**), May 12, it was only two days after the last visit that he called and received twelve licences. The dates of the licences as entered in **E.** show that Thomas Taylor, by a clerical error, wrote May instead of *June*. The licences are dated June 10 [**E.** (**168**) and (**170**)], and he called and took them away, June 12.

(4) The next memorandum, then, in chronological order, is **321** (**116**), a small slip, on which he signs an application for two licences for Matthew Elliston of Coggeshall, Essex, but in which the names are not in his handwriting. This probably belongs to the date, erroneously given to **321** (**101**): viz., May 12; for (5), on May 14, as we learn from **321** (**151**), he calls to receive the licences for Coggeshall he asked for in (**116**), and two of those which had been first applied for, at the end of April, for Goldington, Beds. in (**58**).

(6) A week later he went to Whitehall taking a list of applications for twelve new licences

321 (**222**): 2 for Northants and 6 for Beds [counties for which he had made application before; and one of the Beds teachers ('John Donne') marked 'this pson is licenced already'], 2 for Cheshire and 2 for London. This list, again, is not in his handwriting, though he signs it. And there is little doubt he would be making urgent demands and serious complaints about the licences for which there had been left two written 'demand-notes' already. Probably, too, he then received assurance that they would be speedily attended to.

That, at least, is the natural construction to lay upon the two significant facts (i) that **321** (**222**) concludes with this note:

> 'All congregationall. 21 May.
> 'Deliver these to nobody but me.
> 'THO: TAYLOR'

and (ii) that (7) **321** (**225**) is dated the following day, and records the receipt of 14 Bedfordshire licences (4 teachers and 10 houses); all of them applied for in (**58**), and applied for a second time in (**83**) on May 10th.

> 'Received this 22th May 1672 these four lycences.
> . . . . . .
> 'all in Bedfordshire.
> 'p THO: TAYLOR.'

Even yet, however, reckoning the thirteen received before [eleven in **321** (**75**) and two in **321** (**151**)], only 27 out of the 57 desired in **321** (**58**) are accounted for. Two more visits have to be paid to Whitehall, and in those two visits he is able to complete his task.

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* It is William Jarvis's house which has been forgotten.

(8) The first was on the 31st of May, when he leaves his acknowledgment on **321** (**298**) of 24 more licences: 5 for Beds, 4 for Hunts, 5 for Bucks, 6 for Northants, and 1 for Herts, with 2 for Sussex in a memorandum at the foot and separate from the rest.

(9) The second of these two visits, and the last of his attendances at Whitehall (as far as we have any record of them) was on the 12th of June, when, as recorded on the misplaced memorandum **321** (**101**), he received, and took away, 12 licences; 10 of them licences he had asked for May 21 (2 for Northants, 4 for Beds, 2 for Cheshire, and 2 for London); and of the other two, one already received for John Dean, and the other for a house in 'Claythorne,' problematically identified by Dr. Browne with Clapthorn.

This detailed review of the series shows very clearly that the first of the lists, **321** (**58**), by whomsoever written, was handed in by him as his great 'commission.' He had undertaken to do his best to secure the whole of the fifty-seven licences mentioned in that list. There can be little doubt, too, that he was chiefly interested in the task, because he had been entrusted with it by John Bunyan.

There could be no doubt at all if it could be proved that (**58**) is in Bunyan's handwriting. Dr. Brown, at the time of writing his great biography, declared without misgiving that it was. He says (p. 232) 'when he applied for his own licence to preach, in May, 1672, and for 'Josias Ruffhead's (*sic*) barn; he applied also for licences for twenty-'five other preachers, and for thirty other buildings. Nineteen of these 'were in Bedfordshire, three in Northamptonshire, three in Bucking-'hamshire, two in Cambridgeshire, and one in Hertfordshire. The 'application, which is in Bunyan's handwriting, is preserved in the 'Record Office, in a bundle containing hundreds of similar applications 'from all the counties of England.' This view, too, is endorsed by the Editor of Vol. 96 of the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.

On pp. 506 and 507 of that volume, No. 58 is described as 'note of 'request by Thomas Taylor for licences for John Donne, etc., all 'Congregational,' with a note * at the bottom of the page: 'This 'document is in the handwriting of Bunyan himself. See Brown, '"Life of Bunyan," p. 232, where it is printed. The true date of 'presentation was about 1 May. See Taylor's second request pted 'p. 528.' On my raising the question whether the list was not in Taylor's handwriting, as it so clearly was 'put in' by him, Dr. Brown looked very carefully into the question again; and a comparison of these memoranda with one another and with a facsimile of a deed of gift (of all his personal possessions) to his wife made by Bunyan in the year 1685, satisfied him, and two experts in the Record Office that it was not; Taylor's handwriting in many characteristics being utterly different from that of (**58**). They also agreed that 'though there was a strong 'general resemblance' between the handwriting of Bunyan's 'Deed of Gift' and that of (**58**) there was a shade of uncertainty as to their being from the same hand. In these conclusions, after a careful comparison made on a separate occasion, I concur. Only I should be inclined to say that there was a 'grave question,' rather than 'a shade of uncertainty' as to the 'Deed of Gift' being from the same hand as (**58**). Dr. Brown saw in the different spelling of Bunyan's name a strong presumptive proof of a difference in the writer. In (**58**) it is written 'Bunyon,' while in Taylor's signed receipt (**75**) it is spelt 'Bynion.' And I cannot help thinking that the similar difference between (**58**) and the 'Deed of Gift' looks the same way. In (**58**) the name is written 'Buny*o*n'; but in the 'Deed of Gift' Bunyan spells his own name eight times most distinctly 'Buny*a*n,' which certainly looks very much as though Bunyan did *not* write (**58**). I notice, too, a rather characteristic difference in the capital 'E's. In (**58**) it is always linked on to the letters that follow: as in 'Edward' and 'Edmonds'; whereas in the 'Deed of Gift' it is as invariably detached from the letters that follow: as in his wife's name 'Ɛlizabeth,' and in 'Ɛngland.' Still, whether in Bunyan's handwriting or not, it certainly looks very much like Bunyan's* commission, entrusted to Thomas Taylor; and Thomas Taylor seems to consider the whole list his own special charge.

For he gets them by instalments: the first, **321** (**75**), including Bunyan's, which he puts first in his list of acknowledgment, on May 7 or 8 (though he does not date it); a second tiny one, on May 14 [in **321** (**151**)]; the third of fourteen, all Bedfordshire, on the 22nd [in **321** (**225**)]; and the last batch of twenty-two, for the other counties as well as what remained of Bedfordshire, on the 31st.

Those not obtained by himself, he finds, have been secured by others in the meantime. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that the whole series of memoranda which are involved in the quest for licences in that group of counties—of which Bedford is the centre geographically, and John Bunyan is the centre personally—is in Thomas Taylor's handwriting, as well as under his care as Agent for these provincial friends.

There is one point with reference to them worth noting as incidentally confirming Dr. Brown's contention that, if John Bunyan was a Baptist, he made very little of the point as between the advocates of Infant or Adult Baptism. Indeed, he made so little of it, Dr. Brown has shown,† that three of his children were baptized in infancy in the parish church (one of them in this very year 1672, when he was engaged in public controversy on the question). He felt so strongly, too, that others ought not to make much of it—and that the question ought never to be allowed to divide Christians—that he refused to transfer a member of his own Church at Bedford to a Church in London, because it had been constituted a Baptist or Anabaptist Church, on this single ritual question.

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* It is a singular thing that, according to a State Paper reproduced in 'Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends' (Edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A.), pp. 342-347, John Bunyan ('Bunion') and his two friends, John Fenn and John Dunne, are included in the List for Bedford of 'Quakers and others' still in prison, for whom a General Pardon was issued as late as May 8; only the day before John Bunyan's licences under the Indulgence were issued. From this it would appear that John Taylor's multiplied efforts in London were for one who was still incarcerated in Bedford Gaol.

† Dr. Whitley has given very cogent reasons for the view that the children thus 'christened' were not John Bunyan's own children, but his grandchildren.

The point is this. In the whole of the applications made under his direction and with his authority for himself and his friends, they are made as ‘all Congregationall.’ He will not apply for them as ‘Baptist’ or ‘Anabaptist,’ though so many scores and hundreds are doing so in other parts of England.

And now, as to the personality of this Thomas Taylor, who has Bunyan’s confidence so completely that he commits this important business to his hands. There are two Thomas Taylors mentioned by Calamy.

(1) One was ejected from Burbich, in Wilts (Cal. III., 358-59), and of him a full account is given in Foster’s ‘Alumni Oxonienses.’ Calamy tells us that after his ejectment he retired (not to London, but) to Salisbury, and ‘continued at Salisbury till the death of his wife in ‘1676’ (removing to London after that and dying there soon after). All his interests were evidently in the South. It is most unlikely, therefore, that he would come up to London to carry out this piece of agency work for men in the Eastern Midlands.

(2) The other was ejected from Bury St. Edmund’s in Suffolk (Cal. III. 257-58), and I think any doubt as to whether it was he will disappear on a study of his career. He was a native of Scarnying,* in Norfolk, and ‘had his grammar learning’ at Wymondham. His father was a man of substance, and sent him to Cambridge as the nearest University, and entered him at Gonville and Caius College. This would be about 1640 or 1641. Cambridge was ‘puritanically inclined,’ and was largely under the dominating influence of Oliver and his forces. So his father, who was ‘a great Cavalier,’ withdrew him from Cambridge, and put him with a Mr. Ripps, of Metshall (*i.e.*, Mattishall, close to East Dereham), as tutor to his children. There he became acquainted with some religious people, who exercised a great influence upon his mind, so that he rapidly developed serious Puritan convictions. Calamy says ‘he was then received among the pious ministers at and about ‘Norwich.’ John Browne (‘History of Congregationalism in Norfolk ‘and Suffolk’) puts it: ‘He united himself with the Congregational ‘Church at Norwich.’ It appears that in this early period of his career he gave up his tutorship at Mattishall, and for a time taught Free School at Swaffham; and lived there in good repute, retaining his membership at Norwich. Such was the confidence of the Church in their pastor that in 1653 they dismissed him from their fellowship ‘to ‘unite with other brethren in the formation of the Church at Godwick.’ In other words, he was deputed with others to found a Congregational Church there.

Browne writes (p. 343): ‘In the Norwich Church Book we find ‘that, on September 21st, 1653, messengers were appointed to advise ‘respecting the formation of a Church here, and that on October 5th ‘Brother Thos: Taylour was dismissed to join with Christians at God-

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* Scarning is south by west of East Dearing.

'wick.' The report of the messengers was that 'the grace of God was 'manifested by the Christians there, and that they were comfortably 'persuaded of their fitness to lay the foundation of a Church. And it 'being signified by the said messengers that the said Christians desired 'messengers to be present at North Elmham, October 19th, at their 'joining in Church fellowship, brethren John Tofte and Tho: Garrett 'were appointed.' These brethren gave their report on December 4th, which was satisfactory, and the desire of the Church at North Elmham for fellowship with the Norwich Church was granted.†

While at Godwick and Elmham, he seems to have preached at East Dereham with such power, and to have left such a deep impression upon the people that the formation of the Church there is traditionally attributed to him, Rev. J. Tyas saying (at the laying of the memorial stone of a new Church there in 1874): 'The name of the man to whom 'its commencement is due was Thomas Taylor.' His reputation as a preacher now spread beyond the limits of his native county, and before the year 1653 had closed he was called by the infant community at Bury St. Edmund's to come and preach to them.

Not quite seven years before, a small gathered Church had been formed by the aid of Katherine Chidley and her son, eight adults signing the Brownist Covenant drawn up for the occasion. But it dissolved almost immediately after it was gathered. It had a fresh start at the end of 1648 (December 21), messengers from the Norwich Church being present at their reconstitution. Nor were they broken up again, though for the next five years they showed little vigour. But Thomas Taylor's advent in 1653 soon made a difference, for on June 15, 1654, we find (in the Milton State Papers):

> 'It is certified that the Congregational Church at Bury have walked together in the fellowship of the gospel for the space of divers years without any assistance from the State, being constrained, for the number of their audience to hire the Shire house at a great rent, and to maintain a minister at their private charge; having not above six persons in their society who may conveniently spare any help from the maintenance of their families towards the charges aforesaid.
>
> 'Signed,
>
> 'JOHN HAYWARD, JAMES GRUNDY, & GEORGE STANNARD.'

Yet though they so rapidly increased in numbers under Thomas Taylor's preaching, there was much in their life and character which troubled him. And 'he set himself to affect a reformation before he 'would accept the pastorate of them.' On March 29, 1655, he arranged for 'a day of fasting and prayer,' at which they 'confessed and bewailed 'their manifold sins and transgressions, especially their breach of cove'nant and neglect of duty each to the other, which the Lord had

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† Matshall, where he was tutor, was about five miles south-east by east of East Dereham (and about thirteen from Norwich); Swaffham was about twelve miles due west of it. Elmham was about five miles north of East Dereham (on the road to Holt); and Godwick, or Goodwick, was due west of Elmham (about the same distance), so that they were all within the district or neighbourhood of his home; Scarning, only a couple of miles from East Dereham.

'convinced them was the occasion of so many breaches and breaking 'forth of sin among them'—evils the existence of which the records of the Church abundantly prove. They therefore specially resolved:

(1) To be more regular and diligent in attendance at 'the assemblies of the saints and meetings of the Church.'

(2) More faithfully and lovingly to walk toward, and watch over, each other according to all the parts of our duty.

(3) To endeavour to bear and take, patiently, meekly, and in the spirit of love, such words of admonition and exhortation as the Church, or any brother or sister, shall from the Lord administer unto us, nor gathering up prejudice or evil will against such as be faithful and deal most plainly with us.

(4) To labour to bear the frailties and infirmities of each other, and to cover the same with a skirt of love.

(5) To sanctify the name of God in all His ordinances so far as we are through grace agreed, and in those ordinances wherein our judgments differ; to walk peaceably and orderly towards each other, in the spirit of meekness and forbearance, that the name of God may in all things by us be sanctified, and not through our 'divisions and disorderly 'walkings blasphemed.'

The ordinances wherein they are agreed are: (i.) prayer; (ii.) preaching the Word or prophesying; (iii.) keeping the first day of the week holy unto the Lord; (iv.) baptism for believers; (v.) breaking of bread. The ordinances wherein at the present some do dissent are: (i.) baptism for the seed of believers; and (ii.) singing of psalms.

All this seems to have had so salutary an effect upon the community that some nine months later Mr. Thomas Taylor consented to become their pastor by joining their Church.

His settlement is recorded in the following note in their Church Book:

'Thomas Taylor, sometime a member of the Church of Christ which is at Norwich, and afterwards by dismission from them a foundation member of the Church which is at Godwick and Stanfield, in the County of Norfolk, being a public preacher and dispenser of the Gospel, approved therein by both those Churches, was called by this Church to preach and dispense the Gospel of Christ unto them in the year 1653; and after near two years' experience and trial, his dismission being first obtained from the Church of Godwick and Stanfield, was by commendation from the said Church and brethren at Godwick, and also by giving in a relation of the dealings of God with his soul, and of the work of grace upon his heart, received into fellowship as a brother upon the 18th day of the ninth month (November), 1655.'

Soon after his acceptance of the pastorate he prepared a confession of faith under eleven principal heads and twenty-nine subordinate subdivisions. This confession (Browne says, 397-98) is a masterly performance, well worthy of the thoughtful consideration of professors of religion even in these days; it is comprehensive, judicious, and scriptural. Of course, it is coloured by the theological tints which prevailed when it was composed, but it has fewer questionable statements than almost any other confession of faith of the same minuteness which that age produced. This confession was signed by all the brethren and sisters, but not as a mere matter of form. Those who dissented from any article or statement in it carefully noted their dissent at the time of subscription.

January 3, 1655-56, was an important day in the history of the Church, for on it Thomas Taylor was solemnly ordained to the ministry. The members had prepared for it by sending to the greater number of the Churches of the same order then existing in the district, inviting the presence of their messengers on the occasion of the ordination of Mr. Taylor. The Church at Yarmouth could not send messengers, as they had received but short notice of the meeting; they, however, appointed their officers to write a letter 'to certify the Church at Bury 'of our blessing the Lord that had brought up their hearts and given 'them an opportunity to his service.' The Church at Norwich, being invited, replied 'that they could add nothing to their furtherance in 'this business, it being an affair the management whereof properly 'belonged to themselves; and considering the unanimous concurrence 'of the brethren of Bury therein, they thought it not necessary to appoint 'messengers, but desired two brethren to send a letter to signify the 'sense of the Church herein.' Messengers were present from the Churches of Coggeshall, in Essex; Sudbury; two Churches in Ipswich, Peter's and Hellen's; Syleham; Weston (Wattesfield); Rattlesden; Pulham; and Hapton.

'The Church did' then 'by election, holding up of hands, and by 'fasting and prayer, ordain Thomas Taylor, a public preacher and 'member of the Church, after near two years' trial and experience, unto 'the office of Pastor, and John Hayward a member of the same Church 'unto the office of a Deacon; at a very solemn and public meeting in 'which the Church did also make public profession of their faith.' They tell us that they 'had the unanimous approbation of the messengers, 'both as to their confession of faith, Church state and order—not one 'dissenting.' At the same meeting they received the right hand of fellowship from the Churches of Rattlesden, Weston, and Coggeshall. The messengers from Hapton & Pulham declared that the Church had already received the right hand of fellowship from them at or soon after their first sitting down together. The messengers from Syleham, Sudbury, and Hellen's in Ipswich promised to make report of our faith and order unto the Churches to which they did belong, and to give us the right hand of fellowship at some convenient time; but could not then do it, because they had received no such power from the Church.'

'So careful,' reflects Mr. Browne, 'were the Independent Churches 'not to recognize other Churches which in their esteem were defective 'in essential matters of faith & practice.'

The letters thus promised by the messengers from Sudbury and Hellen's, Ipswich, were sent later. The first is signed:

'Yours in Him who loved us
'SAM^{L} CROSSMAN
'In the name and with the consent of the Church with me.
'Sudbury. Feb. 11: 165$\frac{5}{6}$.'

And the second:

> 'Signed in the name and by the appointment of the Church at Hellen's in Ipswich
>
> 'ROBERT GOUGE
> 'RO: DUNKON
>
> 'Third month day 1st, 1656.'

The letters are cited at length by Mr. Browne (pp. 399-401).

Only a few months later they had to appeal for financial help, and in the Yarmouth Church Book we find this entry:

> '1656. May 6.
>
> 'Received a letter from the Church at Bury taking "notice of "our desires for their good, also requesting some relief for their present "support, and for the satisfying some debts that are due upon the "church's account." The Church (at Yarmouth) took it into consideration and ordered the deacons to gather of the brethren what they shall be pleased to give to the same. This was done, and £9 4s. 2d. was gathered and delivered here to Mr Taylor, pastor of the same Church.'

They are troubled, too, not by their poverty only, but by the arrogance and oppression of the Presbyterians, who take all the good things of the town (in the way of accommodation) to themselves; very much to their inconvenience and even suffering. They feel it, indeed, so keenly that, two years later—November 4, 1658—they petition the Lord Protector for relief. [It must have been Richard, because Oliver Cromwell had died two months before (September 3).]

> 'The humble petition of divers well affected, peaceable and good people, being known by the name of a *Congregational or gathered Church* meeting at the Shire House in the town of Edmondsbury in the County of Suffolk.'

The second part of the preamble recites these grievances:

> 'And whereas your petitioners, through the prevalency of a party in the said town of different principles, have been for divers years together overshadowed and discountenanced and shut up in a corner, we meet in an obscure way, and that to the hazard of our healths and lives in the winter season, by reason of the coldness of the place. And whereas the other party by whom we are oppressed are but one society, known by the name of the Presbyterian, and have two minister-officers to that particular people who enjoy the advantage of both the parish meeting-houses whilst your petitioners have none but the Shire House, a place very uncomfortable as to ourselves and very offensive to others, and yet we are almost daily threatened by our brethren of the contrary party to be turned out of that also, to the daily grief and wounding of our spirits, and the discouraging of others who are looking Zionward; and as we conceive it would be to the advantage of the gospel, there appearing a whiteness unto the harvest in the willingness of the people, could our

pastor be admitted to the exercise of his gifts more publicly as is much desired.

'Wherefore your petitioners humbly crave the timely interposition and influence of your Highness for the moderating of these exorbitancies of our brethren, and the procuring for us either liberty of one of the meeting-places, there being work enough for both their ministers, who have, besides the work of preaching twice every Lord's day, the care also of a constant Lecture, every Friday throughout the year, besides several accidental, and some other state occasions of public preaching. And this we rather propose because it hath been usual, until now of late time, to have two ministers for one parish, and that M^r Jeremiah Burroughes and M^r White, both eminently gifted, were ministers in the one, and M^r Calamy, now of this city, and M^r Jewell in the other; at the same time there being no maintenance appropriate to either place, but is stated [? rated] upon the persons at the pleasure of the corporation. Or, if that be not thought meet, that the chancel of St. Mary's parish may be parted from the body of the meeting-house for the petitioners to meet in, which place is so large that there is room enough for two congregations to meet in, being parted, without any disturbance to each other, the chancel being a mere superfluity and useless to the parish as it is now. And your petitioners shall ever pray.

'On behalf of themselves and the rest of the Church

'JOHN HAYWARD
'JAMES GRUNDY.'

Whether the petition was heeded in any practical way, so as to give Mr. Taylor opportunity to preach in one of the Bury Parish Churches, is not known. If it was, it must have been for a very short time, because, two years later, Episcopacy was re-established with the Restoration of the King; so that in 1660 Taylor would be dispossessed. Anyhow, after 1662, he would be liable to prosecution under the Penal Statutes; and Calamy tells us he was above a year in prison in Bury. When released he found refuge in London—either in 1664 or 1665, where (the Church book tells us) he 'betook himself to selling tobacco,' or, as Calamy puts it, 'becoming a Tobacco merchant' in Gracechurch Street.

Still, he did not give up preaching, but preached sometimes in the City and sometimes at Croydon. In this year of grace he took out licences for himself and his house in Gracechurch Street.

Years after, in 1685, he went to Cambridge, succeeding Mr. Francis Holcroft in Green Street, where he preached till November, 1700, 'when he died at the age of 75, & was buried in the meeting-house in 'which M^r Hussey succeeded him.'

I can scarcely doubt it was this Thomas Taylor who did such signal service to John Bunyan and his friends. It was proof, too, of his modest serviceableness to others, that he did this for them, before he moved for any licences for himself. This the dates of his licences show clearly as compared with the dates of the licences we have been considering. The last of these he took away at the end of May or the beginning of June. His own licences are dated July 25 [**E. (216)**]. They describe him as a Congregationalist. He would, therefore, be in whole-hearted sympathy with the host of Congregationalists of the Eastern Midlands, for whom he did such loyal service. They run as follows:

> 'License to Tho: Tayler to be a Congr. Teacher in his owne house in Gracechurch Street London July 25th 72
>
> 'the house of Tho: Tayler in Gracechurch Street in london July 25, 72'

The facts that he was an East Anglian by birth, had exercised his ministry in Norfolk and Suffolk (in the latter county being in the part of it which was near to Cambridge); that he was partly educated at Cambridge, where he would certainly be brought into personal contact with Francis Holcroft, and through him would hear of the good work being done in the adjacent counties, which had its centre in Bedford—quickened and inspired by the wonderful tinker imprisoned there for the truth—would naturally give him a personal interest in the desire of John Bunyan and his brave coadjutors to avail themselves of the Indulgence; and the fact that he returned to Cambridge to end his days of active ministry there shows that he most probably kept in living touch with these good folk all through the years of his enforced retirement.

Two other names may be put in this group, though there are points of difficulty in connection with them—viz., Robert Collier and John Lomax.

11. Robert Collier.

Robert Collier hands in one memorandum of application—viz., **321** (153). The application is for six licences for South Yorkshire—three for teachers, and three for houses, all in the neighbourhood of Hull and all of the Congregational way. It reads:

> 'Mr. Richard Astley minister to a Congregacon in & about Hull he is of the Congregationall way
>
> 'A Licence for him to prach &c in the house of Mr Jo: Robinson in Kingston upon Hull
>
> 'A licence for Mr Jo: Pakland to prach at John Newton his house in Auleby in Hullshire he is of the Congregationall way.
>
> 'A Licence for Mr Jo: Marrs house in Newlands in Yorkshire for Mr Thomas Oliver. who is of the Congregationall way.
>
> 'Robt Collier'

Was he Calamy's 'Mr Collier' (III. 351), who was ejected from Nether Whitacre in Warwickshire? All that Calamy tells us of him is that 'while he was in his living he kept a school,' and that 'on leaving 'it, he went to London, and applied himself to secular business'; and all we can say is, that if for any reason he were applied to, to carry out this piece of work for these Yorkshire worthies, he would be 'on the 'spot'—in London—to do it.

Indeed, he seems more than ordinarily familiar with London and Westminster. The application is addressed :

'S^{r} Joseph Williamson
'At the Earle of Arlington Office,'

and its position is indicated by a phrase, not elsewhere used among all these licence-documents, which bespeaks his personal knowledge of the topography of Whitehall, the Palace State Apartments, and the Official Buildings. 'In Stone Gallery' are the words he appends, and they graphically describe the situation of Sir Joseph's Office, as the front door of it opened almost directly on to the northern end of the Stone Gallery which skirted the eastern limit of the King's Privy Garden.

The licences were all issued. Whether the response of the Officials to R. Collier's application were prompt or laggard we cannot tell, for neither the application paper he gave in, nor the entries of the licences in **E.** were dated. Four of the licences, the first two and the last two on R. Collier's list, are entered on **E** (**184**), the nearest dated entry to it being one on **E.** (**181**), bearing the date '15 June,' and the middle pair are entered on **E.** (**193**), the nearest dated entries to which are on **E.** (**192**)—namely, two for 'Town Mallin,' bearing date July 1st.

Whether he called for the licences for which he so successfully applied we cannot tell, for unfortunately his visits to Whitehall were made after the period of Sir Joseph Williamson's careful preservation of every scrap of paper connected with this Licence business, and at the commencement of those six or eight months during which all application and receipt papers were put aside, to be neglected or destroyed.

12. JOHN LOMAX.

One other name may fairly be put in this group, viz. John Lomax, as he was an ejected minister who acted as an agent for others, although his application was made, not by a personal visit to Whitehall, but by post from a great distance. Calamy (III, 83-85) notices him as ejected from Wooler, Northumberland.

He was a native of Newcastle, and was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. When his course was finished, he returned to his home, living with his widowed mother. He settled in Wooler, in the northern part of his native county, where Earl Grey was the great landowner. Earl Grey's mansion was in Chillingham Park, a few miles east of Wooler, and John Lomax was often his guest. On the Restoration, being unable to conform, he retired with his family to North Shields, practising physic and surgery, and receiving great pecuniary help from his mother at Newcastle.

In May, 1672, he applied for two licences—not for himself, but for two houses as Congregational meeting-places, the one in North Shields where he was living, and the other in South Shields just the other side of the Estuary of the Tyne. It is preserved in **320** (**296**), and reads :

'N. Sheeles. May 3° 1672

'S^r^

'Having seen his Maj^ties^ most gracious declaration of Indulgence to tender Consciences, for w^ch^ I am most humbly thankfull, I desire you would take upon you y^e^ trouble of procuring a license for a room in y^e^ now-dwelling house of Isabell Green in North Sheeles as allso a room in y^e^ now-dwellinge house of Cuthbert Cotesworth in y^e^ West-pans neer South Sheeles, for, though unknown, yet herein

'Yo^r^ obliged fr^d^ & serv^t^

'JOHN LOMAX

'Congregationall'

Calamy (III, 84) narrates a pathetic incident in connection with this. He tells us that Lomax went to Newcastle to see his mother (who was a great lover of books), and informed her of the Declaration of Indulgence. In the spirit of Simeon and his *Nunc Dimittis*, she replied: 'It is the last time I shall read. For I believe I have been kept alive to 'help support you' (out of an annuity she enjoyed), 'and now—with the 'liberty which has come through the Indulgence, I do not think you will 'further need my help.' She died the very next day.

John Lomax did not himself obtain a personal licence till six months later, and the form of it suggests how great was the respect in which he was held by Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham (who had quite recently died), for it reads:

E. (**271**) 'Licence to John Lummock to be a Independent Teacher 'in our Bisħ^c^ of Durrham. Nov. 18. 72.'

He survived his mother twenty-two years; for he died (so Calamy alleges) 'about 1694.'

(II.) LAYMEN

(*a*) AGENTS FOR KINSMEN

Of the Laymen who act as Agents for others, one set naturally enough may be placed in a separate group—viz., those who do this service for their kinsmen.

Of four this is strikingly and palpably true. They are eldest sons and namesakes of those ejected ministers whose licences they negotiate at Whitehall. These are Samuel Fisher, junior, Hezekiah King, junior, John Storer, junior, and Joseph Wilson, junior.

There is a larger number of those where the kinship is only conjectural, based on the identity of surnames (in most cases, not common)—viz.:

John Clayton—suggesting kinship with Luke and Samuel.
John Down—(?) brother of William Down.
Richard Lucas—of John Lucas.
William Owen—and Hugh Owen.

Walter Payne—(?) brother of Thomas Payne.
Samuel Reynolds and William Reynolds; and
John Warr, inevitably suggesting Edward Warr.

We will take them in this order:
I.—And first, those certainly related as son and father.

1. SAMUEL FISHER.

This Samuel Fisher should be known to us as Samuel Fisher, junior, because his father, 'whose business'—in **320** (**191**)—he prays Mr. Blayney to remember, is his namesake. His father is noticed by Calamy (I. 342, 343), and more fully by Urwick, 'History of Nonconformity in Cheshire.' He was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, and educated at Oxford*; held preferments successively in London (St. Bride's); Withington, in Cheshire; St. Mary's, Salisbury (of which church he was vicar from 1646-1650); and at Thornton (in the Moor), in Cheshire; whence he was ejected in 1662, and, retiring to Birmingham, was living there in this year of Indulgence. The son's name is affixed only to one of these licence-documents, **320** (**191**) (which is cited also in connection with the name of the addressee, Mr. Robert Blayney, clerk of the Haberdashers' Company). It is addressed to 'Mr. Robert Blany,' and reads:

'Sr

'I am requested to pcure Lycense for
'Mr Joseph Ecclesole a non-confª minister & Mr
'Mr William Turton alsoe to preach &c in the house of Mr William Keeling In Darleston in Staffordshire
'I pray when yu goe up to Westmr get this done for one or both of the psons above named, I shall sattisfie for ye charges.

'Yr assured Freind,
'SA: FISHER.
'I pray remember my father's business.'

It looks very much as if he were living in the provinces, and writes to Mr. Blayney to secure his good offices as of one well-known to his younger brother Charles, and to his father, on behalf of friends in Darlaston, Sedgley, and Rowley Regis, in Staffordshire.

The first named ('Joseph Ecclesole') is Calamy's Joseph Eccleshall, who, he tells us (III. 240-244), was ejected from Sedgley, and who is described in a second application [**320** (**192**)], as 'Mr. Joseph Ecclsole 'of Sedgly in Staffordshire.' In 1669 he was reported (**R. 197**) as preaching in Sedgley, holding Presbyterian Conventicles 'of about 200' in his own house ('At the house of Joseph Eccleshall, a Nõconformist 'minr,); and also in Coventry (**R. 193**) as one of four who preached Att Leather hall there at Conventicles 'of almost 1000' 'every Sunday.' For him licences are obtained (in 1672) both for his person as a

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* From Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses,' we learn that he matriculated at Queen's College, October, 1634; that he graduated B.A. December 15, 1637, from Magdalen, and proceeded M.A. June 10, 1640.

Presbyterian teacher and for his house in Sedgley as a Presbyterian meeting-place [**E.** (**186**)].

The second, William Turton, we learn from Calamy (III. 239-240), was ejected from Rowley Regis, and is described in a second application [**320** (**192**)] as of 'Rowley in Staffordshire,' but to preach in the house of William Keeling in Darlaston. It is specially interesting, therefore, to find him reported in 1669 (**R. 197**) as associated with six others as preaching to a Conventicle 'of 1 or 200,' 'att the house of Wm 'Keeling,' at Darlaston (as well as in the houses of Wm. Bayley, yeoman, and William Penson); and (**R. 196***b*) as preaching with two others at a Conventicle 'of 2 or 300' in Wednesbury. The application made for him in 1672 was granted, and both licences were issued on May 1, 1672 [entered on **E.** (**57**) and **E.** (**58**)]. Other friends, however, interested themselves in William Turton beside Mr. Samuel Fisher. One applied for him anonymously [in **320** (**263**)] for the town of Stafford.

Though the document (in its semi-Latin form) bespeaks a legal training in the applicant, he curiously mispells Turton's name, calling him 'Purton.' It reads: 'in Comitat. Staff. Mr Wm Purton Minister 'to meete at John Wade's house in Stafford, Of ye presbiterian pswation,' and both licences are entered on **E.** (**105**) as issued '13 May' [only John Wade is entered as 'Joseph'].

Nor is this all. Four months later a licence is secured for 'the 'house of John Tuston of Rowly in Staffordshire Sept. 5th' [**E.** (**247**)]. Is the Christian name a mistake, as well as the surname misspelt? If it is meant for 'William Turton,' it would confirm the statement that he was still living at Rowley Regis, although he has already been licensed both for Darlaston and Stafford. If there is no error in the Christian name, this may be a licence for William's brother.

Quite probably Samuel Fisher, who writes this letter to Robert Blayney, was living at Birmingham with his father, as these three towns, although in another county, are all quite near to Birmingham.

But the case will come up for further treatment in connection with Blayney's name.

2. EZECHIAS KING, JUNIOR.

Calamy has two 'Hezekiah King's in his list:

(1) The one (I. 315) is 'Mr. Ezekiah King,' ejected from the Rectory of Foulmire in Cambridgeshire. Of him Calamy has no further information.

(2) The second (II. 326) is 'Mr. Hezekiah King' ejected from the Rectory of Deal in Kent. Of him, Calamy adds: 'Of *Cambridge* 'University. He is said to have been ejected from this place on 'Bartholomew-day. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr 'Vinke.'*

Fortunately, I am able to supplement Calamy's bare record of the ejectment of the first, from three authentic sources:

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* Mr. Peter Vinke, who was successively ejected from St. Michael's, Cornhill, in 1660, and from St. Katherine Creeds, Lombard Street, in 1662, did not die till thirty years after this—viz., in 1702.

(1) Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses.' From Foster's record we learn that he was the son of a Middlesex merchant born about 1600 [1596 (*vide* S. P. Dom. Car. II. 148, 131)], and was educated at Oxford. That he matriculated from Christ Church College, February 21, 1616-17, aged sixteen; that he graduated B.A., February 24, 1619-20, and proceeded M.A., June 26, 1622. That he was incorporated at Cambridge, 1623. That on May 25, 1624, he was licensed as 'of the city of London, 'Clerk,' to marry Mary, daughter of John Wyboe, of St. Michael, Cornhill, deceased.

That in 1629 he was appointed Rector of Deal in Kent; but that in 1646 he was sequestered or intruded to the rectory of Foulmire, County Cambridge.

His son then was appointed to his father's first living.

(2) The Subscription Book, preserved in the Bishop of London's Registry (Dean's Court), gives us the date of his appointment to Foulmire.

For, under date 1647, I find this entry:

> '1647. Ezechias King, Rectoriam Fulmer—Cambr.'

When he suffered ejection in 1662, then, he had been fifteen years in that Rectory.

(3) The State Papers preserved in the Record Office, give us information from which we may gather that Foulmire was not his first preferment, that on his ejectment thence he went to reside in the City of London, but that after the Five Mile Act of 1665 he had to leave it; so that his residence in Hornsey would probably date from that year. The papers which give us this information are (1) a Petition he presented to the King to be allowed still to reside in London, spite the Five Mile Act, and [(2) and (3)] two Certificates 'put in,' in support of his Petition; the first from fifteen persons [(?) members of Cambridge University or residents in the town], testifying to his abilities and worth; and the second from the Rector of St. Michael's, in Cornhill, testifying to the quietude of his deportment as a resident for many years in his parish. [N.B.—It was in St. Michael's, Cornhill, that he was married (1624) to a daughter of John Wyboe. Was he staying with his wife's relatives, 1662-1665 ?] It could not have been more than three years or so that he was so residing.

The Petition is preserved in S. P. Dom. Car. II. 148, 131, and is endorsed:

> '22 Feb. 1665 (1666). The Petition of Ezechias King he frequents y^e^ Divine Service hath taken y^e^ Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, aged 70 & sickly, desires leave to reside in London. His Ma^tie^ cannot grant it.'

It reads:

'To the King's Most Excellent Majestie.
'The Humble Petition of Ezechias King Clerke
'Late Pastor of Fulmer in Cambridgeshire
'Most Humbly Sheweth

'That yor Petitioner, having Preached since yor Majesty's Gracious Act of Oblivion, is thereby concerned in the late Act of Parliament, Intituled an Act for Restraining non-Conformists from inhabiting Corporations. Although yor Petitioner hath not Preached at all, since the 24th of August 1662 nor did ever Preach or Resort to heare in any unlawfull Assemblies, but doth frequently Resort to the Divine Service of the Church of England, and in all things behaveing himselfe like a Peaceable and Loyall as he thinketh himselfe obliged in conscience to doe by the Oathes of Alegiance and Supremacy wch he hath taken. Yor Petr being now near Seaventy yeares of Age; and by a late Tedious Sickness much weakened, and still Remaineing under great infirmityes,

'Humbly sues to yor Gratious Majestie that by yor Royall favour yor Petitioner may be permitted to continue in his habitation in London, notwithstanding the said Act.

'And yor Petr, as in Duty Bound, shall Pray &c.

addd: To Mr George Nish.

The Certificates appended are:

Ibid. **131 I.**

'Wee whose names are underwritten do hereby certify whom it may concerne that Mr Ezekias King, minister of the Gospell at Fulmire in the County of Cambridge, neere the University, is knowne unto us to be an able schollar, of a sound judgment, religious conversation, and good ability for the ministry, which wee willingly testify this 5th of December 1666 [should have been 1665]

Rob. Eade
Matthew Barton
Jo. Sherman
Jacob. Houblon
Will. Daintree

'Anth: Tudaney
Richard Minshall
Alex. Green
Will: Abel
Theoph. Dillingham
Ed. Stoyte
Ben. Worrall.'

Alr. Clifford
J. Broadgate
Thomas Wilson

Ibid. **131 II.** Endorsed:

'21 Febr. '67. [Should have been February, 1666.]

'The Rector of S. Michael in Cornhill, Certifies of Mr Ezechias King is a man of peaceable spirit. That he frequents Divine service & demeanes himselfe reverently at it.

'These may certify that upon a long acquaintance with Mr Ezechias King, I judge him to be a person of a very quiet & peaceable Spirit, & verily believe that he hath not of these many yeares, preached or performed any exercise in any private & unlawfull assembly, And that I have often observed him to resort to Divine Service, & there demeane himselfe decently & reverently. In testimony whereof I have subscribed my hand this 20th day of February 1665'6.

'John Meriton,
'Rector of St Michael
'Cornhill, London.'

What renders it almost certain that Foulmire was not his first preferment is that he was seventy when in 1666 he presented his petition to the King. He must have been born in 1596, so that he was fifty-one when in 1647 he was presented to Foulmire.

That fact carries with it the further probability, that his eldest son and namesake will have been born in some previous incumbency, and quite possibly as early as 1627. That is so, for he was appointed in 1629 Rector of Deal in Kent (*vide* 'Alumni Oxonienses'). If so, Ezechias King, junior, might well have been thirty-five, in the year of the fatal Bartholomew Day, making it quite possible for him to be the Hezekiah King ejected from Deal, after a ministry there of five years or more.

Further, it is clear that the father must have gone up to London and become a resident in the City of London, in the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, almost immediately after his ejection from Foulmire; for the Rector speaks of having 'a long acquaintance with him,' and says that he 'verily believes he hath not of these many years preached or performed 'any exercise, in any private or unlawfull assembly'; while, had he come up to London at once, his residence there would not have been more than four years and a half at the date of the Rector's certificate.

It is also evident that, spite the general testimonial to his 'ability' as a 'scholar,' the 'soundness of his judgment,' his 'religious conversation,' and 'good ability for the ministry,' the special testimony of the Rector to his 'quiet and peaceable spirit,' and his own urgent pleading of his sickness and infirmity, the King was 'advised' not to grant the old man's suit: so that he had to find some other home.

We see him migrating therefore to Hornsey, a village quite five miles and a half distant from the City; so that in this year of the Indulgence, he will have been living there full six years. His son—of over forty years of age (in all probability)—having imitated his father's example and come up from Deal to London, had probably joined him in his retirement to Hornsey.

What is of interest quite remarkable, moreover, is that while the son seems willing to remain silent, the aged veteran of over seventy-five cannot miss the opportunities offered by the Indulgence to resume his public ministry: applies for a licence early, and obtains it scarcely a month after the issue of the Declaration.

The application is preserved in **321** (**49**): and though it is undated and unsigned, as it is his son who goes to receive it, we may take it for granted that it was he who applied for it, on one of the first days in May. It reads:

> 'M^r^ Ezechias King of Hornesey in the County of Middlesex Clerke, of y^e^ Presbiterian perswasion, Craves Licence for himselfe to preach. Also that his house in Hornesey aforesaid may be Licenced to Preach in'

This time the Royal assent is not withheld.

Both licences are granted on the 8th of May, as we see in **E.** (**81**):

> 'Licence to Ezekias King to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Hornsey Middl. 8 May'

'The howse of Ezekias King in Hornesey Middl. Pr. Meeting Place
8 May 72.'

That, probably, was very soon after the application; for it is another week after their issue before the son goes to receive them.

We have the memorandum of Receipt in **321** (**163**):

'May 15th 1672

'Rec. a Licence for Mr Ezechias King to Teach in his owne house in Hornesey in Midlesex

'I say Rec.

'p EZECHIAS KING JUNR.'

The picture is a striking one of the mature son, willing himself to remain a 'silenced minister,' but more willing still to travel up to Whitehall. His route would be down the Highgate Road into the Theobalds Road, down Drury Lane and the Strand, to Charing Cross, and on to Whitehall, to secure for his aged father the liberty and Royal authority to preach once more as he had done for five-and-thirty years or more before the Act of Uniformity had silenced him.

3. JOHN STORER, JUNIOR.

John Storer, the father, was a Northamptonshire man (born 1611), and was educated at Cambridge (Emmanuel College) [*vide* Cal. III. 289.]

Twice he had held office in London. His first appointment, indeed, was a Lectureship at St. Giles's, Cripplegate; and this he held seven years.

Then, after eleven years at Beckenham (Kent), he returned to London to the living of St. Martin's Vintry, which he held till 1660.

He then removed to Stowmarket in Suffolk, whence two years later he was ejected. He then returned to the neighbourhood of London, there (at Highgate, Middlesex) to spend the remainder of his days.

His eldest son, whether living with his father, or settled in London, went to Whitehall and fetched the licence for his father. The application for it is preserved on a paper **320** (**105**), with others for the Counties of Derby, Bedford, and Nottingham (two in which last County were rejected*). His was one of two for Middlesex: 'John Storer of the 'Presbyterian way at his owne house in the Towne of High gate in the 'County of Middlesex.' It is not dated; so that we cannot tell how long it lay at Whitehall before it was attended to. The document as a whole is not signed; but this line is clearly in Robert Mascall's hand. The licences required were issued April 17 [**E.** (**25**) and **E.** (**26**)]; and it was only two days later that his son went to Whitehall and secured it, as we see by the terms of **320** (**149**), second part:

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* Viz., those for the Town Hall, and the King's or County Hall in Nottingham itself.

‘Rec^{d} April y^{e} 19th 1672 at my Lord Arlington’s office, of M^{r} Benson a Licence for M^{r} John Storer of Highgate in the County of Middl: I say rec̃^{d} by me.

‘JO: STORER JUN^{R}.’

4. JOSEPH WILSON, JUNIOR.

Mr. Joseph Wilson, senior, was ejected from Beverley, Yorks.

All that Calamy tells us about him, though it is but little, gives us the impression of a powerful original character. He says (III. 461): ‘After his ejectment (though he once attempted to preach here’—*i.e.*, at Beverley—‘when the doors were locked against him) he lived ‘privately till 1672, when he took out a licence, and preached at *Hull*. ‘He was a very worthy man, a bold rousing preacher, and very zealous ‘against ceremonies. Once when he was preaching upon the brazen ‘serpent’s being beat to powder, cast into the river, and called *Nehushtan*, ‘he said, “I durst tell the proudest prelate of them all, that if they bring ‘“up anything into the worship of God, without the authority of His ‘“word, it is no better than Nehushtan, a piece of dead brass.” He ‘died suddenly in Feb. 1678.’

The facts to which Calamy refers parenthetically were actually rather different from what he hints in that parenthesis. What Calamy hints is that once he attempted to preach in Beverley Minster, but was prevented by the arm of the civil authorities. What actually took place was this: The populace were so eager to hear him that they forced their way into the church on May 17, 1663, and so gave him the opportunity they so much desired. This I have learned from the Visitation Books preserved in the Diocesan Registry in York. In 1663 the Churchwardens of Beverley St. Mary present—

> ‘*Joseph Wilson*. For preaching in our Church upon the 17th May last, without our leave, or the Ordinary’s Licence.’

They also present—

> ‘Will^{m} Coulson & Tim. Gray, Thomas Fairburne & W^{m} Tutin, and several others
>
> ‘For tumultuously and violently bringing the said Wilson to preach the said Day in the Church to the great disturbance of the congregac̃on.’

It does not appear from these ‘præsentamenta’ that the doors of the church were locked against him; but that the church was open as usual—on Sunday, May 17th—for Divine service, that the usual congregation was assembled, and that in the absence of the clergyman (who had replaced Mr. Wilson in the living) they brought in their old minister and induced him to preach to them. It may have been at Beverley, as it was at Hull (seven years later), when—the clergyman having finished the usual service, and having left the church to perform a funeral in the churchyard—the congregation stayed behind, under the lead of the

Mayor and Aldermen, who were all Presbyterians, and, allowing a Nonconformist to enter the pulpit, were prepared and eager to hear him preach. Only in that case another Alderman, who was a zealous upholder of Monarchy and Episcopacy, used force to remove the Nonconformist from the pulpit, and so prevented him preaching ;* whereas, in this, no one was bold enough to withstand the clear will of the people, and Mr. Wilson preached.

Further, Calamy's statement that in 1672 he took a licence out and preached at Hull, while it doubtless asserts a fact, does not tell all the truth. One might infer from Calamy's statement that Wilson secured a licence to preach at some definite meeting-house or meeting-place in Hull. As a matter of fact the licence-documents show that his son applied for a licence for his father to preach at Newland, which was not then Hull, but a suburb of Kingston-upon-Hull—a little further up the River Hull ; and that the licence was made out for him to be 'a General 'Teacher'—*i.e.*, giving him liberty and authority to preach in any licensed place—the Kingdom over.

The application made by his son is **321** (**330**), and reads :

> 'M^{r} Joseph Wilson of the presbiterian ꝑswation humbly Desires a License to preach accorđ(ing) to His Majestie's Declaration, at Newland neere Kingston suꝑ. Hull
>
> 'ꝑ Jos: Wilson, Jun^{r}'

The entry of the licence is on **E.** (**162**), and reads :

> 'Licence to Jos: Wilson of Newland neare Kingston upon Hull to bé a Grāll Teacher. 10 June'

He seems to have ministered as he could in Hull and the neighbourhood until his death in 1678. It is more than probable that the Nonconformist minister who, on that Sunday in 1670 in Hull, got as far as the pulpit, but was prevented from preaching by Alderman Crowle, was this same Joseph Wilson.

Was Joseph Wilson, junior, living with his father ? In that case he came up to London on purpose to negotiate these licences for him. Or was he living in London ?

II.—Of the more speculative cases there are seven.

1. JOHN CLAYTON.

The first is John Clayton.

There were two Claytons licensed as teachers in Rotherham, Yorkshire : Luke, for whom John Hickes made application, Tuesday, April 23 [**320** (**184**)], and whose licence was issued April 30 [**E.** (**50**)], Ti: Cloudesley taking it away from Whitehall on Saturday, May 4,

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* The facts are reported by Charles Whittington to Williamson in two papers, dated respectively from Hull, June 1, 1670, and June 10, 1670, and more circumstantially by Colonel Antony Gilby, on June 22, 1670. [S.P. Dom. Car. II. 276; 65, . . . and 176.]

1672 [**320 (303)**]; and Samuel, whose licences are entered in that part of **E.** which points to their being made out in the month of June [**E. (180)**]. The former is most favourably noticed by Calamy (III. 446) as doing a splendid work at Rotherham, and continuing to minister to his people till January, 1663, though ejected for Nonconformity.

'He then chearfully (*sic*) suffered imprisonment and was the first of 'the ministers who were sent to York Castle for Nonconformity.' Nor was this the only time: he seems to have been imprisoned repeatedly, sometimes for six months together. For several years he preached at Greasborough Chapel. He lived scarcely more than two years after he secured his licence.

A 'Mr Clayton' is reported in the Episcopal Returns of 1669 as holding a Conventicle of forty or fifty at Rotherham (**R. 282**). 'At the 'houses of' himself and his colleague in preaching 'every Sunday.'

There was also a Francis Clayton licensed as a Baptist minister in Atherston (Warwickshire), July 25, 1672 [**E. (208)**].

The two Rotherham Claytons were probably brothers—Luke and Samuel. Was Francis another brother?

John was a very active agent, and his activity for Yorkshire suggests that he was a brother or other near kinsman of Luke and Samuel. He presented eight memoranda between May 5th and June 14th: six of them application-papers, two Receipts. On the six application-papers were thirty applications: sixteen for Yorkshire, eight for Derbyshire, three for Wilts, and two each for Surrey and Essex, showing much more energy for Yorkshire than any other county. The results in licences secured and taken away from Whitehall were in favour of Derbyshire, the licenses received being five for Derbyshire and only four for Yorkshire. He received only two others, and those were the two he had himself applied for for Mr. Manshipp, the minister ejected from St. Nicholas, Guildford.

In the first two papers we see his special interest in Yorkshire, **320 (306)**, presented May 5th,* being for two in Wakefield; and **321 (71)** being for two in Sherburn (near Selby). The next, presented May 15th—**321 (152)**—was very miscellaneous in its contents, two licences being desired for Surrey (the two I have already referred to); two for Essex (the odd thing about these being the way the name Margaretting is divided into two words 'Margarett' and 'Ingg'—which looks remarkably like 'Jugg'), and two for Wilts. The last is appended as a separate P. S. to the other four.

321 (211), dated Monday, May 20th, 'desires' six licences for Yorks and eight for Derby. Three days later he asks two more for Yorkshire in **321 (242)**. These are for Sheffield, quite near to Rotherham, where the two Claytons (Luke and Samuel) are labouring.

The next [**321 (303)**]—which has at foot the words, 'These praied '1st of June (72)'—is remarkable for a note inserted between the third and fourth lines. The lines above the note are applications for four

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* This is a startlingly notable date, being a Sunday—a curious day for a good Puritan to choose for doing his licence-'business.'

Yorkshire licences and one for Wiltshire: only the four former are reckoned by him as only two, being each for a place as well as a preacher. The note added is: 'These 3 as given in w^{en} his Ma^{tie} was 'Last att Portsmouth.' The lines which follow the note apply for six further licences for Yorkshire, making in this one mem. ten Yorkshire licences in all.

The other two papers of John Clayton are Receipts: **321** (**304**) dated June 1st, for four Yorkshire licences—including two asked on May 23rd—and five Derbyshire licences asked three days before that; and **321** (**363**), bearing date June 14, acknowledges the receipt of Mr. Manshipp's licences asked for a month before (May 15th).

There is a John Clayton noticed by Foster ('Al. Oxon.'), who was born at Blackburn (Lancs) in 1653. His father was Rev. Leonard Clayton, who had been educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford; matriculating July 8, 1636; graduating B.A. October 15, 1639; and proceeding M.A. June 14, 1642. Leonard was sequestered to the vicarage of Blackburn 1647-1660.

2. RICHARD LUCAS.

Only one memorandum bears his name—viz., **321** (**279**); but it is enough to evince his promptitude and energy. In it he acknowledges his receipt (on May 29, 1672) at Whitehall, of three licences for the City of Norwich—one for a Presbyterian teacher and two for Presbyterian meeting-houses, the one (Mr. John Morley's) in 'the parish of 'St. Martins of the Oake,' and the other (Mr. John Mumford's) in the 'Parish of St. Peter's in the Market'; all of which had been issued and entered that very day [*vide* **E.** (**144**)]. The memorandum is noteworthy, stating that the licence was received direct from Sir Joseph Williamson.

It reads [**321** (**279**)]:

> 'Rec^{d} the 29th of May 1672 of S^{r} Joseph Williamson
> 'A Lisence for M^{r} John Lucas of Norwi^{ch} for the use of the house of M^{r} John Morley & the use of the house of M^{r} John Mumford both of the same Citey
> 'p RICH^{D}: LUCAS'

The inference is natural that Richard is brother or close kindred of John, but whether he was a resident in London, or, residing in Norwich, had come up to London to secure these licences for John, does not appear. The former supposition is the more likely, as he receives the licences direct from Sir Joseph Williamson himself.

John Lucas was ejected* from the vicarage of 'Statham,' in Norfolk, which (as J. Browne† suggests) must be a misprint for Stalham. Calamy tells us that he retired to Norwich, and 'often preached at 'Tunstead, Bradfield, and other places, as he had opportunity.' [Tunstead and Bradfield are both in the neighbourhood of Stalham, the former being almost due west, and the latter farther north-west of it (north of North Walsham).

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* Calamy III. 14.

† 'History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk,' p. 342.

There is further evidence of his vigorous ministerial activity in the Episcopal Returns for 1669. For he is mentioned (**R. 227**) as a 'Head 'or Teach^r^':

(1) Of a Conventicle held in the parish of St. Stephen's, in Norwich, 'Att the house of M^r^ John Willson Chimist once a weeke, if 'not twice'; composed of 'Presbyterians & Independants,' to the number of '200 or thereabout,' 'most women.' The Return speaks of him as 'one M^r^ Lucas,' adding '& others whose names cannot be 'learnt.' This 'Return' directly confirms Calamy's statement that after his ejectment he retired to Norwich. Did this meeting amalgamate with that in Tombland?

(2) On **R. 227***b*, too, he is reported in association with Mr. Edward Barker, Mr. Wm. Sheldrake, Mr. Petto (Pettaugh) and Mr. Wilborne, as ministering to a Conventicle of 'Independants,' to the number of 'about 400' in Yarmouth, which met 'Att a house in the hoope Row 'belonging to M^r^ Burton.'

He evidently settled at Norwich for life, and though here licensed as a Presbyterian [**E.** (**144**)] teacher, seems to have attached himself finally to the Congregationalists, for he was buried in the Old Meeting House (Congregational); and, as Browne informs us,* there is a monument to his memory in it with a long poetical (?) inscription, which Browne reproduces.

Who applied for these licences does not appear in the memoranda which are preserved. But they were all three issued May 29, 1672, and Richard Lucas called for them the same day.

In the absence of information as to John Lucas's earlier history, it seems impossible to determine the relationship of Richard to John.†

3. William Owen.

Three memoranda, bearing 'Will: Owen's' signature, were left at Whitehall: **321** (**237**), **321** (**277**), and **321** (**335**).

The first [**321** (**237**)] is drawn up in a form evidencing a clear and orderly intelligence; the names of the teachers being in one column, and the names of householders in a second on the right, the whole being headed 'Congregationall.'

Altogether the applications are for twenty-nine licences. Two are for London (Queenhithe); two are for Bucks; four are for Oxfordshire; three are for Staffordshire; two for Gloucester; eight are for Shropshire, and eight are for Wales.

Of these twenty-nine, twenty were issued on one day—viz.,

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* 'History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk,' pp. 278-79. Rev. A. Gordon questions the accuracy of Browne's statement, urging that both grave and monument are in the graveyard of the Old Meeting.

† There are two Richard Lucas's mentioned by Foster ('Al. Oxon.'): (1) R. L., who graduated B.A. at Oxford 1529, and entered as a student of Gray's Inn 1532; and (2) R. L., who was Canon of Westminster, 1697-1717. Was the R. L. above the father of (2)? or some descendant of (1)?

May 22nd [**E.** (**119**), **E.** (**134**), and **E.** (**135**)]. But Will. Owen did not call for them for nearly a week later, as we see in the second memorandum of the three—viz., **321** (**277**), which is headed: 'Received 'y^e^ 28 of May 1672 these licenses, viz.,' . . . and subscribed 'I say 'Recd by me Will: Owens.'

Of the nine for which he had applied, but which he did not then receive, the story is a very various one. One for Thomas Bakewell had been issued more than a fortnight before—viz., on May 13 [**E.** (**111**)], in response to an application put in on the 10th by a Mr. Richards, only he is there described as a Presbyterian; while a second, evidently in response to Owen's application, was issued for him as a Congregationalist on May 25th [**E.** (**211**)], and had been probably taken away already by some one else.

Exactly the same thing had happened with the licence for Richard Brown's house. A Presbyterian licence had been applied for May 10th [**221** (**80**)], and granted May 13th [**E.** (**111**)]; and a Congregational, applied for by W. Owen [**321** (**327**)], had been issued May 25th [**E.** (**211**)], and taken away before he went to Whitehall the second time. In the case of Edward Broughton's house, Colonel Blood had applied for it as a Presbyterian meeting-place, and it had been issued May 16th [**E.** (**121**)]. But to Owen's further application that it might be licensed for Congregationalists there was no response.

The two for Marton in Salop had been issued six days before Owen put in his application for them—viz., on May 22nd [*vide* **E.** (**134**)]; but the two for Oswestree, for Rowland Nevett's person and house, were not issued till towards the end of July [**E.** (**215**), July 25, 1672]; and of those requested for Cambden in Gloucester (although Stephen Ford had already applied for them), only that for a house seems to have been granted. No licence is entered for Thomas Worden at all; and the house-licence (Mr. Samuel Horsman's) does not appear till **E.** (**274**), when it is entered undated, the nearest dates to it being November 18, 1672.

The third and last memorandum Owen put in is **321** (**335**); for four licences which are also all Congregational—two for Mr. John Ovey, in Wallingford, Berks, and two for Mr. Thomas Willis in Pinkney ('Pikney'), Somerset. These last two were issued June 10th, as we see from the entries on **E.** (**158**). Yet of the former pair only the house licence is entered on the same page [**E.** (**134**)] and for the same date (May 22nd). We look in vain for John Ovey's licence, as we look in vain for Thomas Worden's.

It will be seen that two Oveys are concerned in these memoranda: Thomas Ovey, who asks a licence for his house in Watlington, Oxford, and John Ovey, who seeks a personal licence to teach in Mr. Rusden's house in Wallingford, Berks. But while Thomas Ovey is successful, John Ovey fails. The MS. of **321** (**335**) shows 'Mr. John Ovey' crossed out. The excision is strange. But the explanation of the difficulty may lie in what Thomas Ellwood tells us about him.

The incident he relates belongs to the year 1661.* He has just been telling how at Chalfont, when enjoying the hospitality of Isaac Pennington, he had become acquainted with Richard Greenaway, 'one who had received a gift for the ministry'; and he goes on to say: 'He having been formerly in other professions of 'religion'—he must be alluding to the Independents or Congregationalists—'had then been acquainted with one John Ovy of Watlington, in 'Oxfordshire, a man of some note among the professors there.' This Richard Greenaway asked Thomas Ellwood to join him on a tour of visitation to the friends of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and in the way to bring him to his old friend 'John Ovy's house,' with whom Thomas Ellwood himself was 'well acquainted.' This he did. They were kindly received, tarrying the night; and in the course of conversation John Ovy spoke of Isaac Pennington as one whose writings he knew, and to whom he would like to have a personal introduction.

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* 'History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood,' edited by C. G. Crump, pp. 74 *et seq*

Thomas Ellwood replied that 'if he would take the pains to go to 'his house' he 'would bear him company thither, introduce him, and 'engage he should have a kind reception.' They arranged, therefore, to meet at Stoken Church, and thence walked to Chalfont via 'Wis-'comb.' They arrived 'in good time' on Saturday, 'the seventh day of 'the week.' Then follows Thomas Ellwood's account of him:

'He had been a professor of religion from his childhood to his old age (for he was now both grey-headed and elderly), and was a teacher at this time, and had long been so amongst a people, whether Independents or Baptists I do not well remember. And so well thought of he was, for his zeal and honesty, that in those late professing times he was thrust into the Commission of the Peace, and thereby lifted up on the Bench; which neither became him nor he it, for he wanted indeed most of the qualifications requisite for a Justice of the Peace: an estate to defray the charge of the office and to bear him up in a course of living above contempt; a competent knowledge in the laws, and a presence of mind, or body, or both, to keep offenders in some awe; in all which he was deficient. For he was but a fellmonger by trade, accustomed to ride upon his pack of skins, and had very little estate, as little knowledge of the law, and of but a mean presence and appearance to look on. But as my father, I suppose, was the means of getting him put into the Commission, so he, I know, did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every turn, till that turn came (at the King's return) which turned them both out together' (p. 75).

After a pleasant evening together, they managed a conversation or conference on the following 'First Day' morning, between their host (Isaac Pennington), Thomas Ellwood, and him—before the Monthly Meeting; answering his questions, objections and doubts, and opening to him the principles of truth, to his both admiration and present satisfaction. John Ovey then stayed to the meeting. But it so 'fell out that a party of horse 'were appointed to come and break up the meeting that day; though we 'knew nothing of it all we heard and saw them. The meeting was 'scarce fully gathered when they came; but we that were in the family, 'and many others, were settled in it in great peace and stillness, when 'on a sudden the prancing of the horses gave notice that lightening was ‘at hand’ (p. 76). With evident glee he tells of the cowardice of their visitor, John Ovey :

‘We all sat still in our places, except my companion, John Ovey, who sat next to me. But he being of a profession that approved Peter’s advice to his Lord “to save himself,” soon took the alarm, and with the nimbleness of a stripling, cutting a caper over the form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private door, which he had before observed, which led through the parlour into the gardens, and from thence into an orchard ; where he hid himself in a place so obscure, and withal so convenient for his intelligence by observation of what passed, that no one of the family could scarce have found a likelier’ (pp. 76 and 77).

John Ellwood then describes the conduct of the soldiers, selecting a few to take before Sir W. Bowyer, the justice, who dismissed all but George Whitehead and himself, and allowing them to return to Isaac Pennington’s on their promise to appear before him on the morrow. But the climax of the whole story is reached in John Ellwood’s description of ‘poor John Ovy,’ who had returned to the house when he saw that the soldiers had gone clean away.

‘He was so dejected in mind,’ are his words, ‘so covered with ‘shame and confusion of face for his cowardliness that we had enough to ‘do to pacify him towards himself’: and then he tells how—when ‘the ‘meeting was ended, and the Friends departed to their several homes, ‘addressing himself to Mary Penington (as the mistress of the house) he ‘could not enough magnifiy the bravery and courage of the Friends, nor ‘sufficiently debase himself. He told her how long he had been a pro‘fessor, what pains he had taken, what hazards he had run, in his youth‘ful days, to get to meetings ; how, when the ways were forelaid, and ‘passages stopped, he swam through rivers to reach a meeting ; and ‘now, said he, that I am grown old in the profession of religion, and ‘have long been an instructor and encourager of others, that I should ‘thus shamefully fall short myself, is matter of shame and sorrow to me. ‘Thus he bewailed himself to her. And when we came back he renewed ‘his complaints of himself to us, with high aggravations of his own ‘cowardice’ (p. 81).

In 1661, then, John Ovey was living in Watlington with his brother Thomas. He was still living there, too, in 1669 ; for, in the Returns of the ‘County and Diocese of Oxon’—transcribed by Rev. J. Stanley, F.R.Hist.S., of Longhope, from another MS. volume in the Lambeth Palace Library—a Conventicle is reported in Watlington. ‘Mixt. of ‘Presbyterians, Anabaptists, &c.,’ ‘In the house of John Ovey Fell‘monger,’ in which ‘The same Ovey is a notorious Ringleader.’ ‘And the same is for the most the Speaker.’ Evidently his humiliation in 1661 had not ‘silenced’ him, nor suppressed his Nonconformist activity.

Almost certainly, therefore, he was still resident in Watlington when he applied [**321 (335)**] for a licence to minister to a Congregationalist assembly in Mr. Rusden’s house in Wallingford, Oxford. Wallingford is easily accessible from Watlington, as the two places are only six miles apart : Wallingford being on the Thames, on the very border line of Berks. Is it possible that some knowledge of the unfitness of the fellmonger of Watlington may have reached the ears of the authorities of Whitehall and decided then to refuse the licence? The testimony of the entry-books, though negative, is clear that no licence was issued to John Ovey. Though a licence is granted to his brother Thomas for his house in Watlington for Stephen Coven to preach in [**E. (134)**], and another for Mr. Rusden's house in Wallingford [**E. (158)**], John Ovey receives none—his name on **321** (**334**) being erased as not approved.

It is, however, to another pair of licences that, to my mind, a more special interest attaches; as in them there may be a clue to the personality of William Owen himself. They are two of the eight asked on **321** (**237**) for Wales—viz., the pair for Merionethshire. They are asked and obtained for Hugh Owen, to preach in his own house at Llanegryn (in the semi-peninsula, North of Towey, at the mouth of the Disynwy which rises on the slopes of Cader Idris (above Tallyllyn). The supposition is almost inevitable that William and Hugh were kinsmen, probably brothers.

Hugh Owen is a picturesque and fascinating figure: a young man, fresh from the University, who is on fire with evangelistic fervour, and travels through a circuit of thirty miles and more, in all parts of his native County, Merioneth, and the adjoining Counties of Montgomery and Carnarvon, north-west of it, very much like John Williams, who was the Apostle of southern and south-western Carnarvonshire, 'the 'hero of Llangian.'

He was evidently a native of Llanegryn, and (like his friend John Williams) was educated at Oxford. The Act of Uniformity was passed whilst he was still at the University. This prevented him entering the ministry of the 'Church of England,' but did not deter him from devoting his life and energies to the 'ministry of the word' in his native country. Living 'upon a little estate of his own' (Cal. III. 490-94), he 'preached the Gospel to the poor ignorant people *gratis*. He 'was a burning and shining light in this obscure corner; a bright star, 'that moved in a large orb.' There were half-a-dozen places at which he used to preach in this county (Merioneth), some of them twenty miles apart, and distant from his house; and 'near as many in Montgomery-'shire, of which some were about thirty miles from his habitation. He 'also sometimes preached in Carnarvonshire and other parts. He per-'formed his circuit in about three months, and then began again.' The details given in Calamy's account are very pathetic, as to his methods, mode of life, and character.

Was William Owen, who at this time was probably residing in London—and who, I suggest, was some relative of Hugh Owen—any way connected with Griffith Owen of London, who in 1668 made a will leaving Charities for Llanegryn? (Prys Morris, 'Blue Book of Charities of Merionethshire,' 1897.)

4. Walter Payne.

We have a series of twelve memoranda bearing his signature; all drawn up in a very precise and methodical form.

The first and last are Receipts: (1) **320** (**287**), dated May 2, for 15 licences: 8 in Lancashire, 5 in Devon, and 2 in Somerset; (2) **321** (**261**), dated May 25, for 3 licences in Somerset.

The rest are applications (many of them duplicates, some triplicates) for 62 items. Of these 62, 7 are for Devon, for 3 licensees; 2 are for Suffolk; and 1 for London. The remaining 52 are for Somerset.

This irresistibly suggests close personal connection with this last county. [Specially in view of the fact that **320** (**287**) is in John Hickes's handwriting, though it is signed by Walter Payne. The Lancashire and Devon licences are due to John Hickes. Walter Payne undertakes to call for the whole, because interested in the two Somerset ones.]

Now Calamy notices (III. 195) one 'Mr. Pain' as ejected from the vicarage of Kingsbury, in Somerset, which is about midway between Ilminster and Ilchester; and **E.** gives us two licence entries for a Mr. Paine in Somerset. In the first case [**E.** (**204**)] it is 'Mr. Jer. Paine'; in the second [**E.** (**210**)] it is Mr. Jeremiah Paine; in both cases licensed as a Baptist teacher, to preach in the house of (1) Andrew Shord—both licences dated July 22; and (2) Richard Shoare—both licences dated July 25; all in Little Whatley, near Frome.

The natural suggestion is, therefore, that this energetic agent, Walter Payne, is some relation of the Baptist minister, Jeremiah Payne, who was ejected from Kingsbury, and obtained two pairs of licences, dated within three days of each other [**E.** (**204**)], dated July 22, 1672, and [**E.** (**210**)] dated July 25, 1672.

There can be scarcely any question, either, that he is the same Walter Payne, noticed in Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses,' who was born 1617, matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, September 10, 1634, graduated B.A. February 11, 1636-37, and proceeded M.A. July 9, 1640.

He was son of Rev. Thomas Payne, of Deverill, Wilts.

Now the Deverills are in the south-west corner of the county, on the borders of Somerset: so that Whatley, for which Jeremiah Paine gets licences as a Baptist, is not far across the border from the home of Walter Payne's childhood. Foster tells us, too, that Samuel Payne, his brother, was Rector of Woolavington, Somerset.

It seems probable, then, that Walter, Samuel, and Jeremiah were brothers, sons of Thomas Payne, of Deverill, Wilts: that Samuel and Jeremiah both entered the ministry, Samuel remaining conformable in 1662, but Jeremiah leaving the State Church to become a Baptist in Whatley, not ten miles from the home of his childhood. Walter, an eager Nonconformist layman, resident in London, evidently sympathized more strongly with Jeremiah than with Samuel.

He seems to have been a friend of Thomas Stone of Taunton St. James, Somerset, for on **321** (**141**), dated '14° May,' the first two licences applied for (four others follow), this line is inserted, 'To be called for 'by Thomas Stone or M^r^ Payne.'

5. SAMUEL REYNOLDS.

Samuel Reynolds, also, seems to have been specially interested in Somersetshire Nonconformity; for he made application for, and took away from Whitehall, licences for John Glanvill and Lawrence Musgrave in Taunton St. James, and for John Galpin at Lawrence Liddiard, together with licences for the houses which were to be their preaching-stations.

There is one curious, and indeed unique, circumstance connected with the application-document [**320 (150)**]. Samuel Reynolds is associated with a second person (Mr. Robert Wollcott) in making it. So that it runs:

> 'Som^{r}sett,
> 'Wee desire a Licence & . . . also an^{r} Licence for . . .
> ꝑ 'SAM^{L} REYNOLDS
> 'ROBERT WOLLCOTT.'

His friend Wollcott, however, leaves it to him to fetch away the licences alone, and the full receipt [**320 (169)**] runs thus:

> 'I do hereby acknowledge to have rec^{d} Licences for M^{r} John Glanvill & M^{r} John Galpin to preach in the howses of the s^{d} John Glanvill & John Hacklebridge within the ꝑish of Taunton St. James & alsoe in the howse of Rob^{te} Sellerke in the ꝑish of Bp. Lidiard within the County of Som^{r}sett.
> 'ꝑ mee
> 'SAM̃: REYNOLDS.
> '20 Apr. 1672.'

The licences bear the same date: so that Mr. Reynolds probably had them made out for him, while he waited in the office.

Though I have no direct information of either of these Agents, there are many 'Reynolds's who figure in these documents.

There was a 'John' Reynolds, who secured licences for person and house in London [**E. (208)**]; another 'John,' two of whose houses were licensed in Essex: one in Thaxted [**E. (237)**], one in Great Sampford [**E. (199)**], and one in Coopersale [**E. (265)**]; and two other 'John' Reynolds's reported in the Episcopal Returns as holding Conventicles in their houses: one in Surrey, a Farmer of Horne, who holds a monthly Conventicle of Anabaptists in his house (**R. 265***b*); and one in Warwickshire, who harbours a Conventicle of Presbyterians in his house in Alveston ('Alusten') [**R. 273**]. There was a 'Humphrey' Reynolds who licensed his house in Stamford in Lincoln County [**E. (160)**]; a 'Robert' whose house in Portsmouth, Hants, was licensed [**B. (30)**]; and two 'William' Reynolds's—one in Norfolk, whose house in Bodham was licensed [**E. (240)**],' and one in Nottingham

Town, who secured a licence both for person and place [**E. (154)** and **E. (155)**]. But none of these are connected with any place in Somerset.

Of 'Woolcotts', two appear, both connected with Somerset: 'Richard' Woolcot, who has his house licensed in Munksilver in the northern part of the county, south-west of Williton, as a Presbyterian meeting-house [**E. (273)**]; and 'Edward' Woolcot, who obtained licences for himself as Baptist teacher in his own house in Axbridge, in the north-east portion of the county not twenty miles from Monksilver [**E. (227)**]. This Edward Woolcot (the name is spelt 'Woollcott') is reported by the Bishop of Bath and Wells as having a conventicle of twenty in his house at Axbridge, to which the Teacher or Preacher was one Thomas Collyer [**R. 148***b*].

It is easy to imagine that the London 'Robert' Wollcot was more or less closely connected with these Somerset men, 'Richard' and 'Edward' The places for which he is seeking licences are not so far from the Presbyterian Richard's sphere. Indeed, Lawrence Lydeard is comparatively near to Monksilver, and Taunton is not far south-east of Lawrence Lydeard. And Foster ('Alumni Oxonienses') tells us of a Robert Wolcot (or Woolcot) of St. Decuman's, Somerset (Pleb.), whose son Thomas was born there 1648-49, was educated at Oxford, and in 1682 became Rector of Siddington, Somerset. He may very well have come to live in London by 1672 (for in that year his son graduated B.A. from Balliol College).

6. Mr. Bradbye (and Mr. John Warr).

John Warr was a Dorset Puritan, who had come to reside in London—not (as far as evidence goes) a minister, but still interested sufficiently in the Nonconformity of his native county to do something in securing licences desired for it. He was born, 1620, at Yetminster, on the Devon border, not far from Sherbourne. His father was of the middle class (Foster's 'Al. Oxon.' defines him as 'pleb.'), but of means sufficient to give his son a University education. He sent him in 1637 to Wadham College, Oxford, where he matriculated March 3rd. He graduated B.A. May 25, 1641, and became Scholar 1642. As late as 1656 he was still in Somerset; for in 'A list of the names of such 'men as are moderate & against persecution' sent up by Quakers to the Council of State, the first is that of 'John Warr of Yetminster.' By the end of the year, however, '25 Dec 1656,' his name appears among the signatories of a Petition addressed to His Highness 'Oliver Lord 'Protectorʳ' by 'Divers peaceable & well-affected Persons in & about 'the Cityes of London & Westminster for the remission of the 'remaining punishmᵗ of James Nailer' (the fanatical Quaker). So that it would seem he went to London in the autumn of 1656. A Lay Subsidy Roll for London gives his name as resident (or lodging) in Blackfriars in (1665-66).

'*St. Ann's Blackfryars* John Warr—1 hearth—3ˢ.'

Calamy (iii. 182) notices an Edward Warr, as ejected from Cheddon Fitzpaine, in the adjoining County of Somerset. Was he a brother of John?

John Warr put in six memoranda.

(i.) In **321** (**36**) he applies for four licences for Dorset and two for Somerset; and the footnote links his name with that of Mr. Bradbye:

'Mr Bradbye or Mr John Warr will call for these licences.'

These licences were all issued (like those negotiated by young Innes for John Hodder) May 8th [**E.** (**79**) and **E.** (**80**)], and a week later John Warr calls for them and takes them away, as we learn from

(ii.) **321** (**157**);

'Taken out by mee John Warr the Licenses for

. . . . .

'p me JOHN WARR

'May 15: 1672'

Only three days later he 'puts in' an application from the Congregationalists of Yeovil, Somerset, for Henry Butler, their old minister, who had been ejected in 1662, and for the house of Elias Barnes. The application is numbered—

(iii.) **321** (**208**), and commences:

'I humbly desire a Licence for &c.'

It is signed by himself in so remarkable a style that it looks at first glance more like 'Swary' than 'Warr'; and the note is appended:

'The pec̃on [petition] of sõ of his congregaõ is añexed.'

The petition itself is preserved in **321** (**208 I**), and is signed by 'Henry 'Butler' and five others.

The date of the application is determined as May 18th, because Fr. Benson has endorsed the Petition with that date. The Petition is followed in Vol. **321** by a second application in Warr's handwriting, [**321** (**209**)], for Mr. Henry Butler, of Yeovil, and one for Mr. Benjamin Walters, of Bradford Abbas, Dorset.

From **E.** (**136**) we find that the licences desired for the former are issued exactly a week later—viz., May 25th; and five days later John Warr calls for them.

(iv.) **321** (**292**): which is endorsed: 'Warrs Receipt 72'

'Recd out a Licence for Mr Henry Butler to preach in the house of Mr Elias Barnes in Yeavill, Somsetshe this 30th of May 1672

'p me

'JOHN WARR'

(v.) The last of the series is **321** (**343**), in which he applies a second time for licences for Benjamin Walter, of Bradford Abbas.

These licences are entered **E.** (**167**) as made out, but they are undated. If they were issued it must have been in the earlier part of the month of June, as the nearest dated ones are for June 10th.

Who took them away we cannot tell, as all memoranda of this sort are missing after June 17th.

There was a Joseph Ware, whose house in Shaftsbury, Dorset, was licensed May 13th. Was he any relative? It is scarcely likely, as in the licence-entries the name is written 'Ward.'

(*b*) AGENTS AMONG THE ARISTOCRACY.

Of the lay-Agents who secured licences, one of the most remarkable groups is a set of four, belonging to the Aristocracy:

1. Lord Holles, whose Presbyterian connections and opposition to Stuart despotism predisposed him to fairer treatment of the Nonconformists.
2. Earl Craven, the bluff, brave soldier who had been employed, evidently much against the grain, to 'dragoon' the citizens of London into obedience to the Second Conventicle Act, under the ill-relished direction of the Lord Mayor and Governor of the Tower.
3. Lauderdale's Secretary, the Scotch predilections of whose master would make him ill-disposed to Episcopal tyranny, and well-disposed to the Royal Indulgence. And
4. Sir John Banks, who, as a Baronet, was on the fringe of the Peers of the Realm, and, as a wealthy merchant, was in close touch with that strong body of Puritan merchant citizens who gave solid support to Parliament in their struggle with the King.

We will look at these *seriatim*, and then take the large group of Puritan citizens of the large provincial towns, as well as of London City, who did this 'Agency' service for their brethren.

1. Lord Holles.

A remarkable thing, this! A Peer acting as licence-agent to a number of Nonconformists! Yet so it is.

The paper **321** (**166**), which is a replica of **321** (**140**), is endorsed by Francis Benson (Sir Joseph's clerk):

'Given in by L^d Holles. May 16. $\overline{72}$'

321 (**140**) had been drawn up and handed in by William Thompson on May 14, 1672, and this replica of it was also written by him. He seems to have been dissatisfied with even two days' delay. So when, two days later, the opportunity presents itself of putting this replica in the hands of Lord Holles, Thompson commits it to his care, and Lord Holles promptly hands it in. The effect is magical. For we find by **E** (**127**) and **E** (**128**) that every one of these fourteen licences is made out the very day Lord Holles gives in the application. Was he interested in or connected with Lady Jane Berry, whose seat—Linwood Grange—was one of the meeting-places for which licences were asked? One thing is noticeable—the licences applied for were all for Presbyterians; and whatever Nonconformist sympathies Lord Holles had were for the Presbyterians.

This Lord Holles, of course, was the Denzell Holles, whose career was so chequered a one in the 'Troublous Times.' From the first he espoused the side of the Parliament against the King, fighting for the rights of the People—the Nation—as against the claims made by Charles for autocratic power.

In 1640 Mr. Denzell Holles impeached Archbishop Laud of High Treason in the name of the Commons, and was made Secretary of State in place of Secretary Windebank, who had fled the country. Spite his pronounced opposition to the Laudian policy in the Church of England, he was not one of the 'Root and Branch' party, who went for the total abolition of Episcopacy. Nor was Pym, nor any of the 'Northern 'men' (Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion, &c.,' I., 234). In January, 1641-42, Holles was accused of High Treason by Charles I., through the Attorney-General; and was ordered to be apprehended, together with Lord Kimbolton in the Lords, and Pym, Hampden, Haselrig, and Stroud in the Commons. On the 5th the King went in person to demand the five members, but found 'his birds had flown.' A week later he repented his action, and from Windsor offered to waive all prosecutions against the five members. At the end of February, 1641-42, Holles was sent to the Lords with a message to the King as to the power of the Militia.

On the outbreak of Civil War in 1642, August 22, Holles was made Lieutenant of the Parliament garrison at Bristol, and served in the West under the Earl of Bedford against Wells.

In 1644-45 he was appointed one of the Parliamentary Commissioners for the Treaty Conference with the King at Uxbridge. He was distinctly anxious for peace, and desirous to save the person of the King; and in consequence was strongly opposed to the Independent party. His sympathy, if he had any for the Nonconformists, was with the Presbyterians, and with them he opposed Oliver Cromwell's Self-denying Ordinance. Indeed, he was the head of the Party who were sincerely in favour of peace; and his name accordingly was the first of the list of eleven members of the House of Commons who were impeached by the Army, June 23, 1647; and he, with the rest, had to flee the kingdom.

He was back again to join the enlarged Parliament, with the secluded members, in 1659; was at the head of the Moderate Presbyterian Party in the Conference held with General Monk at Northumberland House with reference to the recall of Charles to England; and was chosen one of the thirteen members of the Committee of the House of Commons who waited upon Charles II. at the Hague.

In 1661 he was made a Peer, though known to have moderate Presbyterian leanings still.* In 1671 we find him sent to Colonel Blood to try to get this strange favourite of Buckingham and the King out of the way by the offer of the governorship of a West Indian plantation, as in the negotiations in preparation for the Indulgence the Court party were finding Blood an awkward asset. And here, in 1672 (May 16), he gives in an application for Presbyterian licences.

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* In 1668 his house at Pepperharrow, Surrey, was assessed on fourteen hearths (Lay Sub. Surrey, 188-504). His usual residence was close to Dorchester—in one of the churches of which town (St. Peter's) is his family vault—and where he himself lies buried. He died Feb. 7, 1679 (80); but was not buried till Apr. 10, 1680.

2. Lord Craven.

Lord Craven's intervention in obtaining a licence is more remarkable even than that of Lord Holles. As we have just seen, Holles had been a political leader of the Moderate Presbyterian Party against the Independents, and a champion of the cause of the Puritan Party against Archbishop Laud.

On the other hand, all we know of William, first Earl of Craven, connects him rather with the Court and the Services—both Army and Navy—than with the Church, Established or Nonconformist. In his early days, as Macaulay puts it ('History of England,' Vol. II., 202), he 'had 'been distinguished in war and love.' He 'had led the forlorn hope at 'Creutznach with such courage that he had been patted on the shoulder 'by the great Gustavus,' and 'was believed to have won from a thousand 'rivals the heart of the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia.' Pepys, on August 17, 1661, saw him at the Opera in attendance upon her: 'I to the opera, and saw "The Wits" again, which I like exceedingly. 'The Queen of Bohemia was there, brought in by my Lord Craven.' In the pages of Pepys, it is true, he seems more closely connected with the Navy than the Army, being repeatedly seen by the diarist at Trinity House with the other Navy Commissioners, and being credited with designs upon the succession to Sir G. Carteret. But even in Pepys we have a glimpse of him, heading the mounted troops against the London Prentices, when they made threatening raids upon the brothels as a demonstration against the debauchery of the King and Court—that was in 1667; and the last glimpse we have of him is when (an old man in his eightieth year) he commands the Coldstream Guards, ready, in undaunted loyalty to his Royal master, James II., to dispute the occupation of Whitehall by the Dutch troops of the victorious Prince of Orange.

How strange, then, the spectacle of this old Courtier and Privy Councillor—he was over sixty now—calling at Whitehall for licences for a Nonconformist minister! But that is what **321 (173)** involves and implies:

> 'Dr John Bryon of Coventrey desire a Lycence to teach in the
> house of Robert Heywords of the presbyter̃ perswation
> 'My Lord Cravan was to Call for this Lycenc'

It is true that in this case the application had taken the stately form of a Petition to the King. It is presented [**321 (172)**] by 'some Pro'testant Christians of the Parish of Holy Trinity in Coventry' for 'John Bryan, Doctor of Divinity, our late Pastor' to preach in St. Nicholas Hall; and is supported by a certificate in favour of such use signed by sixteen inhabitants of the city [**320** (**305**)]. And there is no doubt, from Calamy's rather vague notice of Dr. Bryan (III. 342), that he had a commanding influence throughout the County of Warwick as well as in the ancient Town of Coventry.

Still, there must be some interesting fact I have not yet discovered which brought about so strange a thing as the personal intervention of the Earl of Craven. Has 'Samuel Craven(en),' one of the signatories of the Coventry petition, anything to do with it?

Since writing the above, I learn, through Rev. Alex. Gordon, that Combe Abbey, the seat of the Cravens, is within five miles of Coventry; and that it was then in Binley parish, which abuts on Bryan's parish of Holy Trinity.

3. LORD LAUDERDALE'S SECRETARY.

He makes personal application in a case nearly allied to that for which John Acklam made application about the same time.

The case is that of Mr. Joseph Dawson,* who had been ejected from Thornton Chapel (Cal. III. 452, 453).

The application is for Leeds, and a new Nonconformist chapel there. The application-form is **321** (**186**), and reads:

> 'Mr Joseph Dawson Presbeterian to Teach or Preach in a New Brick house in Leeds, Briggate
> 'Given in by Ld Lauderdaile's Secrỹ'

The application was granted and the licences issued May 16, the same day as Acklam's application for Halifax, as recorded in **E.** (**126**):

> 'The Brick Howse in Leeds Briggate in Yorkshire Pr. Meeting Place. 16 May
>
> 'Licence to Joseph Dawson to be a Pr. Teacher in his house in the Parish of Hallifax Yorkeshire. 16 May'

But it will be noted that the meeting-place for which he is licensed in particular is not the 'New Brick house in Briggate Leeds'—though a licence is issued for that—but his own 'house in the Parish of Hallifax 'Yorkesh'; and that a separate licence is issued for it, the same day, the licence being entered on the same page [**E.** (**126**)], on the line between that for the Brick house and that for Joseph Dawson himself.

> 'The howse of Joseph Dawson in the Parish of Hallifax, Yorkeshire Pr. Meeting Place. 16 May'

Two months later (and more) two other licences were issued for him in Birstall (curiously called in the Licence Entries 'Bristoll' and 'Bristell'†), which is half-way between Leeds and Halifax.

(i.) For his house on **E.** (**218**):

> 'The howse of Jos: Dawson in Birstoll Parish Yorke. Pr. 25 July'

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* Robert Whittell had made application for licences for him in Halifax about the same time in **321**(**104**), viz:—on May 13 : 1672.

† It is still called 'Bristall' by some of the older inhabitants.

(ii.) For himself, with a singular description of his house on **E. (221)**:

> 'Licence to Joseph Dawson to be a Pr. Teacher att the house of yᵉ sđ. Dawson att Bristell in Yorksħ July 25th.'

Apparently, then, he had houses in both Halifax and Birstall; though his special preaching-place was in Briggate, Leeds.

Lord Lauderdale, we know, was a strong Presbyterian, and in the Cabal had headed the opposition to the King's first idea that the Indulgence should apply to Roman Catholic Recusants as well as to Protestant Nonconformists. Thomas Blood had espoused his cause, and advocated his claims as the 'man of the future,' rather than Arlington and Clifford, or even the Duke of Buckingham.

Who was his Secretary?

4. JOHN RICHARDS (for SIR JOHN BANKS).

Who 'John Richards' was, I have not been able definitely to ascertain; but he was probably a solicitor of the Middle Temple, son of Sir John Richards, of Yaverland. Born at Yaverland in 1617, he matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1635; and entered as student at the Middle Temple, 1636.

Sir John Banks was a wealthy merchant, who had a town house in Lincoln's Inn Fields,* but whose seat was at 'the Friary,' in Aylesford parish, on the Medway, a little north of Maidstone. In **321** (**264**) he applies for a licence for a Presbyterian meeting-place in Lady Taylor's house in St. Faith Green, near Maidstone; and there can scarcely be any doubt that, when at home, Sir John would often be among the worshippers there.

Pepys knew him well, and apparently thought highly of his judgment. At any rate, despite Banks's Puritan and Commonwealth sympathies, Pepys cultivated his acquaintance. His allusions to him help us to a fairly distinct image of him and his position.

Pepys first mentions him, under date February 9, 1663-64. At this time there was 'Great talk of the Dutch proclaiming themselves in 'India, Lords of the South Seas, denying traffick to all ships but their 'own, upon pain of confiscation: which makes our merchants mad'; setting them on comparisons between the state of things in Cromwell's time, when British commerce so prospered under his broad ægis, and when his navy was undisputed master of the seas. He writes (Feb. 19) how he was talking with Mr. Cutler on 'Change,' when they were joined by Sir John Banks, 'who told us,' Pepys goes on to say, 'several passages of the East India Company; and how, in every case, 'when there was due to him and Alderman Mico 64,000*l*. from 'the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indys, Oliver pre'sently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them 'word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant

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* He also seems to have had a house in Hatton Street in 1663, of 10 Hearths (Lay Sub.147-625).

'letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were 'so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money, every farthing.'

It does not take much discernment to see which way Sir John's proclivities inclined. That his sympathies were with the Nonconformists, too, appears even more clearly in Pepys' notes of nearly four years later.

Under date December 23rd, 1668, he writes: 'Discoursed with Sir 'John Bankes, who thinks this prorogation will please all but the Parlia'ment itself, who will, if ever they meet, be vexed at Buckingham, who 'yet governs all. He says the Nonconformists are glad of it, and, he 'believes, will get the upper hand in a little time, for the King must 'trust to them or nobody; and he thinks the King will be forced to it.' Three months later Pepys is travelling in Kent from Chatham to Maidstone, and it gives him an opportunity of describing the lovely scenery of Kent and the seat of Sir John. It is all very quaint and characteristic. '1669. March 24. . . . A mighty cold and windy, but clear day; and 'had the pleasure of seeing the Medway running winding up & down 'mightily, and a very fine country. And I went a little out of the way 'to have visited Sir John Bankes; but he was at London. But here I had 'a sight of his seat and house, the outside; which is an old abbey, just 'like Hinchinbrooke, and as good at least, and mightily finely placed by 'the river. And he keeps the grounds about it, and walls and the 'house, very handsome. I was mightily pleased with the sight of it.'

This wealthy West Indian merchant-baronet is not ashamed of his Puritan convictions, and sends his personal application for this licence for his Maidstone neighbours. It reads:

[**321** (**264**)]

'Sr John Banks desires a Lycence for a Meeting Place at a House of ye Lady Taylers in St. Faith Green neer Maidstone in Kent. the People have allready Fitted it Up and have a great desire to meet there. Presbiterians

'JOHN RICHARDS.'

[In the 'Standard History of Blackheath Hundred,' p. 107, among the Close Rolls illustrating the history of Greenwich, we find (in 24 Charles II., part IV.) in 1673, Francis Lord Hawley and others convey *inter alia* to Sir John Bankes of Aylesford, Baronet, the rent of 10s. for the Court and Leet of Greenwich and Deptford.]

Who was Lady Tayler of St. Faith's Green, near Maidstone?

The best answer I have been able to obtain is given in Section III., Chapter III.

The licence is granted with extraordinary promptitude: for it is entered in E. (**141**) as issued May 25, 1672:

> 'The howse of Lady Tayler in St Faith Green near Maidstone, Kent. Pr. Meeting Place. 25 May. 72.'

There is little doubt that Samuel French, who had been ejected from Town Malling, and was still residing there, would conduct the services in this Hall near Maidstone.

(*c*) DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS.

A third group may be formed of Distinguished Citizens of various Towns and Cities. These, naturally enough, may be noticed in two sections: Those (1) of provincial towns; and (2) those of the Metropolis.

I. PROVINCES.

1. J. ACKLAM.

The first we mention is J. Acklam, Alderman and ex-Mayor of Hull. We look, first, at what the documents teach us of the character and success of his activity. Like several others, he appears as interested in a single county, and in very restricted parts of it.

The County was York, the places were Bridlington in the East Riding, and Healaugh, near Tadcaster, in the West Riding (as well as for a house in or near Leeds, which not being more clearly defined, could not be thus vaguely licensed). The persons were the ejected minister of Bridlington; and the ejected minister of Bilton.

(1) The former is referred to by Calamy in the very meagrest way, simply as 'Mr Lucks,' ejected from Bridlington (III. 462). In this licence literature, however, the name has several variants. In 'J. Acklam's' application [**321 (180)**] he appears as 'Mr William Lucker'; but in his Receipt [**321 (215)**] he is 'William Lucke.' In Arlington's Entry Book, (1) on **E (117)**, he figures as 'Wm Lucker'; (2) on **E (186)** as 'Wm Luck'; and (3) on **E (272)**, as 'Wm Luke.' But the reality of the individuality must not suffer, in our thought, by this curious uncertainty about his name.

Whether the surname was really Luke, or Luck, or Lucke, or Lucker, we must leave an open question. Calamy's 'Lucks' must be ruled out as a mistake. The late Rev. Bryan Dale, in a personal communication, in which he reviewed all these Yorkshire licence-memoranda and entries, comparing them with his own transcripts made forty years ago, and the notes he has carefully accumulated since, wrote of him as 'Wm Lucke, Luck, or Luke,' the 'first minister of the Nonconformist congregation at Bridlington,' and adds further information which will be cited shortly.

The form of Acklam's application is very unusual.

321 (180).

> 'A genrall Lycence for Mr William Lucker of Bridlington in the County of Yorke a Nonconformist Minister to preach in the Townes house called the Court house in Bridlington or elsewhere in any Licensed Towne in England.'

The application, as regards the personal licence, is promptly attended to; for a licence is issued May 16; as recorded on **E. (117)**:

> 'Like to Wm Lucker of Bridlington, Yorke. 16 May.'

That for the 'Court House' is disregarded, in accordance with the practice (which caused such widespread and such just resentment) of refusing licences for any public buildings. Bryan Dale says about it: 'The Town house or Court House, was part of Bridlington Priory.' The fact is that it was a chamber over the Priory Gate which was for many years used as a schoolroom.

Allen (in his 'History of Yorkshire,' II., 294) says: 'About '20 yards west of the Church stands a noble gateway of pointed 'architecture, which has formerly bounded the precincts of the Convent 'in that quarter. This gateway is called the Bayle [from the Norman 'Baile, a prison, or place of security], erected about 1388. Its vaulted 'roof is a striking specimen of architectural art. The ribs are of free- 'stone; the angular compartments are of chalk. On each side of the 'thoroughfare is a strong and gloomy apartment: that on the north 'side is used as a place of temporary confinement for delinquents, and 'is called the "Kitcote." 'Above are small chambers; and over the 'whole an apartment at present occupied as the National School for 'boys.'—A Baptist Church was established here in 1698.

'This licence,' he goes on to say, 'was opposed by the vicar and 'school-master, in a petition stating that he had a licence for his own 'house and was not satisfied there with! The licence for the Town- 'house was probably not granted.'*

We may unhesitatingly say that it was not. The petition was quite unnecessary: because long before it could have been presented, the application for 'The Town House' had been refused at headquarters, and Mr. Lucke had had to apply for a licence for his house. As we have seen already, two licences were entered for his house.

Neither of the entries is dated: but the earlier one, on **E** (**186**), was not made till the second half of June; and the later one, on **E** (**272**), not till the middle of November; and there is some reason to doubt whether either was issued at all. So much at least is certain. The only licence for William Lucke which 'J. Acklam' was able to take away from Whitehall was 'a generall licence' for him as teacher.

(2) The second person for whom licences are asked is Cornelius Todd, of whom Calamy (III. 424, 425) gives a full account.

Todd's father was Mr. Robert Todd, of Leeds, though he (Cornelius) was born in Cheshire, when his father was minister of Ledsham (*i.e.*, 1631). He was educated at Leeds, and afterwards at Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was ordained at the age of twenty-four at Addle (north of Leeds); and his first pastorate was at Bilborough, where he was from 1655 to 1659. In 1659 he was preferred to Bilton (north-east of Wetherby and due north of Tadcaster—so quite near to Helaugh), where he continued till August 24, 1662. He was fortunate in securing the friendship of Lord Wharton, who, after Todd's ejectment from Bilton, allowed him to live rent free in Helaugh Manor, and there he was able to continue a private ministry as opportunity allowed.

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* The substance of the above may be read on pp. 97 and 98 in "Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity," by Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A. Edited by T. G. Crippen, and posthumously published by Mr. Dale's literary executors.

J. Acklam's application on his behalf [**321** (**180**)] ran as follows:

'The like for Cornelius Todd of Healey Manno^r^ in Yorkeshire a Master of Arts to preach in or nigh y^e^ Towne of Leedes in the same County or elsewhere in any Licensed Towne in England

'Is desired & will bee called for by

'J. Acklam.'

The licence was granted promptly as was William Lucke's, and is entered on the same page of **E.**, on the very next line **E.** (**117**):

'Like to Corn: Todd of Healey Manour, Yorke 16 May.'

And it was only four days later that Acklam called for them both.

321 (**215**).

'20th day of May 1672

'Rec^d^ then a generall Lycence for Cornelius Todd of Healy Manno^r^
in the county of Yorke
As also one for William Lucke of Bridlington in the County of Yorke
'p me J. Acklam.'

As to the personality of 'J. Acklam,' I had thought it almost a hopeless task to solve the mystery of it. I was prepared to think that he was a Londoner, who (through personal friendship or through kinship) was connected with some of these Yorkshire Nonconformists. Quite unexpectedly, however, I have found proof, among the State Papers of the year 1670, that he was himself a Yorkshireman, and a leader among the Presbyterians of the East Riding. [? Was he any relative of Peter Acklam of Hornesey (S. P. Dom. Car. II. 113, 63, 63 I. and 63) II.]

He was a citizen of Hull, energetic in all local affairs, civic as well as religious; in 1670 was an Alderman, and had as his associates on the Aldermanic Bench quite a strong body of Presbyterians; was involved in a prolonged conflict with another Alderman of the Royalist and Conformist type; but in the year 1670-71 was elected Mayor of Hull. It was with all the prestige and influence of an ex-mayor upon him, that in 1672 he came up to London upon this licence-business and obtained these licences for the Nonconformists of Bridlington in his own East Riding, and of Healaugh and Leeds in the West Riding.

This information is given us in vivid fashion in three letters addressed to Joseph Williamson in the course of June, 1670. Two of the letters are from Charles Whittington, and the last from Colonel Anthony Gilby. All three are dated from Hull. The letters are occupied mainly with reporting the effect of the enactment of the Second Conventicle Act.

The first, dated 'June 1, Hull,' reports: 'The Nonconformists still 'continue to hold their meetings, but privately. Alderman Crowle, the 'eminent merchant, who fetched the Nonconformist minister out of the 'pulpit, has been much derided and abused by them, and by Alderman 'Acklam, and three or four disaffected fellows. If some course is not 'taken, they will soon affect the whole bench. As most of the Alder-'men are Presbyterians, the meetings find much favour' (S. P. Dom. Car. II., 276, 65).

The second, from the same pen, is dated nine days later ('June 10, 'Hull'): 'What I wrote you about the Nonconformists is true: but if you 'wish for affidavits, I would rather have the Governor put upon the 'business, he being as sensible of their doings as myself. For if I should 'do it, it would be much to my prejudice. They still meet, and are 'favoured by several round us; for till accounts are received of what is 'done in London, nobody will prosecute the rigour of the law.

'George Empringham told Alderman Crowle's wife that the curse 'of God would light on her family for what her husband had done, and 'Alderman Acklam told Crowle openly that he would not have done so 'much for his hand, but several abuses were put upon him by the people.'

It is from Colonel Gilby, however, that we get the most detailed information. On June 22, he writes: 'Though it is true that most of the 'magistracy here are much disaffected to the Government of the Church, 'and too backward in the prosecution of the law against conventicles, 'yet there is a mistake in the information given to his Majesty, concern-'ing words spoken upon the occasion of putting the Act into execution. [Then he proceeds to give Williamson the facts.] 'After the evening 'prayer, when the minister was gone out to bury a corpse, an unknown 'person stepped into the pulpit with the intention to preach, and com-'manded a psalm to be sung. But the diligence of Alderman Crowle, '& of Captain Bennett, who then commanded in chief, the fellow was 'forced out of the pulpit. It is apprehended, however, that his coming 'was by consent of the Mayor, and with the Knowledge of most of the 'people; the Mayor and Aldermen and most of the persons present 'continuing in their seats, after the minister was gone in expectation of 'the sermon. I have sent the examination on oath of 2 persons. We 'do not know how to proceed against Alderman Acklam, as Crowle, to 'whom the words were spoken, is from here; but on his return, I will 'send Ld. Arlington a perfect account' (S. P. Dom. Car. II. 276, 176).

How strong was the sympathy of the bulk of the inhabitants with the Nonconformists is clear from the election of Alderman Acklam to the mayoralty.

So Whittington reports on October 12: 'Alderman Acklam, a 'follower of the Nonconformists, who spoke against Alderman Crowle 'for acting against them, has been elected Mayor; which much en-'courages them. Their meetings are not, however, so public as formerly, 'and as severall able men of Hull, who frequented their meetings, begin 'to absent themselves, the rabble will fall of themselves, if the justices 'continue their care.'

Alderman Acklam had to make an arduous journey to do this generous service either by land or sea.

By land from Hull, then Kingston-upon-Hull, he had first to cross the Humber, either by boat direct to Waterside, where the great London

Road commenced, or posting from Kingston to Hessle and thence by ferry. From Waterside the road traversed Barton and Glandford Briggs, and then due south to Lincoln City (almost the whole distance along the Old Roman Road which ran in an absolutely straight line due north and south). From Lincoln the road was a little more devious through Sleaford, Folkingham, Bourn, and Market Deeping to Peterborough. From Peterborough his road would be through Huntingdon, and Royston to Ware, and so due south, through Hoddesdon, Waltham, and Edmonton ; and afterwards (John Gilpin's way) through Tottenham, Stoke Newington, Hogsden, and through Bishopsgate to the City.

It is quite as likely that a Hull merchant would take sail in one of his own ships, and skirting the east coast, sail up the Thames Estuary, right into the City boundary to London Bridge.

2. TIMOTHY CLOUDSLEY.

The second to notice is Timothy Cloudsley (or 'Cloudesley')—almost certainly a Yorkshireman, but as certainly one who had settled down in London. The Cloudesleys were a Yorkshire family in Leeds and the neighbourhood. 'A Cloudesley,' the late Rev. Bryan Dale wrote me, 'was a member of Christopher Nesse's church in Leeds'; and connection with this family and with Yorkshire accounts most naturally for the fact that Timothy Cloudesley interested himself so largely in obtaining licences for Yorkshire Nonconformists.

I have twofold evidence that his London residence was just outside Cripplegate :

(1) In S. P. Dom. Car. II. 192, 112—a paper which belongs to 1667, and refers to the abortive Yorkshire rising of 1663-64—it mentions his residence as 'in y^{e} new Postern by Cripplegate.' The mention of him in such a paper shows that he was suspected of complicity with it.

(2) Still nearer the Indulgence year. I find him mentioned in a Lay Subsidy Roll of the year 1670. It is calendared $\frac{252}{22}$, and headed 'a 'Duplicate of a Subsidy granted to his Majesty for his Majesty's extra-'ordinary occasions.' It is signed by Richard Ford as Mayor, which settles its date as 1670, and gives the sums leviable on the several wards of the City, giving two names to each [I presume the names of the aldermen for those wards]. It is in connection with 'Cripplegate Without.'

Will^{m} Johnson Timothy Clowdesley	Fore Street ...	xlij$^{lb.}$ iiij^{s}	—	lxv$^{lb.}$ xvi^{s}

No less than twelve Licence-memoranda are in his handwriting, and several of them are linked to one another, with chronological references, which enable us to fix the dates of some undated ones and the handwriting of some unsigned ones.

The first of the series is **320 (80)**, and is in the form of a letter dated Monday, April 15. It is not addressed ; but, as the third in the series, written within a fortnight, is directly addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson, it is most likely this was written to him too. [Subsequently he discovers the great 'busy-ness' of the chief, and addresses himself to Mr. Benson, Sir J. W.'s chief clerk.] It is sufficiently peculiar in form to reproduce:

'Sr,

I desire y^{u} to ꝑcure a Lycense for one James Hartley a Nonconformist minister of the Congregationall and Independant ꝑswasion

'And for the place for publike meeteing itt is desired that he be placed in a Certaine House in the ꝑish of Kildwicke in Craven in the west-rideing of the County of Yorke.

'I pray use yo^{r} most expeditious indeavours in this bussinesse & y^{u} will oblidge Sr

'Yo^{r} greatly oblidged serv^{t}
'15th Aprill 1672.' 'Tim^{o} Cloudsley.

The second [**320** (**187**)] is undated, but the next memorandum in the series [**320** (**203**)] distinctly assigns it to April 24; and though it is unsigned, the query with which it opens shows clearly it is from T. Cloudsley, the writer of **320** (**80**). It also presupposes **320** (**82**), which is the Petition from the Inhabitants of the Chappelry of Morley (Yorks), which is dated the same day that Cloudsley 'put in' the previous request—viz., April 15.

The memorandum commences in this original fashion: 'Query. 'wheth^{r} the Lycence be done for M^{r}—Hartley of Kildwicke in Craven 'in y^{e} County of Yorke, of the Congregat^{ll} ꝑswasion.' He also applies for ten other licences for Yorks—in Leeds, in Warsop, Swaithall, Houghton, Cleckheaton, and Heckmond(w)icke—and concludes with these two paragraphs:

'I desire the Alteration of the Terme Presbiterian to Congrega'tionall in M^{r}. X^{to} Marshall's Lycence

'I desire a Lycence for M^{r}. Sam^{l} Ballye of the Congregationall 'ꝑswasion to teach in Morley Chappell in the ꝑish of Batley in Yorkshire '—the Inhabittants wthin the Chapelry haveing sent up theire pettic̃on 'for itt.'

The next, **320** (**203**), is another letter directly addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson and undated, though from the terms of the following one [**320** (**271**)] the date is narrowed down to April 25, 26, or 27 [for on May 2, which is a Thursday, he refers to names occurring in **320** (**203**) as left the previous week; so that as **320** (**187**) was given in on Wednesday of that week (April 24), this **320** (**203**) must have been handed in either Thursday the 25th, Friday the 26th, or Saturday the 27th]. It begins:

'S^{r} Joseph Willliamson on Wednsday last being the 24th of this instant Aprill 1672 was left a Desire for Licences for the places and ꝑsons after mentioned of w^{ch} some alterations are to be, to w^{ch} some additions for oth^{r} ꝑsons & places, viz.:—'

Then follow four alterations desired, and application for nine new licences, the last of which is for Christopher Nesse, in Leeds, one of the members of whose church was a Cloudsley, kinsman of our Timothy Cloudsley.

320 (**271**) again contains applications. It is dated '2th May'; but is addressed, not to Sir Joseph Williamson, but to Mr. Benson. Its form, indeed, suggests that when he called the previous week at Whitehall, Sir Joseph had put him off, and left Benson to deal with him and his papers. The places and persons applied for fall into three groups: (1) Those already applied for as early as April 24 [**320** (**87**)]; (2) those altered April $\frac{25}{27}$ (probably April 27); and (3) four new licences—two in the city of York and two in the city of Lincoln. This last group is introduced by the words: '& now I have sent 'in ꝑ ye doorkeeper for 2 Licences' (double-ones).

The next [**320** (**303**)] is the first Receipt-paper. It is dated two days later than the last application—viz., on May 4. It acknowledges the receipt of nine licences—all of them Yorkshire licences, and all of them what he had himself applied for, except one for Luke Clayton, for which John Hickes had been the applicant.

The rest of his memoranda (seven in number) are all in Vol. **321**. The first is **321** (**199**), is endorsed 'Cludsley's note,' and begins: 'Lycenses are desired as followeth.' It is addressed, like **320** (**271**), to Mr. Benson (Sir J. W.'s chief clerk), is an application for thirteen licences—four of them for North Lancashire (Lower Kellett and Bolton-by-the-Sands) and the rest for Yorkshire—the first six being for persons and places applied for before. The latter part of the paper, however, is so remarkable, both in its subject as well as its form, that I transcribe it entire:

☞ 'for Mr. Richd. Coore (of the trew Christian ꝑswasion not against episcopall, presbeterian, or independant but called an Antinomian) att his owne house in Tonge in Yorkshire.

'A Lycence for a Certaine house in or neare Leedes, in Generall Termes because they cannot Certanely fix upon one for ye present for people of the presbiterian ꝑswasion to meet in'

'Mr Benson I pray when these are done let them be delivered to Mr Hugh Reynolds whom I doe hereby request to take out & keepe by him till they are sent for by

'yor servt
'Timo Cloudsley.

'18th May 1672.

As for this of Mr Coores itt is of his owne wording in his letter & I pray let itt be fill'd up accordingly'

This application for Mr. Coore was complied with after a lapse of eleven days, and the entries in **E.** (**141**) describe him as he desired:

'Licence to Rich: Coore to be an Antinomian Teacher in his house in Tonge, Yorke. 29 May'

'The howse of Rich: Coore in Tonge, Yorkẽ Antinomian Meeting Place. 29 May'

We shall find Mr. Cloudsley taking away the licences two days later.

Calamy's notice of him—for he was one of the 'Two Thousand'—is very generous and charitable. It is given (Vol. III., p. 453):

'Tong Chapel. Richard Coore, D.D.* A sober man, and a 'good scholar [but inclined to Antinomianism] and his writings were 'much admired by people of that stamp. He practised physic, and died 'at Leeds Dec. 10, 1687, aged 71.' He published 'A Practical 'Expositor of the Holy Bible,' etc.

321 (197c) does not bear Cloudsley's name; but, as it is an application for the two (double) licences asked for by him—separately—in **320 (187)**, one for Hatfield, in Yorkshire, and one for the city of Lincoln, I think most probably that it also was his.

321 (200) is a renewed application for six Yorkshire licences—desired already twice before—and ends :

'Pray let these be ready for
'Tim^{o} Cloudsley who will
call for them.'

It is undated. But it is effectual, for the next—**321 (226)**—is an acknowledgment of the receipt of four of them, and of the four for North Lancashire. It reads :

'22^{d} May 1672
'Rec^{d} then y^{e} Lycences for the psons & places after named......................
'p Tim^{o} Cloudsleye.'

In **321 (285)** he makes application for six new Yorkshire licences. [Though unsigned, it is endorsed : 'For Tim^{o} Cloudsley.'] All the previous applications were for the central and western part of the West Riding, but these are for places on its eastern border—Cawood and Selby—and for one place in the southern part of the East Riding—North Ferriby.

On the last day of May he acts a twofold part. In **321 (294)** he is the applicant, renewing application for Mr. Jno. Rooke's licence in Hatfield, and making fresh applications for two new ones ; while in **321 (295)** he is the recipient, acknowledging the receipt of eight licences, including the two for the Antinomian, 'M^{r} Rich^{d} Coare of 'Tong in Yorkeshire,' and the six he had only just applied for in **321 (285)**.

The last of the series is **321 (362)**, and in this he acknowledges the receipt on June 13 of three licences for houses in Yorkshire—two of them (the two he had applied for the first time, a fortnight before, May 31), and the third, the house (West Hall, in Hatfield) for

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* Rev. Alex. Gordon suggests that Coore was called 'Doctor,' because he practised physic : the 'D.D.' being a mistaken 'flourish' of Palmer's. One thing is certain, that on the title-page of the first edition of his 'Practical Expositor, &c.' (1683), he simply calls himself 'Richard Coore, Gent' ; while in a later edition (of the same date—of which a copy is preserved in the Congregational Library (Memorial Hall)—the title is remodelled : 'Christ Set Forth In all Types, Figures, and Obscure Places of the Scripture,' but still with no assumption of a degree by the author, who styles himself simply 'Richard Coore, Preacher of the Gospel.' A second, too, is equally clear that Calamy's example would have kept Palmer right, as in 1713 Calamy calls him 'Mr. Richard Core,' and in 1727 : 'Mr Richard Coore.'

Mr. Rooke to preach in. For some reason or other—or was it for no reason at all? through sheer carelessness?—Rooke's personal licence is not yet forthcoming, and he adds after his signature:

> 'I want a Lycence for Jn° Rookes a teacher Congregationall.'

This memorandum is dated June 13, and makes the sixth application he had made for this one licence. He had made five applications also for West Hall, Hatfield. The Whitehall officials curiously bungled over these two licences. A licence for West Hall had been made out and issued only a day or two after Cloudsley's first application—*i.e.*, on May 1, 1672—yet it was not given out to him till nearly six weeks after, June 13; nor was that for the preacher, Mr. Rooke, though it was issued June 10; it was therefore ready when he called on June 13. A new one, however, was made out, the entry being made on **E. (171)**, though not dated. As all memoranda later than June 13 are lost or destroyed, we do not know when it was actually received by him.

Timothy Cloudesley is thus shown to be a most assiduous as well as energetic agent for his friends in Yorkshire. He goes to Whitehall *eleven* times (for two of the papers bear the same date): three times in April—viz., on the 15th, the 24th, and the 27th—and seven times in May, the 2nd, 4th, 8th, the 22nd, and the 31st, with two undated visits between the last three dates; and once in June—viz., June 13; nine times with applications—fifty-eight in number, in many instances repeated two or three times, even five times, and for one six times—before attention is given to his requests.

On the five occasions on which he secures licences and takes them away, he bears off altogether thirty licences for his friends, and only four of these is for any place outside Yorkshire. They are for upper Lancashire. What connection he had with these I have failed to trace.

But the Yorkshire licences centre in Leeds. They are for places on the Aire, like Kildwick and Leeds; between it and the Calder, like Heckmondwike, Cleckheaton, Morley, Tong, Horbury, and Wakefield; or on the Dorn, such as Swaith and Houghton, Kirk-Sandall, Hatfield, and Fishlake, this last being an eastern outpost of this district, pointing north to Selby and Cawood and east to North Ferriby, on the estuary of the Humber.

In one respect this series is peculiarly instructive. It brings before us no less than three of the staff in Lord Arlington's Office in Whitehall who had the working of the Indulgence: Sir Joseph Williamson, the Under-Secretary; Mr. Benson, his chief clerk; and Mr. Hugh Reynolds, one of the subordinates.

3. William Hanby.

From Ipswich comes a respectable attorney: Hanby by name.
'Turpin per William Hanby.'

These names appear in the address and endorsement of the application-memorandum **321** (**223**). At the back is the following:

'These
Wiłłm Hanby Attorney
lodging at the 3 Goates in Holborne
or else at Tretwell's shoo-maker—Barnard's Inne
ds In London'

It is annotated or endorsed (in Turpin's handwriting) 'May 22. Turpin.'

Who 'Turpin' was I have no idea, except that in a Lay Subs. Roll of Lime Street Ward for 1663 (Lay Subs. London $\frac{1}{6}\frac{4}{1}\frac{7}{7}$) I find the name of 'John Turpin' coupled with that of 'Richard 'Brinnley'—'both Tiquets 00-03-00'; and that in $\frac{1}{6}\frac{4}{1}\frac{7}{6}$ (1663), in Broad Street Ward (St. Mildred and St. Mary Woolchurch) Robert Turpin is assessed for seven Hearths at £1 1s. A slight clue to the personality and connections of 'William Hanby,' however, I have come upon in John Browne's 'History of Congregationalism in 'Norfolk and Suffolk' (p. 367). His notice of Benjamin Stoneham, one of the founders of Congregationalism in Ipswich, he had closed with the words, 'He died March 30th 1676, aged about 64'; and he adds: 'The Church of which he was pastor did not long survive its founder, 'even if it continued in being after his departure from Ipswich' (*i.e.*, 1662), 'for in $167\frac{7}{8}$ February 17th, Mrs. Mary Hamby of Ipswich, 'who had sometime there walked with Mr. Stoneham in church fellow-'ship, but their constitution being dissolved, came in as a member 'amongst us'—*i.e.* the Church at Bury St. Edmunds.*

'Hanby,' or 'Hamby,' was evidently a strong Puritan family in Ipswich. Now the licences 'desired' in this application-memorandum are for Needham Market and the adjacent villages, West Creating, Creating St. Mary and Barking, which are all in the valley of the Gippin, which empties itself into the sea at Ipswich. It would be natural and fit, therefore, for an Ipswich man to interest himself in the Nonconformists of these places.

So we may think of this 'William Hanby' as an Ipswich lawyer—possibly the husband of the 'Mistress Mary Hamby' who five years later migrates to Bury St. Edmunds and joins the Congregational Church there. He comes up to London on this licence business—quite possibly he has other legal business to transact—and takes lodging 'at 'the Three Goates Holborn,' so as to be within easy reach of Chancery Lane and Gray's Inn; and has a house of call for letters and messages at 'Tretwell's, shoe-maker, at Barnard's Inn.'

On the 22nd of May he goes to Whitehall and lodges the following application—which was strangely misunderstood by the Whitehall officials [**321 (223)**]:

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* When the Congregational Church of Bury was founded in 1655, representatives of the Ipswich Church were present, so that they evidently kept up fraternal connections with each other.

> ' Mr Thomas James (it looks almost like Fames) of Needham-markett
> Mr Thomas Waterhouse of West Creating } in Suff.
> of the Congregationall pswasion '
>
> ' Mr John Fayrefax of Barkinge
> Mr Samuel Springs of Creatinge } in Suff.
> of the presbyterian pswasion '

' The house that they are to be lycenced to preach in is an outhouse belonginge to Margaret Roger in Needham Market widdowe in Suffolke.'

The application seems to have been laid aside unheeded for some time, for the licences were not made till nearly three weeks later (June 10); and then the first half is muddled, into being separate from the second, and yet of the same denomination.

Mr. Hanby had asked for preaching licences for both Thomas James and Thomas Waterhouse as Congregationalists, their meeting-place being ' an outhouse ' attached to Mrs. Roger's house in Needham Market. The Whitehall authorities or officials grant a preaching licence to Thomas James only. They turn ' Waterhouse ' into ' Weatherhowse,' and grant a licence for ' Thomas Weatherhouse's ' house ' in West Creating, making that the ' place allowed ' for Thomas James to preach in. They give licences both to Samuel Spring and John Fairfax to preach in Needham Market; but the meeting-place they make the house of Margarett Rozell instead of Mrs. Margaret Roger. They make all these licences Presbyterian —instead of keeping James and Waterhouse as Congregationalists, preaching side by side with the Presbyterians, Spring and Fairfax, in the Union Chapel in Needham Market [*vide* **E. (156)**].

All four Teachers were ejected ministers. Thomas James, the Congregationalist, had been ejected from Needham Market, and he continued to reside there, ministering to his own ' gathered Church ' in the Town.* Thomas Waterhouse had been ejected from Ash-bocking (Cal. III. 248), but had retired to West Creating, and so was living in the parish adjoining Samuel Springs†—*i.e.*, Creating St. Mary; and John Fairfax had been ejected from Barking, near to Needham Market on the South. [Calamy's account of J. Fairfax (III. 249-255) is interesting but verbose.]

4. THOMAS STONE.

He is the last of the list of prominent citizens in provincial towns who came up to London to secure licences for their brethren.

He was a citizen of Taunton St. James, in Somerset. That we know from the fact that his house there was licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place, May 2, 1672. The licence is entered on **E. (69)** :

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* Calamy (iii. 284) says: ' After his ejectment he had a pretty numerous society.'

† He was thence ejected (Cal. III. 261, 262); died only a year after receiving his licence (1673); was buried in the church of Creating, and his funeral sermon was preached by his friend, Mr. Fairfax.

> 'The howse of Thomas Stone in Taunton Somersett licensed for a Pr. Meeting Place. 2. May 72.'

That he was 'a prominent citizen' of Taunton, and his house probably a commodious one, the other documents bearing on his licence give abundant testimony. In the first application **320 (292)**, unfortunately unsigned and undated, but from its form and writing, almost certainly Walter Payne's, the second item puts his house as the third of three 'places of worshipp' desired for the ministry of Mr. George Newton, the other two being Public buildings : 'the Towne-hall,' and the 'Church-howse,' thus :

> 'Mr George Newton to be a Teacher to a people of the Nonconformitye, of the Prisbeterian Judgment; the places of Worshipp in the Towne-hall, Church-house, and the dwellinge howse of Thomas Stone all these places in the Towne of Taunton in the County of Somrsett.'

The second application is in the form of a Petition 'To the Kinges 'Most Excellent Majesty,' subscribed by ten 'Inhabitants of the Towne 'and pish of Taunton St. Mary Magdalene in the County of Somrset' 'on the behalfe of themselves and others' [**321 (2)**] ; and its prayer is that 'George Newton Clerke Mr of Arts of the presbiterean way may ' beLicensed to preach to the presbiterean Congregac̃on' in the same three places mentioned in **320 (292)**. Among the ten autograph signatures appended to the document is that of 'Tho Stone.' What is not a little puzzling—in view of the fact that the licences both of George Newton and Thomas Stone are entered on **E. (69)**, as issued 'May 2'—is that this Petition is endorsed by Benson '6 May 72' ; while a third memorandum of application put in by Walter Payne mentions both 'Mr. George Newton,' and 'The howse of Thomas Stone,' which, from the position given it (in **321**) by the Editor of the Calendar, being numbered **41**, was evidently thought by him to belong to May 8, or a date even later.

That Walter Payne should repeat their names (Newton's and Stone's) in these later applications is the more strange, because on May 2 he signed a receipt for them **320 (287)**, the document being headed : 'Received by mee Walter Payn May ye 2nd 1672 these 'Licences following.'

The problem becomes still more complicated by the appearance of Thomas Stone himself in London the week following that in which Payne had received Stone's licence. Payne had fetched it from Whitehall on the Thursday (May 2), and Stone is at Whitehall himself the following Tuesday (May 7), putting in an application for three Somerset brethren, two in Trull, and one in (St. James) Taunton. It is calendared as **321 (14)**, is dated 'May 7o 72,' and ends : 'To be called for 'by THOMAS STONE.'

Of these three, the two for Trull are not issued till the 16th [**E. (120)**], and not taken away from Whitehall till the 25th, and then it is not by Thomas Stone, but by Walter Payne [**321 (261)**]. The other application, which is for 'A licence for Mr. John Musgrave non 'conformist of the Presbiterian pswac̃on to preach in any place allowed 'by his Ma^{tie}' is obtained much more speedily, but it is modified in form, and hastened by the intervention of another friend.

In **321 (67)**, we have a letter addressed to Mr. Benson by Brabazon Aylmer, the printer, in which he requests Benson to secure four licences for Somerset friends: the second and third concerning 'John Mus'grove.' The middle clause reads:

> 'also a lycence for M^{r} John Musgrove of the presbiterian perswasion to preach at the House of Gregory Buller, now in the possession of Vallentine Browne in the parish of Netherstoway Somersetshire.'

This must be the same as Thomas Stone's 'John Musgrave,' and as Calamy's 'Mr. John Musgrove' ejected from some 'uncertain place' in Somerset. But it presents a difficulty. Thomas Stone, in applying for a 'general licence' for him, adds the words—'lives in the pish of 'St. James in Somsett'—which I suppose must mean Taunton St. James. Taunton is a great distance, however, from Nether Stowey; nor is there a direct road connecting the two places. The traveller would have to take a very difficult cross-country course, or (keeping to high roads) go first along the great London road to Bridgwater, and thence along the Watchet road to Nether Stowey.

To regularly minister to the little Nether Stowey Church, John Musgrove would have to live there. As we do not know his church connections (it might prove that he had been ejected from Stowey) he probably had settled at Taunton as a good 'centre'; and between John Stone's leaving Taunton for London (with the request to get him—John Musgrove—a roving licence as a 'general Teacher'), and Brabazon Aylmer's call at Whitehall on May 8 or 9, Musgrove may have made up his mind to apply for a local licence for Nether Stowey, and conveyed his wish to Brabazon Aylmer.

Whatever the exact explanation, however, this application was made. Thomas Stone calls again at Whitehall within a few days of his first visit; and when he does, he carries away with him seventeen licences, 'all in Somersett,' as he himself writes at the head of the list [*vide* **321 (76)**]; and amongst them we find one for 'John Musgrave a 'teacher in Nether Stoway,' and one for 'Valintan Browne house in 'Nether Stoway place,' signing the whole 'Receđ by me THO: STONE.' So that he evidently fully acquiesced in the departure from the commission 'Musgrove' had given him in Taunton, which these licences imply.

He does not leave London as soon as he had received this precious freight (of seventeen licences). He must have been still in London when Walter Payne went to Whitehall on May 14 to put in applications for four more Somerset licences on **321 (141)**, since after the first two—viz.:

'A licence for Matthew Warren of the Presbiterian ꝑswac̆on to preach in the house of John Hill in Withypoole in Somersett

'A licence for the s^{d} John Hills house in Withypoole in Som^{r}sett for those of the Presbiterian ꝑswac̆on'

This note is inserted :

'To be called for by Thomas Stone or M^{r} Payne.'

He did not stay in London till he could take them away with him. They were not made out till June 10, as we may see from **E.** (**158**), and that not until Walter Payne had called to find them neglected, and to leave another application-memorandum **321** (**142**). That memorandum is not dated. Evidently the 'Editor' of **321** thinks it was left at the same time that **141** was left. But surely a later date is more likely, though it could not have been later than the following day, May 15, as the first three licences asked for were issued on the 16th [*vide* **E.** (**120**)]. Walter Payne did not take them away till May 25, at an interval of ten days after his application for them. He doubtless put in another reminder about Warren's licences for Withypoole, but even then it was more than a fortnight before they were made out.

These facts make it probable that Thomas Stone left London on May 15 or 16, having come up on Saturday the 4th, or Monday the 6th. His close association with Walter Payne, in all these transactions, makes it very probable that while in London he stayed with him.

It is pleasant to think of the zeal of this good Nonconformist citizen of Taunton, and that though back-stairs intrigues in the Court caused the rejection of the Towne Hall and Church-house of Taunton as places of worship for Mr. Newton (who had held the living of St. Magdalen there), Mr. Stone's house was licensed, and the houses of Mr. Hucker and Mr. Rosseter were licensed as well.

II. LONDON.

Of citizens of London we have first two of the professional class :

1. Gilbert Aspinwall (a Barrister-at-Law).

His name appears in only one memorandum, viz., **321** (**56**); but it is remarkable enough alike in its form and its implications to be quoted at length.

'M^{r} Thomas Trumpton, nonconformist minister in Toxteth Park nere Liverpoole Lancashire is recomended by the inhabitants of the place to preach att a meeting house built by the inhabitants for that purpose.

'This is humbly moved by M^{r} Gilbert Aspinwall of the Temple in name & behalfe of all the rest.'

This is scarcely an application. An application had already been put in by Colonel Thomas Blood, along with applications for many others on **320** (**268**).

The lines in that application-memorandum are characteristically vague and inaccurate.

> 'Tho Cramton of Toxtel park Lankashire person & house presbiterian
>
> 'A meeting howse in Toxtel parke, Lankashire.'

321 (**56**) is rather a confirmatory petition-certificate.

The interesting question is what is meant by 'the Temple'? Is it the name of some residential building in Toxteth Park, so that Gilbert Aspinwall, as one of the residents or inhabitants, speaks for all the rest? In that case he will have to come up to London to negotiate the matter for his neighbours.

Or is it 'The Temple' in London—the headquarters then, as now, of the solicitors and barristers of the Great City? The semi-legal phrase 'In the name & behalfe' suggests it; and in that case it would point to the influential interposition of the London lawyer on behalf of these Lancashire Nonconformists.

In that case, too, it is probable that though now a Londoner he had come up to London from Lancashire, for 'Aspinwall' is a good Nonconformist Lancashire name. Beside this Gilbert we have two other Aspinwalls, William and Peter, associated with Lancashire; and both in Calamy's list of Ejected Ministers.

Peter Aspinwall is licensed to preach in John Robinson's house in Ashton-under-Lyne on May 16. Whence he was ejected it is difficult to find, as the reference in the Index to Calamy is hopelessly wrong, unless he be the Mr. Aspinwall of Heaton, who afterwards conformed [Cal. II. 383].

But of William we know more. He was a native of Lancashire (Cal. III. 99 and II. 369), was educated in Magdalen College, Cambridge, and first became Rector of Maghull (a little south of Ormskirk) in his native county; and signed the 'Harmonious Consent' in 1648 (against Universal Toleration); but was ejected thence (in 1660?), and became minister of Mattersley in Nottinghamshire, where he remained till his ejectment in 1662.

Calamy speaks as though he then at once retired to Thurnsco in Yorks; but either he again removed thence to his native county before 1672, or did not go to Thurnsco till after; for he was licensed May 1 for Winwick, in South Lancashire.* The circumstances under which he obtained the licence, moreover, more naturally befit a prolonged residence in Winwick than a short one.

He has evidently secured the warm respect and affection of influential residents in the district. For a regular Petition was drawn up by 'severall Inhabitants of the Parish of Winwicke in the County

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* Calamy, it is noticeable, has a Mr. William Aspinwell amongst those who 'afterwards conformed,' and he gives him as ejected from Formeby, which is not so far from Winwick, being west of Ormskirk.

'Palatine of Lancaster' and signed by seven of them [**329 (198 II.)**], which was forwarded to Sir Joseph Williamson by no less a person than Dr. Nicholas Butler, as is shown by his letter to Mr. Benson (Sir Joseph's head clerk) preserved in **320 (199)**.

Quite possibly it had been put into his hands by Gilbert Aspinwall 'of the Temple.' It is more probable, therefore, that William Aspinwall returned to South Lancashire after ejection from Mattersley; and that it was some time after the withdrawal of the Indulgence that he removed to Thurnsco; but this retirement to Thurnsco does not well fit in with the fact that it was from 'the bottom of Lancashire' that he removed to Cockermouth and died there.

Were they not all South Lancashire folks—brothers or cousins—Peter, William, and this Gilbert?

Foster's 'Al. Oxon.' helps us considerably to answer the question. He gives no less than four. Two—viz., Edward and Gilbert—are sons of 'Edward Aspinwall of Aspinwall co: Lancs,' a manor in the parish of Aughton; but Rev. Alex. Gordon gathers (from Harland and Herford's Baines) that, by this time, the family had removed to Hale, much nearer to Toxteth.

A third, Peter is son of Edward Aspinwall of Ormskirk; and the fourth is 'John, son of John Aspinwall of Blackbourne, county Lan-'cashire, pleb.'

Gilbert and Edward were brothers separated by only one year in age, of a good county family; for their father is described as 'Edward Aspinwall of Aspinwall, gent.' Our 'Gilbert' Aspinwall [and there can be no reasonable doubt this Gilbert is the G. A. whose 'agency' we are discussing] was born 1647 (1637?), and was sent to Oxford to finish his education—being destined for the law—in 1665, matriculating from Christ Church College, May 11; and it is specially interesting to read that in 1672 he was admitted 'barrister-at-law in 'the Inner Temple,' the very year he performs this act of kindness for Mr. Crumpton and the Nonconformists of Toxteth Park. No wonder he airs his new dignity, describing himself as 'Mr. Gilbert Aspinwall 'of the Temple.' He was only twenty-five; and it is delightful to find a young man of birth and talent so boldly espousing the cause of Nonconformity.

It is also interesting to note that the day after the licence was issued, which he had so successfully negotiated, he was married. The licence was dated May 8, and on May 9, 1672, he was licensed to marry 'M^iss^ May Bushell of Hackney, Middlesex, Spinster.'*

His younger brother, Edward, runs him very close. Born 1648, he matriculates from Christ Church College, Oxford, the same year, the same day (1665, May 11) as his elder brother. But he enters at Gray's Inn, and is two years later in being called to the bar, being admitted 'bar-at-law' in 1674.

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* In regard to the licences of 1672, Rev. Alex. Gordon writes me: 'Toxteth Park is a problem, ecclesiastically, which my manuscript helps to solve. The following remarks may be of interest: In Gilbert Aspinwall's application there is more than one *suppressio veri.* (1) "A meeting house built by the inhabitants" is the chapel erected 1618 on lease from Lord Molyneux, a Roman Catholic. It had never been consecrated (not being freehold, it could not be), and though treated as belonging to the Establishment at various times before Toleration, Lord Molyneux kept it from actually becoming so. Had the application been explicit about the building, there would have been no licence. (2) "All the rest" means "of the applicants," but

The Edward Aspinwall of Ormskirk (pleb.), who was Peter's father, would be uncle to E. A. of Aspinwall; and Peter belongs to an older generation. He was born 1622, and despite his humbler birth and station, went to Oxford like his (second) cousins. He matriculated at Brasenose, 1642 (April), when just twenty [rather late in life for those days], and graduated B.A. on January 24, 1645-46.

So that Peter Aspinwall was a graduate of Oxford University before either Gilbert or Edward (junior) were born. As far as conjecture will carry me, he appears to have been incumbent of Heaton.

2. Mr. John Rawe.

The second is Mr. John Rawe, an attorney of London. All we know of him is from **321** (**195**); from which we gather that in 1672 he was a student of 'Lawe,' or already an 'Attorney,' who had Chambers in Lincoln's Inn; but of a Durham Puritan family. The document is a letter from his Father, a citizen of Durham City, dated 'Durham. 'Saturday. May 17/72,' and addressed:

'For Mr John Rawe at his Chamber in Lincolns Inne
'These.
'London.'

with an additional note:

'Mr Swadell at my Ld Arling.'

which probably indicates the member—best known to Mr. John Rawe—of the staff of clerks under Sir Joseph Williamson in the Chief Secretary's Office.

It reads:

'Son,

'You are desired to procure two Licences; one for Mr Robert Lever to exercise his ministry at his dwelling house called Scutehouse in the parish of Branspeth in the county of Durhã, and one also for Mr Robert Plesaunce the exercising his Ministry in his dwelling house at Bishop-Auckland in this sd County, both of them Presbyterian ministers

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conveys the impression of meaning "of the inhabitants." The chapel had been Congregational in its management from the first. During the Presbyterian régime that party had got in; but from the Congregational point of view, Crompton was an intruder (from 1657), and Briscoe was their man. I suspect that Crompton's hearers came mostly from Liverpool. How came Gilbert to misspell Crompton's name "Trumpton"? It doesn't look as if he were one of his devoted hearers.'

'And to send down the sd Licences hither, with what expedition you can conveniently

'Yo: Lo: Fathr,
'Rich: Rawe.

'Durhã, May 17*/72
'Saturday.'

That he was a citizen of wealth and standing is shown incidentally but most conclusively by a document reported to me, July 8, 1908, by Mr. G. W. Boag of Gateshead. It is an 'Indenture upon the Election 'and Return of two knights—viz., Thomas Lilburn of Ufferton and 'James Clavering, Axwell—to serve in Parliament for the County of 'Durham in the time of Oliver Cromwell's Usurpation, and by virtue 'of his writ. 20th August 1656.

'This Indenture made the Twentieth day of August in the year of 'our Lord one thousand and Six Hundred Fifty and Six at the City of 'Durham in the County of Durham between

'George Lilburn Esq., Sheriff of the County aforesaid of the one part, 'and Richard Rawe Esq., Robert Ellison Esq., John Emerson Esq., 'Captain Robert Sharpe, and William Can, Gentleman, and divers other 'persons qualified and capable to elect a member.

[Signatures.]

'Richard Rawe, Robert Ellison, John Emerson, Robert Sharpe, Thomas 'Sanderson, Charles Wren, and 192 others.'

The fact that Richard Rawe's name stands first in a list of nearly 200 burgesses or citizens of Durham City, as qualified to elect a member for the county, shows that John Rawe's father was a substantial and influential man.

All four Licences asked for in **321** (**195**) were granted, but not till nearly a month later—viz., on June 10, 1672.

They are entered on **E.** (**152**) and (**153**):

E. (**152**). 'Licence to Rob: Pleasaunce to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse at Bishop Aukland, Durrhã 10 June

E. (**153**). 'The howse of Rob: Pleasaunce at Bishop Aukland, Durrhã.
'Pr. Meeting Place. 10 June

'Licence to Rob: Lever to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse at Branspeth, Durrhã 10 June

'The howse of Rob: Lever in Branspeth, Durrhã Pr. Meeting Place. 10 June'

3. Richard Coleman.

The relation between this Richard Coleman and Mr. John Pindar is similar to that which we have seen to exist between William Bowler and William Nicoll (p. 305). In both cases, the first applies personally

* This should be May 18 (in 1672 May 17 was a Friday), or more probably the figures were meant for '11,' which was a Saturday.

for the licences, which the second takes away. Only in this case, the second is the minister for whom licences are desired; while in the other, he was one of the laymen for whose house-licences the minister had asked.

The licences Richard Coleman asks for are three, all for the same part of Suffolk. Two are for Reed: one for John Pindar, a Presbyterian minister; and the second for the house of Robert Sanfield, for Mr. Pindar to preach in; and the third, for Couling (or Cowlinge), is for another house.

Both places are in the extreme west of the county: Reed is some six or seven miles south-west of Bury St. Edmunds, and Cowling is due west of it, almost on the border of Cambridgeshire.

The application, made personally by Mr. Richard Coleman, is undated. It is numbered **321** (**131**): and is endorsed: 'Coleman's note, 'Suffolk'; and ends:

> 'To be delivered to
> 'Mr Richard Coleman.'

The licences were all ready May 13th [**E.** (**112**)]; but either Mr. Coleman was prevented from calling for them, or Mr. Pindar unexpectedly decided to come up to London himself. Anyhow, he was in London on May 15, and went to Whitehall for them; and we have his receipt in **321** (**161**):

> 'A licence for the person of John Pindar & for the house of John Collyer & Robert Sanfield.
> 'received the fifteenth day of May 1672
> 'taken out by me
> 'John Pindar.'

Of John Pindar we have already given what information we have been able to gather, as he was one of the noble 'Thirty-eight' who came to Whitehall to secure their own licences.

Who this Richard Coleman was, it is not easy to determine.

There is a Richard Coleman who figures prominently in the licence-documents for the County of Leicester. He holds property both in the town of Leicester and in the village of Tur Langton. These two places are ten miles apart, but Tur Langton lies only a little north-east of the great London road, on a road turning off at Kibworth Beauchamp.

Richard Coleman is a man of broad sympathies, too: for while he gets his house in Tur Langton licensed for Congregationalists [**E.** (**272**)], his licence for the house in Leicester is for Anabaptists [**E.** (**281**)].* If it were this Richard Coleman, he would present the remarkable picture of a Baptist resident in Leicester, licensing a house of his in Tur Langton for Congregationalists, and coming up to London to secure licences for Presbyterians in Suffolk!

The name of Henry Coleman also occurs in two very different connections. In one he secures licences as a Congregational Teacher to preach in the same Leicestershire village—of Tur Langton—in which Richard Coleman has a house licensed [**E. (271)** and **E. (272)**]; and another is licensed as a Presbyterian in Much Easton in Essex [**E. (237)**]. The letter of the latter to Sir Joseph Williamson [**321 (137)**] is one of the most interesting papers amongst these licence-documents. He declares his 'judgement' to be 'only Scripturall,' and that he does 'accord with ministers either episcopall, presbiteriall or independant,' and asks that he 'may be allowed to preach the gospel of Christ in the pish 'of Thaxted,' which is some two miles due north of Much Easton. His careful letter is not very carefully considered; for he is licensed as a Presbyterian, not in Thaxted, but in the place of his residence [**E. (237)**].

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* In face of the distinct designation in the licence-entries, Dr. Whitley maintains that both Richard and Henry Coleman were decided Baptists.

What is the relation of these Colemans to one another? Only further documentary evidence would satisfactorily determine.

It is *à priori* improbable that the Richard Coleman, who signs the application-memorandum **321 (131)** is the same man who has his house in Tur Langton licensed for Congregationalists, and his house in Leicester for Anabaptists. While it *is à priori* probable that the Henry Coleman of Tur Langton, and the Richard Coleman of the same village, were near akin, may be brothers (or father and son).

That the Henry Coleman of Tur Langton, Leicester (Congregational teacher), and the Henry Coleman, M.A., of Much Easton, Essex, were the same person, again, is highly improbable.

The latter certainly (in his letter it is implied) had been a clergyman in the Established Church (trained in the University of Cambridge). His licence granted to him as a Presbyterian was dated September 5, 1672. That the former had had either college training or Episcopalian preferment we have no proof. His licence to preach in his own house as a Congregational Teacher in Tur Langton ('Terlington' the Whitehall officials call it), is more than two months later, being dated November 18, 1672 [**E. (272)**].

In the present state of our knowledge—or rather ignorance—it would be the merest speculation to suggest any more definite relationship.

4. Charles Fisher.

The only document bearing his name is a letter **320 (112)**, dated April 17, 1672.

It refers—rather mysteriously—to his father; and to some request enclosed, connected with the Corporation of Birmingham and 'some of 'the principall of the Towne.' But the mystery is perfectly explained by **320 (237)**, which should have been placed next to **320 (112)**, and so made **320 (113)**.

I will put them side by side, and they will speak for themselves: **320 (112)**.

'S^{r},

'I rec^{d} the Enclosed this day from my father w^{ch} he desires may have its effect as soone as may be I knowe noe freind soe versed in such an affair as this that my father can soe freely request as yo^{r} selfe to befreind him. Birmingham is the Corporation, & here are the hands of some of the principall of the Towne. What may be done & as soon as may be herein is the request of

'Yo^r^ assured friend &c.,
'CHA: FISHER.

'17 Apr. 72.'

320 (237) Endorsed: 'Birmingham—Pet^n^ Apr. 72.'

'To the Kings Most Excellent Ma^tie^

'The humble Addresse and Petitiõ of severall Inhabitants of the Towne of Birmingham, in the County of Warwicke in the Name of them &c., and sundry others of the same Towne, humbly sheweth . . , "That . . . to us therein," "Wee are humble Petitioners to yo^r^ Sacred "Ma^tie^, that in pursuance thereof, your Majesty will bee gratiously "pleased, to allow and Lycense M^r^ Samuel Fisher Master in Arts "of the Presbiterian perswasiõ to exercise his Ministeriall functiõ "amongst us, and that the house of the said Samuel Fisher, and the "Town-Hall scituate in Birmingham, may bee places allowed for "their meeting under his Ministry."

'In which Royall, & humbly desired favour to M^r^ Samuel Fisher and us

'Your Majestyes most humble Petition^rs^,
'Shall ever pray.'

And then follow the names of ten citizens: for two of whom—John Hunt and Samuel Taylor—applications are made in **320 (259)**; and for Samuel Taylor a second in **320 (260)**; while for the house of the latter a licence was issued July 22, 1672 [**E. (207)**].

Clearly enough, Charles Fisher, residing in London, is son of Samuel Fisher (Cal. I. 342, 343), who was ejected from Thornton-le-Moor, Cheshire, and who afterwards removed to Birmingham, where he ended his days.

Most probably, too, the letter was directed to Robert Blayney (clerk of the Haberdashers' Company), because in **320 (191)** we have a letter written to Mr. Robert Blayney by Samuel Fisher, Charles's elder brother, about certain licences, to which he adds a P.S.: 'I pray remem- 'ber my father's business.'

The career of his father was distinguished and interesting. From Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses' we learn he was a native of Shakespeare's birthplace—Stratford-upon-Avon; that he matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, October 10, 1634; that three years later he graduated B.A. from Magdalen, December 15, 1637, proceeding M.A. three years later again (June 10, 1640).

Foster, too, describes him as a Covenanter and a writer. But the first epithet must mean simply that he was a Presbyterian, and well enough agrees with all that Calamy says about him.

Foster tells us he was a preacher at St. Bride's, London. That was probably early in his ministerial career. Calamy says that he was 'sometime of Withington'—in Cheshire; and afterwards of Shrewsbury.

Of this latter appointment, Foster tells us distinctly that he was Vicar of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, from 1646 to 1650; and Calamy asserts as distinctly that 'he was turned out' thence 'for not taking the 'Engagement against the king and the house of lords,' which is very like a thorough-going Covenanter who objected to Oliver's régime, and his Independency; and adds that he 'was afterwards Rector of Thornton (in the Moor) in Cheshire, whence he was ejected in 1662. Calamy further says: 'He was an old man, an able preacher, and of a godly 'life. He lived many years in Birmingham, and died there.'

He had probably retired to Birmingham soon after his ejectment from Thornton; since, to judge from the petition sent up from Birmingham in 1672, he had (spite his Nonconformity) already acquired an influential position, with many of the first citizens of the Town and corporation. In his chequered career, then, he had twice lived in Cheshire: first in Withington, and (after an interval of four years spent in Shropshire) returning thither for another ten or twelve years at Thornton; and twice in Warwickshire, spending his childhood and boyhood in Stratford-upon-Avon, and returning to it to spend his last years in Birmingham.

In view of all these facts, and of the Petition sent up from Birmingham, the references in this letter of Charles Fisher are perfectly clear.

His 'father' is 'Samuel Fisher,' who was living in retirement, but still in high honour, in Birmingham; and 'Here are the hands, &c.,' means that the signatures appended to the enclosed petition are those of Birmingham's principal men.

Nor can we have much hesitation in identifying the person addressed in the letter with Mr. Robert Blayney, Clerk of the Haberdashers' Company. For in **320** (**191**) we have a letter written to 'M^r^ Robert Blany' by a 'Samuel Fisher'—who is doubtless Charles Fisher's elder brother, and the eldest born of Samuel Fisher of Birmingham, to which is appended a sentence—which isolated is cryptic enough, but in view of all that has come before our notice above is perfectly clear and natural—'I pray remember my father's business.'

Clearly the two sons of Samuel Fisher, of Birmingham, are living in London. The elder—his namesake—Samuel, got his younger brother to send his father's application and petition to Mr. Blayney (whose Nonconformist sympathies these Licence-documents proclaim so clearly). That was as early as April 11. A fortnight later, finding that the application had not been attended to, and having been asked to procure licences for some friends in Staffordshire, he (Samuel) writes [April 25, 1672—*vide* **320** (**191**)] to Mr. Blayney to manage the matter for him ('I pray when y^{u} goe up to Westm^{r} get this done for one or both of 'the psons named. I shall sattisfie for the charges' are his words), and adds this postscript about the licences for his father.

Mr. Blayney appears to have got young James Innes to make out an application memorandum for these friends in Staffs and Warwickshire (the memorandum is clearly in his hand-writing) [*vide* **320** (**193**)]; but Mr. Blayney put it in himself—either that same day or the next—if the Calendarist's assignment of the position of **320** (**193**) may be relied on as an indication of its true date; and he must have mentioned the case of Samuel Fisher, senior, at the same time; for we find that Samuel Fisher's licences are issued the same day as those for two of the three Staffordshire ones (May 1), as is clear from their entry on **E.** (**58**).

'Birmingham Pr. Fisher's howse	'The howse of Sam: Fisher in Birminghã Warwick̃ licensed to be a Pr. Meeting Place. 1 May 7̅2̅.'
'Fisher Pr. Birmingham	'License to Sam: Fisher to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Birminghã in Warwickshire. 1. May 7̅2̅.'

Mr. Blayney, too, justifies the confidence of the two brothers by completing his commission; calling for their father's licences two days after their issue—as we see in **320** (**302**):

'3 May 1672.

'Rec^{d} a License for M^{r} Samuel Fisher of the Presbiterian perswasion to teach in his owne house att Birmingham.

'Ro: Blayney'

(though there is no memorandum of receipt for the two Staffordshire licences which were granted in response to his application).

His sons' interest, and Mr. Blayney's exertions (and influence), were effectual in securing licences for Mr. Samuel Fisher sen^{r}., as a Presbyterian Teacher and for his house. The application for the Town Hall as a meeting-place, however, was refused, or ignored.

At the back of this letter of Charles Fisher's [**320** (**112**)] there is a fragmentary scrawl in Sir Joseph Williamson's own wretched handwriting, which presumably refers to Birmingham, but which is not easy to understand. It reads:

'his own house, The Schoole house, Mr. John Malls house.'

The first phrase, if referring to Samuel Fisher, senior, is simple enough, as we know the licence was not only applied for (in the petition), but was granted.

An application was also made for 'The Schoole house' in Birmingham on **320** (**259**), but that must have been some weeks later. That application was also refused (as a Public Building) and no licence was issued. On that same application-memorandum [**320** (**259**)] the next item to 'The Schoole house in Birmingham' was 'The house of John Wall in Birmingham,' which, surely, must be the 'M^{r} John Malls house,' of Sir Joseph Williamson. This, too, received no better treatment than the other applications for 'The Town Hall' or 'The School House.' This—though Sir Joseph evidently took a special interest in these Birmingham applications—as **320** (**259**) is endorsed—not by Fr. Benson, but by Sir Joseph himself—'Indulgen^{ec} Birmingham.'

5. William Bowler.

He appears to have some connection — direct or indirect — with Uxbridge. For in the one memorandum which bears his name—**321 (130)**—he applies for six licences—three personal ones, and three for houses—all 'in the parish of Woxbridge in the County of Middlesex.' It is endorsed by Benson : 'Bowler's note,' and is subscribed : 'presented by 'William Bowler.'

It surely will be some kinsman of his, who in 1665-66 was assessed in St. Martin's parish, Ludgate :

'Richard Bowler (Burnt)—4 Hearths—12s.'

6. Robert Mascall.

This Robert Mascall is a Congregationalist specially interested in Kent, and therefore probably intimately connected with it, though he also acts for would-be licensees in Nottingham, Derby, Berks, and Somerset.

Of this inferential conjecture, since writing it, I have recently had very distinct documentary confirmation. From a Commonwealth State Paper, dated June 1, 1659 [S. P. Dom. I. 98, 10], it appears that, at that date, he was one of the substantial and influential citizens of Canterbury. In the address of a letter written by the Council of State to the civic authorities (of Canterbury), viz., 'Thomas Ockman Esqr Mayor,' and five others, the last named is 'Ro: Maskall.' There can be little doubt, therefore, that he was a citizen of the Cathedral City up to the end of the Commonwealth period; was probably a native, and in 1659 an Alderman. His special interest in Kent and Canterbury is thus fully and most naturally explained.

By 1672, he seems to have been resident some time in London, known personally to Sir Joseph Williamson, and connected with some of the leading Congregational ministers of the Metropolis.

His bold, precise handwriting has an air of dignified formality which suggests that he may have been connected with the legal profession, but bespeaks as clearly a man of great age in this year 1672. There are no less than fifteen memoranda lodged by him at Whitehall.

(i.) The first paper bearing his signature is an application for John Durant to preach in the Almirey Hall, Longport (just outside the walls of Canterbury) [**320 (32)**].

John Durant was evidently a preacher of commanding power when he had only just attained his majority, Calamy says (II. 321), 'he was 'born in the year 1620, and he was reported to the Grand Committee 'of Religion,' of the House of Commons, on Saturday, June 5, 1641, along with four others, as preaching without a licence, and is referred to as 'John Durant, who preached 'privately,' and was summoned to attend the House on Monday, in the afternoon, at two o'clock (*i.e.*, June 7, 1641). He, with another, 'Adam Bankes,' however, did not appear. His non-appearance must have been explained as having good reason; for, so far from suffering the displeasure of the House for it, only a little more than thirteen months later, on a petition from the parishioners of St. Peter's, Sandwich, the House recommended Mr. John Durant, as 'an orthodox Divine,' 'to be a Lecturer for the Town 'of Sandwich, to preach there every Wednesday in the forenoon' (*House of Commons Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 671, 672). This was July 14, 1642, almost thirty years before Mr. Mascall applies for a licence for him (April 4, 1672).

The curious thing about this application, however, is that a licence had already been issued for John Durant two days before Mr. Robert Mascall made it. Clearly he must have had a personal friend in the Whitehall Office, who saw to it that his licences should be ready, signed and issued in the first batch which were granted.

It is interesting to note the proof we have of Sir Joseph Williamson's individual interest in both Robert Mascall and his friend, for he writes at the foot of the entry of the licence in [**E.** (**4**)] what is a quite unique entry: 'Desired by M^r^ Mascall and themselves upon a letter 'from y^e^ Town and Congregation 4th April.'

Evidently a letter or petition had been handed in by Mr. Mascall at the same time that he left the memorandum which bears his name [**320** (**32**)].

'of y^e^ City of Canterbury,
'John Durant Teacher
'Their Meeting Place is The Almirey Hall (her'tafore belonging to Ethelberts Pallace) situate near and without y^e^ walls of y^e^ City of Canterbury in or near y^e^ Burrough of Longport.
'ROB^T^ MASCALL of London.

'Whitehall. Apr: 4^th^
'1672.'

It is to be regretted that the letter or petition has not been preserved.

Of the position which John Durant held, and the work he had continued to do in the city, even after his ejection from the Cathedral, we have very interesting proof in the Return of Conventicles (in the Diocese of Canterbury) in 1669.

A conventicle is there reported (**R. 154**) in the parishes of 'St. Paul 'in Cant,' and 'St. Pet^rs^ in Cant.' It is composed of 'Independ^ts^' to the number of '500 at least.' It further states: 'They meete in y^e^ 'morning in St. Pet^rs^; afternoone in St. Paul's.' The list of 'Princi'palls & Abettors' is a very remarkable one: 'Tho. Scot Esq: a 'Ringlead^r^ of the Peticon for the K^s^ tryall; Cap. Tho. Monnings 'excom., S^r^ W^m^ Brodnax; Ed. Hirst, Attorney, Joh. Jacob. gen., 'Zach: Lee, Hatt^r^, Rich. Bimist^r^ Surgeon, Tho. Kingford, Hatt^r^, 'Matth. Grey, Dyer, Jam. Stredwick yeom., and Rest Fenn^r^ 'Station^r^.' Their preachers or teachers are given as 'John Durant, 'excom Independ^t^ Preach^r^, once a Wash-ball maker. Frances Taylo^r^, 'excom N. Conf. min^r^, once Presbyt., now Independ^t^.'

Of these eleven 'Abettors,' two appear among the five Citizens who are addressed in 1659 by the Council of State, together with the Mayor, as the Civic authorities of Canterbury (of whom we have just seen Robert Mascall was one). These are Thomas Scot and Thomas Monins (here described as 'Cap. Tho. Monnings'). The five thus linked with the Mayor were probably Aldermen. Sir Wm. Brodnax, another Abettor—also Abettor of a Presbyterian Conventicle at East Church in the Isle of Sheppey (**R. 158***b*)—was probably brother of another Alderman Thomas Broadnax.

Five or six years before this, however, in 1663-64, in a State Paper endorsed: 'Schismaticks: An acct of persons wth there quallities 'and places of aboad' (calendared as S. P. Dom. Car. II. 88, 73), we have this note of Canterbury:

> 'Mr Durant
> Mr Ventris
> pastors
>
> 'meete together in and about the City: these are members to there church.—Maior Broadnax, Captn Munnings, Captn Mascall, Capn Lee, hatter, Mr Scott Esq.'

'Captn Mascall' is no doubt our Robert Mascall; and we here learn that he and his fellow-members of Durant's Church—Broadnax, Munnings, and Lee—had all been officers in Oliver's army. We gain, too, this further information, that Mascall remained in Canterbury for at least one or two years after John Durant's ejectment. He was there in 1663-64. He was no longer there in 1669; so that he may have come up to London in 1666 or 1667: even the later date giving him five years' settled residence in London by 1672, quite justifying his description as 'of London' [**320 (32)**].

It is clear, therefore, that those who gathered round their old pastor, John Durant, after his ejectment, were men of position and influence in the Cathedral City; and Robert Mascall had worshipped with them up to the time he left Canterbury for London. So that it was in his old pastor he was so interested when trying to secure for John Durant licences to preach in the Almirey Hall, in this year of the Indulgence. It is worthy of note, too, that in this same year four of the Abettors of John Durant's Conventicles reported in 1669—viz., Thomas Scot, Edward Hirst, John Jacob, and Zachary Lee—secured licences as well, as 'general Congregational teachers.' For them, however, it was John Light who made application [**321 (290)**], not Robert Mascall; all four licences being granted on May 29, and entered on **E. (143)**.

Quite evidently, too, John Durant was a man of great power and local influence in Canterbury. It is rather a problem to determine when he was, as the Conventicle Return alleges, 'a wash-ball maker.' Was it in his early days as a youth, when he 'preached privately'? or was it after his ejectment from the cathedral church, when he had no other means of livelihood?

The next application Robert Mascall made (preserved in the Record Office) is one palpably in his handwriting, but neither signed by him nor dated. It is **320 (93)**, containing application for twelve licences—two of them for Somerset, two for Gloucester, and six for London.

Those for London, too, are for most noted men—Philip Nye, young John Loder, and Mr. Wills. Two of them, again, are for Kent, and for a man and a place each of singular interest. The place is 'The 'old Chapell belonging to y^{e} Hospitall of St. Bartholomeaw near & 'without y^{e} walls of Sandwich Congregationall.' For this he leaves a second memorandum **320** (**95**), and yet a third in **320** (**119**); and the man is 'Comfort St arr.'

The Licences were issued April 17, a full fortnight later than those for John Durant; and Robert Mascall calls at Whitehall and takes them away only three days after, as we see in **320** (**167**):

> 'Received for M^{r} Comfort Star his Maiesties Licence & Allowance of his dwelling house in Sandwich.
>
> 'Whitehall Apr. 20th 1672
>
> 'ROB MASCALL.'

The facts we learn about Comfort Star show that he was no ordinary personality. Born in 1624, the son of an Ashford physician, he was educated in New England (whither his father had migrated to find freedom to worship God after the dictates of his conscience), and so distinguished himself as a scholar as to become Fellow of Harvard, 1647. Returning to England, he was appointed to Carlisle, where he remained till Black Bartholomew. Then he returned to his native county to work as opportunity offered, being licensed for Sandwich in 1672, fifteen years later taking up the work at Guildhall Street, Canterbury, from 1687 to 1691, and afterwards becoming pastor of 'Lewes in Kent, 'where he died, Oct. 30, 1711, in the 87th year of his age' (Cal., II. 378; Timpson, 'Kent,' 307-8).

Dr. B. Nightingale has a very full account of Comfort Star (and Timothy Tullie) in his 'The Ejected of Westmorland and Cumber-'land,' Vol. I., pp. 159-173.

Only two days after securing the licences for Comfort Star, Mascall makes application for five more licences in **320** (**173**), two of them for London, the minister being no less than the learned William Hooke, late Master of the Savoy, his 'place' being Mr. Loton's house in 'The Spittle,' Bishopsgate Street Without. Three of them are still for his loved Kent—all in Canterbury—two for two ejected ministers: Thomas Ventres, M.A., a Congregationalist, and Mr. Robert Beake, a Presbyterian, and their meeting-place Mr. Roper's hall in St. Dunstan's parish.

It is interesting to find these two ejected ministers bracketed together in the 1669 Conventicle Return (**R. 154**) as both 'excom-'municate' and joint ministers of a Conventicle of Presbyterians in St. Dunstan's parish—'not so numerous as the other' (*i.e.*, the Independents), and the principals being five tradesmen and one 'Nethersole,' an attorney.

The application **320** (**173**) is characteristically stately in the form of its preamble:

> 'His Majesties License is humbly desired for . . .'

And ends :

'White Hall. Apr: 22th: 1672.
'ꝑ me
'ROB MASCALL.

We next meet his handwriting in **320** (**298**), where he applies on May 3, 1672, for five more licences in Kent: Samuel Hieron being the teacher of 'ye parish of Chartham' (which is in the Canterbury district still, south-west of the city) ; and the four places for him to preach in being, one in Chartham itself, two in Wye, and one in Molash, south of it. The same day, too (doubtless in the same call) he carries off the five licences he had applied for eleven days before (all for Canterbury), as witness **320** (**300**).

The next memorandum bearing his initials, 'R. M.,' in his unmistakable hand, and endorsed by Benson 'Mr Mascall's note. Islington' is **321** (**4**), and is an application for four licences in the environs of London—viz., for Samuel Lee—to preach in three houses in the parish of Islington. It is dated at foot : 'Whitehall. May ye 6th, 1672. 'Given In then From Maior Ro: Thomson.'

Just five days later we find him giving in another application [**321** (**98**)] for two licences for Dr. Nathaniel Holmes in Horseshoe Alley, in Upper Moorefields.* At the same time he took away five licences, all for the north-east part of Kent. The acknowledgment [**321** (**99**)] is signed at length.

Two further memoranda (unsigned, but palpably in Robert Mascall's handwriting) are **321** (**201**) and **321** (**202**). They are duplicates 'Given In May ye 18th, 1672,' just a week after the last visit. Five licences asked for—two for Nathaniel Barry of Dover, and three for Edward Coppin of Beaksborne ; and another memorandum, **321** (**205**), dated the same day, 'May ye 18th, 1672,' shows that the licences he had asked on behalf of Dr. Holmes were ready, as well as the four he had given in on the 6th for Major Robert Thomson, for he acknowledges thereon the receipt of all six. The last memorandum of this long series shows him faithful to his first love—for in it [**321** (**258**)], on May 25, 1672, he applies for two more licences for Canterbury for Mr. Francis Taylor —as well as to the city of his residence and choice : he applies for six more licences for London for three noted ministers, John Crouch, George Cockain, and Nathaniel Partridge.

More information would, we are confident, show close and special connection with Canterbury, on the one hand, and London on the other ; the City archives and parish records of Canterbury for the Commonwealth period especially, being sure to contain much interesting matter touching him and his friends in John Durant's church.

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* This Dr. Holmes was (Cal., I. 149) a man well skilled in the languages, particularly the Hebrew, and advocated millenarianism of a spiritual, not a carnal, type. He had been ejected from the City church of St. Mary Staining.

7. ROBERT WHITTELL.

The next, Robert Whittell, if not certainly a citizen of London himself, was a resident, and probably relative of a Whitell who was.

Three memoranda bear his name: one in **320**—viz., **148**—which is a receipt for two licences for 'general teachers' in Ipswich, and two in **321** : the one (**104**) an application for two licences for a Halifax preacher, and the other (**221**) a receipt for them when obtained.

The first of these three is **320** (**148**). It acknowledges the receipt of personal licences 'for M^r Owen Stockton and M^r Henry Havers 'to bee teachers to A Congregation in Ipswitch.' It is dated 'the '19th Aprill 1672,' and says they were received by him 'of M^r Benson' (Sir Joseph Williamson's chief clerk) 'att my Lord Arlingtons Office,' thus rather curiously mentioning the Secretary of State, with whom very few direct communications were made, and omitting Sir Joseph Williamson, the Under-Secretary, who was the active minister in all this business, though Sir Joseph's subordinate, Mr. Benson, is named. Now, these licences had been completed and signed three days before, April 16 (as we see in [**E.** (**24**)]—though 'Stockton' is distorted into 'Storton'), and two memoranda of application for them are preserved in **320** (**101**) and **320** (**102**), which, though not verbally identical—the misspelling of Stockton's name appearing in **101**—are so similar in form as to suggest that they come from the same hand. They are unsigned (as well as undated), and they scarcely suggest by their form that they are from Robert Whittell's hand.

The second and third memoranda are both signed and dated, the dates showing that about a month elapsed between his first and second effort, but show him to have been very prompt.

On May 13 he puts in an application on **321** (**104**) for Mr. Joseph Dawson.

It is endorsed by Benson: 'Whitells note Leeds, Hallifax,' and reads:

'A License for Mr. Joseph Dawson of the presbeterian perswasion to preach in his dwelling house in y^e Parrish of Hallifax in the County of Yorke.

'May 13^th. ROBERT WHITTELL.'

Joseph Dawson is well spoken of by Calamy (III. 452-53). He was ejected from Thornton Chapel, Yorks, retired to the neighbourhood of Halifax, where we see he was living in 1672; the licence for which Robert Whittell applied, being granted on May 16, 1672 [**E.** (**126**)]. He afterwards (1688) was called to the pastorate of Morley Chapel, which had been a parochial chapel, but in 1650 was severed from ecclesiastical jurisdictions by the lease granted by the Earl of Sussex for five hundred years to Trustees or Feoffees, and so continues in the hands of Nonconformists to the present day. But Robert Whittell did more than apply for a licence for his friend. He saw the matter through.

The licences were granted three days after his personal application, as we see in **E. (126)**:

> ‘The howse of Joseph Dawson in the Parish of Hallifax, Yorkeshire Pr. Meeting Place. 16 May
>
> ‘Licence to Joseph Dawson to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in the Parish of Hallifax, Yorkeshire. 16 May.’

Robert Whittell did not credit the Whitehall officials with such promptitude as they actually displayed. For he did not call for the licences till the 21st, five days after they were ready. But **321 (221)** preserves his formal acknowledgment of their safe receipt upon that day.

‘Reced the 21t of May 1672 att the office of the Earle of Arlington A Licence for Mr Joseph Dawson to preach in his Dwelling house in the parish of hallifax in the county of Yorke

‘p Robert Whittell.’

Other facts brought out in this licence literature show that Joseph Dawson had more friends in London than Robert Whittell, and a ministerial influence and activity in Yorkshire that was not confined to Halifax, the place of his chosen retirement. No less a person than Lord ‘Lauderdailes’ (*sic*) secretary ‘gives in’ application for him ‘to Teach ‘or Preach in a New Brick house in Leeds Briggate’ [**321 (186)**], and the licence is made out the same day as his licences for ‘Hallifax.’ It would appear, too, that he has a house in Birstall, half-way between Halifax and Leeds, which he would also use for the same high purposes of preaching and worship, and for this (two months later) he obtains licence, as we see in **E. (218)**:

> ‘The howse of Jos: Dawson in Birstoll Parish, Yorke Pr. 25 July’

As well as another for himself, as we see in **E. (221)**:

> ‘Licence to Joseph Dawson to be a Pr. Teacher att the house of ye sđ Dawson att Bristell in Yorksħ. July 25th’

Is it not a sister-in-law, too, whose house is applied for in **321 (351)** by Ti: Cloudsley. ‘The House of Mrs. Sibbell Dawson widđ: in ‘Leedes in Yorkeshire prsbiterians.’, which was issued for Congregationalists, June 10, 1672, as recorded in **E. (161)**:

> ‘The howse of Sibell Dawson in Leeds, Yorke for Congr. 10 June.’

It is interesting to note that the variation in title, given by Robert Whittell to the Secretary of State, is critically accurate.

On April 19, he calls him Lord Arlington; on May 21, he calls him the Earl of Arlington; and the crucial fact involved is that only three days after the first date—*i.e.*, April 22—‘Henry Bennet, Lord ‘Arlington, created Viscount Thetford, and *Earl* of Arlington’ (‘The ‘Chronological Historian &c.,’ by Mr. Salmon, 1733, p. 160).

That Robert Whittell was a citizen of London is shown in Lay Subs. (London), $\frac{147}{627}$ for Farringdon Ward, where in Christ Church parish we find:

Robert Whittell 'B^{nt},' assessed for four Hearths, 12s. The frequent occurrence of these notes, 'Burnt' or 'B^{nt}' shows the assessment was made in 1665-66 before the Great Fire, but was revised in 1666-67 after it, and shows that Robert Whittell's house was amongst those destroyed in it, in Newgate Street, or its neighbourhood.

The only other traces of this Whittell family, which I have lighted on, are very conjectural, and are probably worthless.

Pepys, in his Diary, under date November 22, refers to a Mr. Fox (Stephen) who was knighted in 1665, and whose wife was the daughter of William Whittle, Esq.

In the 1677 List of London Merchants is a John Whithall of Philpot Lane. Was this John Whithall any connection of Robert Whittell? or was he connected with the Lancashire Whittles?

The last Londoners I have placed in this group are:

8. WILLIAM and ADAM WOOLLEY.

A third name should be associated with these two—viz., that of Henry Woodcox (or Woodcocks), because it took no less than these three to secure six licences, two of them in Staffs, and four in Leicestershire.

The places are Horninglow and Burton-on-Trent in Stafford, and Diseworth Grange and Loughborough in Leicester. Curiously enough, too, the portions of Staffs on the west, and Leicester on the east, in which these places are situated, are separated by a little tongue or wedge of Derbyshire. Still they are all in the same band of country, east and west, and Burton and Diseworth are not five and twenty miles apart. (Horninglow is almost a suburb of Burton.)

Of Henry Woodcox (or Woodcocks), I know nothing but that he applied for these licences for Horninglow and Burton.

But the names of William and Adam Woolley seem to suggest a family of stalwart Nonconformist brothers, as remarkable as that of the Claytons. For Calamy gives us two brothers connected with Worcester County (III. 413 and 414): 'Richard' Woolley, who was the son of a clergyman in Henley, County of Worcester, born there 1626; educated in Balliol College, Oxford; matriculated 1640, September 12; and graduated B.A., 1645; ejected from Salwarp, which is close to Droitwich, and not far north of Worcester, where he had been rector since 1650; and 'Giles Woolley, Brother to the former,' of whom he says: 'He was 'a Nonconformist, but it does not appear where he was minister in '1662,' though Nash mentions him as ejected at the Restoration.

The name of Richard Woolley is the centre of a little tangle which is not altogether easy to unravel. **E.** gives the following series of licences to Richard Woolley, or Woollice. [That these are variant spellings of the same name is clear from a comparison of **321 (364)**—which is an application by James Inness, junior, for licences at Worcester for R. W. to teach in Elizabeth Stirrop's house in Worcester—with the entries in **E. (200)** and **E. (251)** for Worcester. In application it is 'Woollice'; in **E. (200)** it is 'Woolly'; so **E. (251)** it is 'Wolley.']

(1) **E. (200)** 'The howse of Eliz: Stirrup in Worcester, Pr. 22 July. Licence to Rich: Woolly to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Eliz: Stirrup in Worcester. 22 July'
(2) **E. (232)** 'Licence to Rich̃: Woollice to be a Pr. Teach̃. att the house of Eliza: Stirrop in Lecestr Augt 10th'
(3) **E. (259)** 'The house of Rich̃: Wootley of ye citty of Worcester Pr Sept 30th'

It is self-evident that there could not be such a fortuitous combination of teacher and meeting-place of the same name in two towns so distant as Leicester and Worcester are from each other. So that we have to choose between the two, it being impossible to accept both. Now several circumstances, any one of which would be enough to decide the point in favour of Worcester, combine to point to the conclusion that the assignment of Richard Woolley and Elizabeth Stirrup's house to Leicester, must be a clerical error (the similarity of the second two-thirds of the words leading to the mistake in the first third).

(1) The house of Richard Woolley is licensed in Worcester on September 30 (though it is misspelt into 'Wootley').

(2) The application made by James Innes, junior, in **321 (364)**, for Richard Woolley (though he gives it as Woollice), and the house of 'Elizabeth Stirrop' are for Worcester; and

(3) Calamy gives us 'Mr. Richard Woolley' as ejected from Salwarp, which is not five miles from Worcester city. So that it would be the most natural thing in the world for him to retire thither on his ejectment.

(4) Further, we know from Foster ('Al. Oxon.') that he was a Worcester man. He was the son of Richard Woolley, Minister of Henley, County of Worcester, being born there 1624; matriculated at Balliol, 1640; graduated B.A. October 22, 1645, and was appointed Rector of Salwarp till his ejectment in 1662.

So that, though there was a little temptation to adhere to **E. (232)** as showing the connection of Richard Woolley with Leicester Town, because it would make it a little comprehensible why we should find two Woolleys—the one applying for, the other going to Whitehall to receive, four licences for two other towns in Leicester County, it must be admitted that the weight of evidence is strongly on the other side.

Whatever the link of connection between these two London Woolleys, therefore, and Leicestershire, it was not through Richard Woolley, who continued to be connected with the neighbourhood of his old parish, in its neighbouring city 'Worcester,' and suffered much under the Penal Statutes for his Nonconformity.

Richard's brother Giles, Calamy tells us, 'went afterwards to 'London and preached somewhere about Hackney,' and it may have been through him that they were interested in Leicester. Was it from some town or village in Leicestershire that Giles Woolley was ejected?

The two London Woolleys, William and Adam, take their part in this matter as follows:

(1) In **321** (**7**), William Woolley applies for two licences at Diseworth Grange for William Smith, his person and his house; and two for Loughborough, for the person of Ferdinand Poole, and the house of William Hardmeale, this on 'ye 6th May 1672.'

(2) In **321** (**254**), Adam Woolley receives on 'ye 24th May 1672,' both these licences to teach in Leicestershire, and also the licences which Henry Woodcox had asked for Staffordshire. He receives them 'for 'Mr William Woolley' (though the word is written to look more like 'Newllry').

The licences had all been issued on May 13 [**E.** (**106**)], just a week after they had been applied for.

The fact that William Woolley personally applies for the Leicester licences on May 6, but is not able to go to Whitehall to fetch them, is susceptible, of course, of several possible explanations. Like Richard and Giles, he may not have been a resident in London, and may not have been able to stay long enough to complete his enterprise. Or he may have been a resident, but prevented by sickness.

One thing we know—viz., that Adam Woolley, who actually went to Whitehall on May 24, and received the six licences 'for 'William Woolley,' was a resident and a substantial citizen of London. For in one of the two earliest specimens of London Directory extant—viz., the 'List of London Merchants,' published in 1677, we find the name of Adam Wooley (*sic*) as resident in 'Bucklers Berry' (now spelt Bucklersbury), right in the heart of the city. [There is also another 'Wooley,' Robert, whose home or office is in 'Mincin' Lane.]

To execute his kindly mission, he would go down Walbrook, and Dowgate to the Riverside by the 'Styl' (or 'Steel') Yard, and take boat to the Whitehall Palace Stairs, walk up into 'The Court,' and turning sharp to the left, would soon find Lord Arlington's Office, just before entering the Stone Gallery. As the licences had been ready eleven days, it is most probable that William Woolley had been obliged, through sickness, to ask his merchant brother to do this service for him.

Three smaller groups may be looked at next: one (*d*) consisting of two clerks of London City Companies; another (*e*) of ex-officers of Oliver's army; and a third (*f*) a quartette of printers of Puritan literature.

(*d*) CLERKS OF LONDON CITY COMPANIES.

Of these there are two: Robert Harbin, and Robert Blayney.

1. Robert Harbin.

Robert Harbin was 'Clarke' of the 'Society of Leathersellers,' or Leathersellers' Company; and his name appears on **320** (**97**), exactly as that of Robert Blayney does on **320** (**1**), as signing an order for the freedom of the Leathersellers' Hall—for the conduct of Nonconformist worship—by Dr. John Owen, with John Loder as his assistant. It runs thus:

'Society of Leathersellrs in London.

'the freedome of theire Hall is graunted unto Dr Owen and Mr John Loder to preach there, Soe as they obtayne his Mats Licence for that purpose.

'This 16th Aprill 1672.

'ROBT HARBIN
'Clarke of the said Society.'

He does not appear, however, to have been in active sympathy with the Nonconformists; for he does not, as Robert Blayney did, 'put in' any applications, or go to Whitehall to secure any licences.

We do not know, either, who made application for Dr. Owen (and his assistant) to preach in the Leathersellers' Hall. But, whoever it was, the 'place' was 'not approved' by the King; and no licence was issued.*

The refusal did not have very serious effects on the assistant. For John Loder had already a licence to preach at Cherry Tree Alley, Bunhill, as assistant to another of the Veteran Independents, Philip Nye. The licences of both, and of their meeting-place, were all dated April 15 [E. (22)]; the day before the Leathersellers voted the freedom of their Hall to John Loder, as assistant of Dr. Owen. And John Loder obtained another licence—four months later (Augt 10)—to preach in another meeting-place in the heart of the City, in Mrs. Kemp's house, in Exchange Alley [**E.** (**235**)].

In the case of Dr. Owen, however, the rebuff seems to have had the effect of putting him out of love with the Indulgence altogether for himself. One thing, at any rate, is certain; we have no trace of any other licence asked for or issued to him. [Calamy's account of him is full and clear (I. 198-208; III. 131, 132).]

Yet his personal indifference to the Royal Indulgence does not make him refuse to be an intermediary for others, who cared to avail themselves of it. In **320** (**248** I.) Dr. Owen takes up the case of George Thorne of Weymouth and Milcombe Regis, and obtains an alteration in the meeting-place there; and from **321** (**13**), it appears that he was willing to take charge of ten licences obtained by Captain John Cressett—two for Essex and eight for Hertfordshire—in Theobalds, near Waltham Cross, in Cheshunt, a little further north, and in Preston (a little south of Hitchen)—either to deliver them himself, or to keep till called for by one of the licensees.

As to Robert Harbin, it is interesting to note that in the 'List of 'London Merchants,' published 1677, occurs the name of John Harbin, of Great St. Helen's. As the Leathersellers' Hall was at the end of Little St. Helen's, only a little distance north of Great St. Helen's

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* There is a very interesting note written on the back of this certificate in the unmistakable scrawl of Sir Joseph Williamson, 'Lethersellrs Hall. Dr. Owen his 'owne house in Charter house yard,' which gives us his London home throughout this critical time,

Church, it seems natural to think of Robert and John as brothers, living together in this most respectable quarter of the ancient city: Robert, the clerk of one of the City Companies, 'the Leathersellers,' and John, one of its respected and wealthy merchants. Were they descendants of Robert Harbin, gent., of Week in Dorset, who was educated in Oxford (matriculating from Hart Hall, February 6, 1606-7), and in 1607 came up to London, being a student of the Middle Temple? N.B.—Week is south of Weymouth, the sphere of George Thorne, who secures the services of Robert Harbin.

2. ROBERT BLANY, or BLAYNEY.

Robert Blayney, was clerk of the Habberdashers' (*sic*) Company, and was evidently strongly Puritan in his sympathies. Indeed, this is the direct testimony of an Informer (S. P. Dom. Car. II. 93, 3), February 16, 1663-64: 'next dore to haberdashers hall, Leves one Blaney who was 'A confident to Cromwell whome the phanatick party doth consult with 'as A Cunning man.'

The very first document in **320** is one which bears his signature in his official capacity. It is an order, passed by the 'Court of Assistants,' only a week after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, that the Haberdashers' Hall should be let for public worship to Dr. Jacomb (who had been ejected from St. Martin's, Ludgate, and ever since had been the guest of the Dowager-Countess of Exeter in Little Britain) if approved by the King.

320 (1):

Endorsed: 'Indulg^{ce}. Habberdashers Hall.'

'Habberdashers Hall.

'Att a Court of Assistants holden on friday 22th March 1671.

'Att this Court came severall worthy Citizens some of them being members of this Society, & made it their request (in regard His MAJESTY had by his late Gratious Declaration given leave to Non-Conformist Ministers to preach in publicq^{e} places) that D^{r} THOMAS JACOMB might have the liberty to preach in the Companies' Hall upon the Lord's-days & such other days as this Court should thinke fitt.

And this Court having now read & considerd the said Declaration, & fully debated this Matter, did Order that the said D^{r} JACOMB shall have the Liberty of preaching, & other publicq^{e} Exercises of Religion in the Companies Hall on the Lords-Days, publicq^{e} fast-days & Thursdays in the morning weekly during the pleasure of this Court, in case His MAJESTY shall approve thereof.

'RO: BLAYNEY Clerk.'

When the Haberdashers' Company voted the use of their Hall as a Presbyterian meeting-place for Dr. Jacomb [**320 (1)**], this act of Christian courtesy was largely determined by the influence of their good clerk, Robert Blayney, and other Puritan members of the Company; but it was neutralized by the churlishness of certain influential persons at Court. It was the first of a series of refusals to licence public buildings, which soon roused the indignation and distrust of the Nonconformists.

Another very brief memorandum [**320** (**129**)] contains Blayney's name in a way which suggests that his sympathies with Nonconformists are so well known as to encourage would-be licensees to appeal to him to use his kindly offices at Whitehall to secure the licences they desired.

It is addressed: 'M^{r} Robert Blany,' though it is no formal letter, and contains the simple memorandum:

> 'A Lycense for Will: Blackman presb. for himselfe and his owne house in Hornechurch Essex.'

There is an obvious blunder in the surname. It should have been 'Blackmore'; and the application is for 'M^{r} William Blackmore M.A. 'of Lincoln Coll: Oxford,' who had been imprisoned for complicity in Mr. Love's plot while Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, though liberated from the Tower on parole through the influence of his brother, Sir John Blackmore (Cal., I. 181, 2). After ejectment in 1662, Calamy tells us, 'he lived privately at Hare Street, near Rumford in Essex.'

As Hare Hall and Hare Street are both in the Parish of Hornechurch, which is contiguous to that of Romford, it is for his 'own hired house' at Hare Street, Hornechurch, that this application is made. His Cornhill living makes the application to Robert Blayney a natural one; as the Clerk of the Haberdashers' Hall would know him well, even if he were not one of Blackmore's parishioners.

Both licences were promptly granted, for they were issued April 20, 1672, as shown by the entries on **E.** (**34**):

'Horne Church Pr. Blackmores howse.	'The howse of Will: Blackmore in Horne Church in Essex licensed to be a Presb. Meeting Place. 20. Apr. 72.
'Blackmore Pr. Horne Church.	'Licence to W^{m} Blackmore to be a Presb. Teacher in his howse in Horne Church in Essex. 20. Apr. 72.

The next document bearing R. Blayney's name is a letter addressed to him by one Samuel Fisher—viz., **320** (**191**). He is asking him when next in Westminster to obtain licences for personal friends in Staffordshire; and in a postscript asks him to 'remember his father's 'business.' I have pointed out in another connection that there was a Samuel Fisher, whom I venture to identify as this man's father, as well as namesake, noticed by Calamy (I. 342-43) as ejected from Thornton-in-the-Moor, in Cheshire: 'an old man, an able preacher, and of a 'godly life, who,' he adds, 'lived many years at Birmingham, and died 'there.' Many circumstances combine to make the supposition almost inevitable. In **320** (**237**) a Petition is preserved, signed by ten citizens of Birmingham, praying for a licence for Samuel Fisher, to preach in the Town Hall, and also for his own house there. And in **320** (**112**) is a letter signed by a certain Charles Fisher, addressed to some influential but unnamed citizen of London, referring to a document, concerning Birmingham, which he had only just received from his father, but which he does not further describe save that in some way it involves several gentlemen who are 'some of the principal of the Townsmen'; which his father is anxious to 'have its effect as soone as may be,' so that it probably closely concerns him, as well as these influential townsmen of Birmingham. What so likely, then, as that Charles's father is Samuel Fisher, senior, that the influential citizen of London is Mr. Robert Blayney, the Clerk of the Haberdashers' Company, and that the document his father has sent him is the petition from Birmingham, in which some of the most important of its townsmen 'desire' licences for his father, his father's house, and for Birmingham Town Hall?

It is true that we should have expected the document, which is referred to as enclosed in **320** (**112**) to be placed immediately after it in Vol. **320**, and numbered as **320** (**112** A); and we cannot but regard it as an almost unique instance of a serious slip in the arrangement of the documents that the Editor should have placed it between two other documents, endorsed as received nine days later than Charles Fisher's letter—viz., on April 26, 1672—since in every respect it fits in with the implications involved in the phraseology which Charles Fisher employs. Both the sons know Mr. Blayney well, and esteem him highly; for both Charles and Samuel subscribe themselves in the same way, 'Your 'assured Friend,' and their estimate is evidently founded on what they know to be their father's feeling for him. It is obvious, too, that they frequently see one another; indeed, they may be living together; and there can scarcely be any question that the father's business to which Samuel here refers, is the Petition for his father's licences which Charles had sent on, when he wrote on April 17.

Here is the letter **320** (**191**). It is addressed:

'To M^r^ Robert Blany

'S^r^

'I am req^d^ to ꝑcure Lycense for
'M^r^ Ralph Ecclesole a non-conf^g^ minister & M^r^
'M^r^ William Turton alsoe to preach &c in the house of M^r^ William Keeling in Darleston in Staffordshire
'I pray when y^u^ goe up to Westm^r^ get this done for one or both of the ꝑsons above named I shall sattisfie for y^r^ charges
'Y^r^ assured Friend
'SA: FISHER.

'I pray remember my fathers business'

The previous letter was dated April 17; and as we find that the licences were not issued till the 1st of May, this reminder is shown to be by no means needless.

Robert Blayney attended to the request, 'in due course.' The memorandum he handed in is preserved in **320** (**193**):

'Ralph Ecclesole
'the house of W. Keely in Darleton (*i.q.* Darlaston) Stafford the house of John Hall in Bromingham. Warwick
'put in by M^r^ Blayney.'

The result was that the licences requested were granted in the middle of June (with the exception of that for John Hunt of Birmingham) [**E.** (**177**)]; though there is this possibility, that Robert Blayney, by an error, asked for John Hall, instead of John Hunt. Still the result was the same. No licence was issued for John Hunt either, though he was one of the signatories of the Petition.

Robert Blayney, too, went personally to Whitehall to get them: and the only other documents we have bearing his name are **320** (**301**) and **320** (**302**), which are Receipts, both dated 'May 3: 1672.'

The batch acknowledged in **320** (**301**), though there are 16 of them, does not include any of these for Warwick and Staffs. There are 10 for Notts, 2 for Derbyshire, 1 for Leicestershire, and 2 for Bucks; but none for Warwick or Staffs. Indeed, it would appear that he had to speak again and separately for his friend, Samuel Fisher; for the acknowledgment of the receipt of his two licences is on a separate slip:

320 (**302**)

'3 May 1672.

'Rec^{d} a License for M^{r} Samuel Fisher of the Presbiterian perswasion to teach in his owne house att Birmingham

'Ro: Blayney.'

He is able at last, however (seventeen days after receiving Charles Fisher's letter), to carry away in triumph licences for his friend and for his house, though not for Birmingham Town Hall.

This is the second refusal of a 'Public Place' he has had to experience, so scandalously contrary to the expressed design of the Declaration: his own Haberdashers' Hall for Dr. Jacomb, and the Town Hall, Birmingham, for Samuel Fisher.

Pepys, in his Diary, under date April 6, 1668, speaks of going 'with 'Alderman Backewell in his coach, with M^{r} Blany, my Lord's Secretary' to Whitehall, to 'draw up rough draught of an order for what order' he wants. The context seems to imply that 'my Lord' is Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury), who had been sworn Member of the Privy Council (The CABAL) the year before, and was one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. Was this 'Mr. Blany' our Robert Blayney, who was then (1668) Lord Ashley's Secretary, and in 1671 was Secretary to the Haberdashers' Company?

(*e*) EX-ARMY OFFICERS.

The disbanded officers of Oliver's armies were many of them active workers in the Puritan cause, and even after their disbanding were often given their old titles. Such I take to be John Cressett and William Kiffin.

1. JOHN CRESSETT.

This 'John Cressett' is called 'Capt^{n} Cresset' in **E.**

He figures solely as a recipient of licences—in no case as an applicant—three times in the memoranda, and three times in notes inserted at the end of entries in **E.**

(i.) In **320** (**174**) he received licences for Dr. Jacomb to preach at the Dowager Countess of Exeter's house, and for 'the Countesse of 'Exeiter her house to bee a place for to preach Inn' on Monday, 'this '22th day of Aprill 1672.'

Dr. Jacomb had lived in her mansion-house in Little Britain ever since 1662.

(ii.) Then two days later he takes away three licences for Thomas Cole as Congregational Teacher at two houses in Henley-upon-Thames. The entries for these licences are on **E.** (**43**). After each of those for the houses is the single word 'Cressett'; but after that for Mr. Cole, after the date of issue, Monday, April 22, 1672 (the same as that for the other two) is the note, 'delivered out to Capt. Cresset 24 Apr. (Wednesday).'

(iii.) The next [**321** (**13**)] is a Memorandum of Receipt (dated May 6, 1672, of ten licences: one for a house in Coggeshall, Essex; all the rest for Herts.

The acknowledgment is in the common formula:

'Recd the 6 May 1672 these Lycences by mee
Jno Cressett.'

But the curious note is appended, 'They will bee all left wth 'Doctor Owen.' Had some representative of the licensees arranged to call at Dr. Owen's for them?

(iv.) The same day he signed another Receipt [**321** (**229**)]. This memorandum has been displaced, for it is put in the midst of documents bearing date May 22. I presume it has come about from misreading the Latin form of the numeral 'vith' in place of the usual form '6th.'

It is for licences for Mr. Wilson of Chester 'att a place or places in 'ye Lycence mentioned,' and the date is quite unmistakable for the numeral indicating the day of the month is in Roman character.

'Received this vith day of May 1672,' signed 'witness my hand
Jno. Cressett.'

The further particulars he gives add details to our knowledge of Sir Joseph Williamson's staff. 'Of Hugh Reynolds by the hand of 'Mr. Dawson' he writes.

[Clearly then besides Mr. Francis Benson, his head clerk, there is this Hugh Reynolds, also 'responsible'; and Mr. Dawson—a subordinate or messenger.]

There is another memorandum [**320** (**248 I**)], apparently in John Cressett's hand, in which he pens a note for Doctor Owen. It runs thus:

'Doctr Owen Desires that if ye place for Mr. George Thorne of Weymouth & Milcombe Regis bee not yet expressed in ye License to be at ye house of William Gillett: It may be now mencͦoned to be at ye House Late Mr. John Arthur's now in the possession of James Bud, Grocer: or in some Roomes of that House. Because upon second thoughts they have thought fit not to have it at William Gillets.'

It seems that the applicant for the long list of licences (all Congregational, in Dorset, Essex, Herts, Cheshire, and Suffolk) in **320** (**248**) had appealed to D^r. Owen to use his influence to get them through, and that he commits the practical details to some one else.

From this appendix to it [**320** (**248 I**)]—which it will be observed was acted on by the officials at Whitehall, as the correction asked for is made over the first line in another hand—it would appear that he employed Captain Cressett; and this fact explains the foot-note to **321** (**13**), which bears his name.

2. WILLIAM KIFFIN.

This is Alderman Kiffin, whom the late Rev. W. H. Summers described as 'the celebrated merchant-pastor of Devonshire Square 'Baptist Church,' and whom the author of the Introduction to the 1878 reprint of 'List of London Merchants in 1677' (one of the two early pioneers of the 'London Directory') calls 'the Baptist Alderman whom 'James could neither affright nor seduce.'

He appears in that List of Merchants as:

> 'William Kiffin—little Moorfields.'

Little Moorfields was the street parallel to 'Finsbury,' which ran from Fore Street to Chiswell Street, which latter formed the Southern boundary of the Artillery Ground; and the Return of Conventicles in 1669 shows that Alderman Kiffin was living in the same house through these years of Persecution, and enables us to determine its site as occupying the mutual corner of Little Moorfields and Chiswell Street.

It is given last in the first and smaller list of 'Conventicles in and 'about London,' and is described as follows [**R. 219**]:

> 'In Finsbury Court over ag^t y^e Artillery ground in Morefeilds,'

the numbers frequenting it being '200,' and the 'Preacher or Teacher,' 'Capt. Kiffin.' It is fair to conclude, therefore, that Alderman Kiffin was Minister to a Baptist Church which met in his own Town House called 'Finsbury Court' at the northern end of Little Moorfields. He was 'Captain,' I suppose, of one of the London trained bands—or had he been Captain in Oliver's army ?*

It is this stalwart London Alderman, with irrepressible and unconquerable religious convictions, who puts in the applications for licences contained on **321** (**179**). But he does not apply for any licences for himself. Nor does he allow anyone else to do it for him. There is no trace of a licence for William Kiffin. Evidently he is one of that sturdy band who (as Mr. Summers puts it) 'would not ask leave of man 'to worship God.' Yet he is willing to go to Whitehall and make application for others who had not the same conscientious objection. He applies for eight: for four in Wantage, Berkshire, and four in London, in his own immediate neighbourhood.

In his application he does not indicate their 'Sect' or 'Denomina'tion,' and at Whitehall they seem to have been insufficiently informed, for six out of the eight are described as Presbyterian, all four in Wantage, and two of the London licences; but the other two for London are distinctly described as Baptist. There can be no doubt, however, that they were all Baptist, as Mr. W. H. Summers maintains in his review of the Berkshire licences.

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* Rev. Alex. Gordon informs me that in 1654 and 1659 Kiffin had been captain and lieut.-colonel in the City of London Militia.

The remarks of Rev. W. H. Summers, in a private communication, in which the Berkshire licences were all reviewed by him, are too racy to lose:

'But the next name we come upon' (at Wantage) 'is beyond all question that of the Baptist pastor of Wantage, who takes out his licence to preach the day after it had been granted to Comyn. Robert Keat is one of the best-known names in the early annals of the Berkshire Baptists, but in the licence his name is transformed into "Kent," and he is described as a Presbyterian. . . . This will also stamp the house of Aaron Jones as a Baptist meeting-place.

'Now we come to Bartholomew Tull. His name (well known and highly respected to this day as that of a leading Berkshire family) is a surname which occurs very prominently in the records of the Baptist Church at Wantage. Hence I conclude that Keat, Jones, and Tull were all wrongly described as Presbyterians. If you will look again at **321** (**179**) you will find that the applications for them were made by no less prominent a Baptist leader than Alderman Kiffin, the famous merchant-pastor of the Baptist Church in Devonshire Square. I suspect that the Whitehall officials were very much like a Cornish clergyman, whom a friend of mine heard in his sermon referring to the United Free Methodists of his parish as "these United Free Baptists, or whatever they call themselves."'

It is interesting to note that two of the meeting-houses—one in Wantage (where Robert Keat was the preacher), and one in Bishopsgate in London (where Daniel Birch was the preacher), were owned by two men bearing the same surname 'Joanes' (or 'Jones'), both with Christian names savouring strongly of those Puritan times, Aaron ('Aron'), in Wantage, and David, in Bishopsgate. Surely Aaron and David were brothers.

As to the other two desired in London, the '69 Return again brings the man and his meeting more vividly before us.

In the second London list (**R. 220***b*)—the sixth from the end—we have this: 'By B^{ps}gate Church—1; Preacher or Teacher "Mr. '"Harrison."'

Of Baptist preachers of the name of Harrison there were two: Edward, the father; and Thomas, the son. In the 1669 Returns, no doubt, the reference is to the father; but in 1672 Kiffen distinctly applies for licences for his son. Father and son, apparently, lived together. Possibly they jointly owned the same house: or the father might be the sole owner, the son lodging with him, or *vice versa*.

As I have said—in Kiffin's application—the description is no more definite than in the case of Daniel Birch's. It reads 'Mr. Thomas 'Harrison . . . a Roome in his possession in the Parish of St. Butald 'Bishopsgate.' St. Botolph's (for, of course, that is what is intended by 'St. Butald') was just outside the city wall, north of Bishop's Gate. In the Hearth Roll for 1668 (London $\frac{147}{617}$) two houses are credited to him: (1) the one in ‘Bpsgate Ward, St. Martins Outwich [the church ‘was at the mutual corner of Threadneedle Street and Bishopsgate] ‘Thos. Harrison—5H—15s.’ (only this is intercalated with the note ‘$\frac{12}{\text{mos.}}$ emty’; and (2) the other is ‘Bpsgate Ward, St. Buttolph’s W$^{\text{th}}$out ‘West Side. Thomas Harrison—5H—15s.’ The licence-entries fortunately enable us to fix the position even more definitely than the vivid phrase ‘By Bishopsgate Church.’ There are three of them; for curiously enough two personal licences were issued to Edward Harrison —one on July 25, and the other on September 5.

(i) The first is for his house [**E. (212)**]:

‘The howse of Edw. Harrison in Petty France, London, Bapt. 25 July’

(ii) The second and third are for his person:

E. (218) ‘Licence to Edw. Harrison to be a Anab. Teacher in his howse in Petty France, London 25 July.’
E. (239) ‘Licence to Edw: Harrison of Petty ffrance in London a Bap$^{\text{ts}}$ Teach$^{\text{r}}$ Sep. 5’

The position of the house is hereby pretty definitely located. There were two ‘Petty Frances,’ at least, in the Metropolitan area: though one of them—the piece of street between Tothill Street and St. James’s Street, Westminster—was not in London proper. The other, which is undoubtedly the site of the Harrisons’ house, was just north of the City Wall—running parallel with it (east and west) from Moorfields (just above the eastern end of Bethlehem Hospital) and Bishopsgate, skirting the southern limit of St. Botolph’s Churchyard.

This exactly tallies with the description of the second house in the above-quoted Hearth Roll. So that we shall not be far wrong if we picture Harrison’s house towards the Bishopsgate end of the street, either on the north or south side; and that within the last two or three years he had moved to it from the parish of ‘St. Martins Outwich,’ which adjoined that of St. Botolph’s.

It is curious that in Kiffin’s application the reference is only to the son; and that, in the licence-entries, it is the father alone who is recognized; but there is no doubt it is the father who is licensed as Anabaptist Pastor of a Conventicle in his own or his son’s house by Bishopsgate Street in Petty France.

(*f*) A QUARTETTE OF PRINTERS.

One interesting group is formed of four Printers: (1) Brabazon Aylmer; (2) Dorman Newman; (3) Nathaniel Ponder; (4) Thomas Cockerill.

1. Brabazon Aylmer.

From Foster's 'Al. Oxon.' we learn he was the son of Anthony Aylmer, and grandson of Samuel Aylmer of Akenham Hall (three and a half miles north of Ipswich), in Suffolk. The grandfather was high sheriff of Suffolk, and eldest son of John Aylmer, Bishop of London, 'who made the valuable politico-theological discovery that "God is 'English"' (A. G.). His father was educated at St. Alban Hall, Oxford; took chambers for life in the Middle Temple in 1627, and was called to the Bar (of the Utter Bar) in 1635. His uncle (Anthony's brother), John Aylmer, was admitted to the Middle Temple the same year that his father Anthony took chambers—viz., 1627. Eleven years later his uncle moved into his chambers—viz., 1638.

He was a publisher, whose shop, from 1672 to 1680, at least, was in Cornhill, at the sign of 'The Three Pigeons, over against The 'Royall Exchange.'

Amongst other works, in Michaelmas term, 1672, he published an anonymous shilling pamphlet, 'A Perswasive to Peace and Unity among 'Christians; notwithstanding their different apprehensions in lesser 'things'; and eight years later he published Dr. Isaac Barrow's work on 'The Pope's Supremacy,' very strongly Protestant, with a treatise on 'The Unity of the Church,' which is moderately Anglican. [Barrow's father (Thomas Barrow) was a staunch Royalist, having being linen-draper to Charles I., and attending Charles II. in his exile.] This book was published in 1680, three years after the author's death, and was dedicated by his father to Sir Heneage Finch.

Brabazon Aylmer seems to have been connected with Somerset. His name appears on one document only [**321** (**67**)], in which he applies for four licences for three places—all in Mid-Somerset:

(1) Stockland, near the mouth of the Parrett. Here it was for the house of a young Presbyterian, 'Robert Burnall.'

(2) Netherstowey, where licences are asked for a silenced Presbyterian, John Musgrave, and a house as meeting-place.

(3) Ashpriors, for John Galpin's house . . . his personal licence being already granted, the applicant alleges ('he hath for his person 'already'). He had been ejected from Ashpriors [Cal. III. 166] and apparently was still living there. His 'personal licence' had been issued, April 20, to preach in Lydeard St. Lawrence, quite near to and north of Ashpriors [**E.** (**37**) and **E.** (**36**)].

The licences Aylmer applies for were all granted May 9, 1672 [**E.** (**97**)], though, curiously enough, a second licence was issued for young Burnall in August (Aug. 10, 1672) [**E.** (**228**)].

His application takes the form of a letter addressed—not to Sir Joseph Williamson—but to Mr. Benson, Sir Joseph's chief clerk. It is endorsed by Benson, 'M^r^ Aylmers note. Somersett'; and is direct enough in form—'M^r^ Benson:

'I request you to procure a Licence for Mr. John Galpin (of the

Presbiterian perswasion) to preach in his dwelling house at Ashpriors in the County of Somersett: he hath, for his person already.

'Also a lycence for Mr. John Musgrove of the Presbiterian perswasion to preach at the House of Gregory Buller, now in the possession of Vallentine Browne in the parish of Netherstoway Somersetshire.

'As also for the House of Robert Burnall Junr in the parrish of Stocklands Somerset Shire.' And he signs it:

'Your servant &c:

'BRABAZON AYLMER.'

John Galpin had been ejected twice: in 1660 from Yarcomb in Devon, to give place to the sequestered minister Mr. Chase;* and in 1662, from Ashpriors, to which he had been appointed on his removal from Yarcomb,† and there, we learn from this document, he had continued to reside in Mr. Robert Sellerke's house after his ejectment. But it had been a very active retirement. He would not be silenced, though he was forbidden Ashpriors parish church.

In 1669 he was reported as preaching at Dunster (**R. 145***b*), Holford (**R. 146***b*), Bicknoller and Stogumber, northward (**R. 145***b*); at Brompton Ralph (**R. 145***b*), Wiveliscombe (**R. 146**), and Oake (**R. 143***b*), west of it; at Bridgwater, and North Petherton, east of it (**R. 146***b*); and at Taunton, West Munkton (**R. 143**), Stoke St. Mary **R.** (**144***b*) and Thurlbeare (**R. 142***b*), south of it. Nor had he forgotten his first love at Yarcomb, for he was preaching that year, too, at Winsham, not more than five or six miles east of it (**R. 144**).

This application, though undated, must have been subsequent to April 20, for the licence John Galpin had 'for his person already' had been secured by the joint services of Samuel Reynolds and Robert Wollcott on April 20, to preach in Lydeard St. Lawrence.

John Musgrove is described in **321** (**14**) as a Nonconformist, resident in Taunton St. James; and in it he seeks, by the agency of Thomas Stone, a licence as a general teacher. Here Brabazon Aylmer asks a licence for him to preach in Valentine Browne's house in Netherstowey, which is far to the north of his place of residence. Calamy (III. 226) recognizes him as ejected somewhere in Somerset, but he does not know where.

Robert Burnall's licence was for Stockland. All these licences were issued on May 9 and entered on **E** (**97**).

In the absence of any date to Aylmer's letter we cannot tell whether Benson's response was prompt or not.

2. DORMAN NEWMAN.

Dorman Newman was a London bookseller or publisher. Till Midsummer, 1670, his shop was at the 'Chirurgeons' Arms' in Little Britain; and from that date it was in the Poultry under the sign of the 'King's Armes,' 'the corner shop of Grocers' Alley.' In Easter term, 1672, he published 'A Plat for Mariners, or The Seaman's 'Preacher,' by John Ryther of Wapping; and in 1675-76 he published Thomas Brooks's 'Worde in Season.' (His publications, however, were not usually religious.) The probability, therefore, is that in 1672 (only three years before) both business and residence were here—in the heart of the City.

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* Gamaliel Chase, B.D.

† Yarcomb is on the south-east border of Devon, due west of Chard, and Ashpriors on the south-west border of Somerset, six miles from Taunton on the road to Dunster.

Three documents bear his name, but a fourth is apparently in his handwriting, and a fifth by internal evidence suggests that he had it in his care—if he did not draw it up.

1. Of those that bear his name the earliest is **321 (164)**. In form it is rather peculiar, for on two folds of the same paper he has written what is substantially the same attestation in different forms. The one—which I have printed second—is the looser and less distinct, though it bears the same names. It is dated 'May^{e} 15th 1672,' but is not signed. The first—which I imagine must have been written later—perhaps in Sir Joseph Williamson's office, because the other was not clear enough in form, is headed with the date 'May the 15th 72,' Both acknowledge the receipt of five licences; and the first is signed in most formal fashion: 'I say, by mee Received, DORMAN NEWMAN.' Of the five licences, three are 'generall'—'on for Noah Webb another 'for Samuell Wickham an other for Richard Buers all of Surry.'

The second had been ejected from Pirbright (Cal. III., 307), and was still living there. The first and third were living in Frimley—in that corner of Surrey where it met Berks and Hants. [Noah Webb had been ejected from Upton Gray, in Hants (Cal. II. 284), and Richard Buers from Stourmouth in Kent (Cal. II. 337, 338), though for a while he had retired to Guildford, migrating thence to Frimley.]

The other two licences are for a Mr. Stephen Webb, to preach in the house of a Mr. Bradshaw. But these are not for Surrey—as are the other three, though in the silence of Dorman Newman we might expect to find they were. They are for a place quite near to Frimley in the adjoining county of Hants, viz. Farnborough, the place of Richard Buer's (Bure's) residence and ministry.

2. The second document bearing his signature is **321 (284)**. This is an application for licences for four houses, three of them in Surrey and one in Berkshire, just on its border line, adjacent to Hampshire. The three Surrey houses are in Guildford, Godalming, and Cobham, and the Berkshire one is at Sandhurst, about equidistant from Frimley in Surrey and Farnborough in Hants.

This paper is undated, but it has this note at the foot:

'Dorman Newman is to call for it.'

3. The third paper bearing his name is **321 (326)**—again an application. This is for four licences in the City of York for Ralph Ward, an Independent minister, and three meeting-places in three different districts of the City: 'Outgate,' 'Saviourgate,' and 'Michaelgate.'

The licences Dorman Newman applied for in **321 (284)** were all for Presbyterians, and were granted on May 29 [**E. (143)**].

Those he applied for in **321** (**326**) were all for Congregationalists, and were all issued June 10 [**E.** (**149**)].

4. The fourth memorandum [**321** (**106**)], which I take it is in Dorman Newman's handwriting, though not bearing his signature, is earlier than the earliest of those that do, bearing date May 13, and is an application for eleven licences, the greater number for Warwickshire and Leicestershire, though two are for Middlesex and Berks. These licences were all granted nine days later (May 22) with the exception of (1) Christopher Fowler's as a general teacher, who yet, months after, secured a special licence to preach in his own house in Kennington; (2) John Jackson's house, which was not licensed till August; and (3) William Thompson's house in Coventry, which was never licensed at all.

There are two other memoranda which bear the name of Newman, but these are signed *John* Newman not Dorman.

The first is **321** (**316**), which acknowledges the receipt on June 1 of the same four licences which Dorman applied for on **321** (**284**), which had been made out and issued only two days before—viz., on May 29.

The second [**321** (**346**)] is an application for an Independent meeting-place at Boishall in Halsted, Essex, which was issued June 10 (though in the licence 'Boyshall' is assigned to Stafford), *vide* **E.** (**161**).

Now the close connection between **321** (**316**) and **321** (**284**) inevitably suggests a connection as close between the men who left the memoranda at Whitehall; so that I do not think we shall be hazarding much in assuming that Dorman and John were brothers, both resident in London.

Indeed, John Newman's house is assessed on two hearths for six shillings (showing a very modest establishment) in 1668, on the west side of St. Buttolph's Without [Lay Subs. London $\frac{147}{617}$]. As Dorman's business (and his residence probably as well) was in the Poultry, they were within easy reach of one another, if Dorman was not just now living with his brother, owing to the destruction of the Poultry in the Great Fire not two years before.

3. NATHANIEL PONDER.

Nathaniel Ponder was another good Puritan printer, or more strictly, publisher. In 1671 and as late as 1674, he was located in Chancery Lane; so that he was almost certainly living there in this year of the Indulgence. But he afterwards moved to the Poultry, and was carrying on his business there under the sign of the 'Peacock' near the Church, at the same time that Dorman Newman was carrying on a similar business under the sign of the 'King's Armes' in the same central City street.

He was publisher or bookseller to two of the most distinguished Nonconformists of this time: Dr. John Owen, the learned Congregational Divine, and John Bunyan, the Immortal Dreamer; as well as to Thomas Brooks and others.

In 1670 he was associated with John Hancock in the publication of Thomas Brooks's ‘London's Lamentations . . . a Serious Discourse ‘concerning that late fiery Dispensation that turned our (once renowned) ‘City into a ruinous Heap.’ On the title-page the author is described as ‘late Preacher of the Word at S. Margarets New-Fish-Street, where ‘that Fatal Fire first began.’ The book was to be sold ‘at the first shop ‘in Pope's-Head-Alley in Cornhill, at the Signe of the Three Bibles, or ‘at his shop in Bishopsgate-Street, and at the Sign of the Peacock in ‘Chancery-lane.’ The first two were John Hancock's shops. The Chancery Lane shop was Nathaniel Ponder's.

In 1671 he published Robert Perrot's ‘England Saved’[*]; and in 1674 he published Dr. Owen's great work on the Holy Spirit (*Πνευματολογια*). [At foot of the title-page is this: ‘LONDON, ‘Printed by *J. Darby*, for *Nathaniel Ponder*, at the Peacock in ‘*Chancery Lane*, near *Fleet Street*, MDCLXXIV.’] By 1678, when he published the first edition of Bunyan's ‘Pilgrim's Progress,’ he had moved to the Poultry, though he took the same sign with him, ‘The Signe of the Peacock’; and as late as 1684 he published Dr. Owen's ‘Treatise on Schisme.’

These last two works, it must be remembered, were published after the Indulgence had been withdrawn, and the Penal Statutes were revived, the ‘Five Mile Act’ and the ‘Second Conventicle Act’ being pressed with greater bitterness and fury than ever. So that he was a ‘stalwart’ as truly in the times of persecution as we shall see he was under the Indulgence.

Dr. Brown[†] says: ‘He was an agreeable man to have dealings ‘with,’ quoting forthwith the testimony of John Dunton: ‘He has ‘sweetness and enterprise in his air, which plead and anticipate in his ‘favour.’ Notwithstanding, in the year 1676, he was imprisoned in the Gate House, as we learn from the Minutes of the Privy Council: ‘1676. At the Court at Whitehall, May 10th (the King present), a ‘warrant was issued to commit Nathaniell Ponder to the Gatehouse, for ‘carrying to the Presse to be printed an unlicensed Pamphlet tending to ‘Sedition and Defamation of the Christian Religion.’ But Ponder's spirit was not resolute enough to endure these hardships long. ‘On the ‘26th of the same month, on the 10th of which he had been committed, ‘before the same council, Nathaniel Ponder, Stationer, was discharged, ‘upon his humble petition, setting forth his hearty sorrow for his offence, ‘and promising never to offend in like manner.’ He was ordered to pay due fees, and to enter into a bond of £500.[‡] The next year, largely through the intervention of Dr. John Owen, John Bunyan was liberated from Bedford Gaol, came up to London with the manuscript of his ‘Pilgrim's Progress,’ and, showing it to Dr. Owen, took it on to Nathaniel Ponder (doubtless with Dr. Owen's advice), and Ponder brought it out in 1678.[§]

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[*] This is the form in which Dr. Brown gives the title. Calamy gives it ‘The ‘sole and sovereign way of England's being blessed and saved.’

[†] ‘John Bunyan,’ p. 263.

[‡] Dr. Brown's ‘John Bunyan,’ pp. 263, 264.

[§] Hitherto Francis Smith, of the Elephant and Castle, Cornhill, had been his publisher.

The book had a phenomenal sale, and Nathaniel came to be known by the printing world as 'Bunyan' Ponder. In 1680 he published Bunyan's 'Life and Death of Mr. Badman.' Three years later, in 1683, a fictitious publication appeared from the Press of Jno. Malthus in the Poultry, called, 'The Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress.' But the genuine second part did not appear till 1684-85, when, to guard against these spurious productions, he printed this note on the reverse of the title :

'I appoint Mr *Nathaniel Ponder*, But no other, to Print this Book.
'JOHN BUNYAN.
'January 1st, 1684 [1685 N.S.].'

It was 'Bunyan Ponder'—or 'Owen Ponder,' if you will—who came forward so disinterestedly in 1672 to secure licences for his brother-Nonconformists. The first document bearing his name is **321 (57)**. It was an application for seventeen licences ; and concludes—'These all 'in Northamptonshire ffor NATHANIELL PONDER.'

Among these seventeen, licences were asked for 'Mr Thomas 'Browneing, in his Dwelling house, & at Mrs Susana ponders both in 'Rothwell.'

This undoubtedly suggests Nathaniel's connection with Northamptonshire, and that Mrs. Susanna Ponder was a relative by marriage. The suggestion is confirmed by Calamy's notice of one *Samuel* Ponder. In his list of those ejected from Cambridge University (I. 279), under Trinity College, he gives 'Mr Samuel Ponder, a Northamptonshire man'; and it is suggested that he might have been curate of Whaddon. Was this a brother of Nathaniel's? and Mrs. Susanna Ponder, Samuel Ponder's widow? or the mother of both Samuel and Nathaniel?

The next paper [**321 (86)**] is one acknowledging the receipt of eight of the seventeen for which he had previously applied—viz., for three teachers and their five meeting-houses—and is dated May 10, 1672, only two days after they had been issued.

321 (112) is an application for twelve more licences, every one for the same county, Northampton. Between the last line and last but one is this brusque request :

'Deliver them to me
'NATHANIEL PONDER.'

It is undated.

321 (138) follows suit with a more courteous request for eight licences more—still for Northamptonshire : 'Pray deliver these to Nath. Ponder.' These, though signed by him, are not in his handwriting.

The next undoubtedly is in his handwriting, viz., **321 (147)**, which is a receipt for eight of those he had applied for before, made out the same day—viz., May 14, 1672.

Hitherto, we see, he has been acting only for Northamptonshire. In the next, **321 (176)**, the rule is broken ; for, in addition to applications for nine more licences in Northamptonshire, he asks for two in Leicestershire, in West Langton ; and in **321 (177)** all six are for counties other than Northamptonshire—two for Wilts, two for Bedfordshire, and two for London. The last two pairs are of special interest. Dr. Brown, in that first reference to him from which I have already quoted, had said, alluding to the fact that he had published a book of Robert Perrott's, who had been ejected from Dean, in that county: 'Ponder was no stranger to the Nonconformists of Bedfordshire'; and goes on to say: 'In 1672 when a licence was granted to John Whitman, an elder of the Bedford Church to preach at George Cockayn's 'house at Cotten End, it was endorsed' (nay, the note was appended): 'Pray deliver this to Nathaniel Ponder.' * But Dr. Brown does not notice—had no reason to notice—that this application lights up the history of George Cockayne.

Calamy seems to know nothing of Cockayne's 'antecedents.' He notices him only as one of the most noted and influential of the men who were Nonconformists of London. He refers to him (I. 175) as ejected from the Church of St. Pancras, Soper Lane—quite in the heart of the City, near to Walbrook and to Cheapside; and he says of him: 'After his ejectment he was pastor of a congregational church in the 'city, and many eminent citizens adhered to him, among whom were 'Alderman *Titchbourn*, *Ireton*, *Wilson*, Sir *John Moor* &c.' The church was doubtless the one held in his own house in Redcross Street, and it was for licences for himself (George Cockayne) as teacher and for his house in Redcross Street that Nathaniel Ponder was making application in this same paper.

The interesting point is that he is applying at the same time for a house of his in Cotten End, Cardington, which suggests that Cockayne was a native of this place, that house being part of his patrimony.

The next, **321 (220)**, is a receipt made out May 21 for nine Northampton licences: as well as for the two Bedford, the two London, and the two Wiltshire licences he had just applied for not long before.

321 (266) is an undated application for four licences for Buckinghamshire.

321 (278) is a composite document—composite, I mean, in this sense: it is one inasmuch as it is a receipt for no less than nineteen licences, but it is composite inasmuch as only the first seven are licences he has applied for himself; the rest are received by him 'by the direc'tion of Mr Holcroft'—the remarkable 'chorepiscopos' of a wide circuit of Congregationalists in Cambridgeshire. The first seven include four for Northamptonshire and three for Bucks. The other twelve are for the County of Cambridge, four of them being in the Isle of Ely.

The last of these memoranda shows his unabated interest in Northampton. Of the nine licences he applies for in **321 (342)** eight are for Northamptonshire and the ninth is for the adjacent County of Rutland. The last words of it are: 'Pray Deliver these to NATH. 'PONDER.'

These memoranda, be it remembered, cover scarcely a month, but they show that in that short time he paid ten visits to Whitehall; that he applied for no less than sixty-seven licences ; and that of those sixty-seven no less than fifty-four were for Northamptonshire and nine for adjacent Midland counties. Two only were for London, and these were in the interests of a Midland man, George Cockayne ; and two were for Wilts. He carried away thirty-eight licences, twenty-nine of which were for Northamptonshire, five for the adjacent Midland counties of Bucks and Bedfordshire, the other four being for London and Wilts.

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* Dr. Brown's 'John Bunyan,' p. 263.

If printers well called him 'Bunyan' Ponder, the Nonconformists of 1672 might well have called him 'Northamptonshire' Ponder.

4. THOMAS COCKERILL.

Principal Alexander Gordon has kindly communicated the following :

'Thomas Cockerill, a member of Annesley's congregation, was a publisher, mainly of Puritan and anti-Papal divinity, also of educational works. He was one of the two publishers of the "Heads of Agreement," 1691, the other being John Dunton, at the "Black Raven" in the Poultry (north side). "Cockerill," says Dunton, "was always up to the ears among great persons and business . . . yet I will do my rival that justice to say he was a very religious charitable man." He first appears in June, 1672, as an agent for procuring some of the Indulgence licences of that year. In July, 1674, we find him sharing premises with Robert Morden, cartographer, at the Atlas in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange ; from February, 1678, till his death he occupies premises at the "Three Legs" in the Poultry (south side), over against the Stocks Market (now the Mansion House). Here, then, the Managers met"—*i.e.*, the Managers of the Common Fund, 1690 (Presbyterian and Congregational), who paid him £5 a year rent for their meeting-room, plus a fee of £2 a year to his servants. He was a Manager, and a correspondent for the counties of Berks, Derby, Northants, and Sussex. He continued as Manager and correspondent for the reconstituted fund, 1695 (now called Presbyterian), and was reported dead on January 25 1696-97.'

['The above, in quotes,' Mr. Gordon adds, 'is from my Introduction to the 1690 manuscript.']

Whatever his personal connections, we have seen that he was a publisher with very strong Puritan sympathies. We learn from these documents, too, he was an efficient licence agent in a very modest way.

He applied in **321** (**337**) for two licences, which he acknowledges to have received in **321** (**357**). **321** (**337**) runs as follows :

'Rob^{t} Alldred desires y^{e} House of Abraham Billny att faireffeild in Norfolke. Presbyter.

'THOMAS COCKERILL.'

In **321** (**357**) he acknowledges their receipt :

'Rec^d^ A Licence for Rob^t^ Aldred Teacher and one Licence for y^e^ house of Abraham Bilny, Both of Norfolke

'p me Thos Cokerill.'

Both licences had been made out June 10, 1672, as is evidenced by the entries on **E. (158)**:

'Licence to Rob. Aldred to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Abrahā Bilny in Fairesfield, Norfolk 10 June'

'The howse of Abrahā Bilny in Fairesfield, Norfolk for Pr. 10 June.'

The names of those for whom he acts are at least celebrated in English history. 'Aldred,' originally a monk of Worcester, afterwards Abbot of Tavistock, Bishop of Worcester (1046), and Archbishop of York in 1060, was in his last years (1060-1069) an intimate friend of King Edward the Confessor. Thomas Bilney, a native of Norfolk, educated at Cambridge, adopted the Reformed Doctrine, and was a zealous propagandist, so was convicted of heresy, and burnt at Norwich, August 19, 1531.

(*g*) THOSE INTERESTED IN INDIVIDUAL MINISTERS.

1. Philip and William Comber, and Christopher Snell and Stephen Martin.

These two, surely brothers, divide the honours between them in their exertions on behalf of two Sussex ministers, Christopher Snell (who had been ejected from East Grinstead), and Stephen Martin, both now resident in East Grinstead.

Philip Comber makes the application in **321 (133)**. The style of the handwriting, as well as the form of the application, alike show him to have been an original. Moreover, he must have used remarkably good ink, for after nearly two and a half centuries the writing is still jet-black. The letters are all separate; there is nothing 'cursive' in the writing. They are all small, cramped, and quite antique in form. And the expression is as unique as the handwriting.

'A licence for M^r^ Christopher Snell of East grinsteede to protect him in preaching the gosple in his owne dwelinge house, & in the house of Henery Falconer west hoardlie in the Countie of Susex

'as also a licence for M^r^ Steven Martin of the same Countie of Susex. to preach the gosple at the dweling house of John Elliott in Hartfielde in Susex

'To deliver thes to noe person but

Phillipp Comber.'

This very precise and peremptory note was promptly attended to. The licences were all made out on May 13, as you may see on :

E. (109) : 'Like to Stephen Martin of East Grinstead, Sussex 13 May'

E. (112) : 'Licence to Christopher Snell to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in the Parish of East Grinsted, Sussex 13 May'

'The howse of John Elliott in the Parish of Hartfield, Sussex. Pr. Meeting Place. 13 May.'

E. (113) : 'The howse of Henry Francknes in Hordlie, Sussex Pr. Meeting Place. 13 May'

'The howse of Christopher Snell in the Parish of East Grinsted, Sussex 13 May'

Only the names of the owner and place of the second house for Christopher Snell present a problem. My reading of them is as above : Quite clearly as to the householder's name 'Henery Falconer,' which the Whitehall clerk, 'Mr. Benson' really, has turned into 'Henry Francknes'; and more doubtfully the place name 'West-'hoardlie,' which he has mangled into 'Hordlie,' dropping the 'West' altogether, and making the second part of the word 'Hordlie.' Now Morden's map prints, south of East Grinstead, a place as 'Hoadly,' a little north of 'Arding Leigh,' just where in Cary's map (1816) we have Westhothly and Ardingley ; and Bartholomew's map of 1905 gives as West Hoathly. This must be the spot intended for Snell to preach in by Philip Comber.

Stephen Martin's licence is not made special to preach in John Elliott's house, but 'generall.'

Philip Comber never called for the licences. Did he sicken, or die ? They are left waiting for him for over three weeks. And then William Comber, not Philip, calls for them. He appears to have made good his authority to take them away. Yet he does not receive them till June 6, and Stephen Martin's, which is mentioned first, is distinctly described as a 'generall lycence' ; while John Elliott's is given anonymously simply as 'another Lycence'—witness the memorandum **321 (313)** :

'June ye 6th 72.

'Received then a generall Lycence for Mr. Stephen Martine and another Lycence.

'Mr. Christopher Snell to Teach

'in his owne house in Sussex

'Receid by mee

'p WILL: COMBER.'

2. THOMAS and MICHAEL DEWING, and THOMAS WORTS.

Another pair of brothers, Thomas and Michael Dewing, were specially interested in Tho. Worts. As these were both interested in the same small town of Cawston, in the north of Norfolk, between

Reepham and Aylsham, it is almost certain they were brothers, resident in London, in some way personally connected with Nonconformity in that place. Michael Dewing appears in the 1677 'List of Merchants' as of Princess Street.

Thomas puts in **321** (**365**), and Michael **321** (**367**). The intermediate, but unsigned, memorandum (**366**), pertains to the same place; indeed, a little more deliberately and formally repeats the application of **365**.

I can't help thinking that (**366**) was drawn up by Thomas Worts, the minister, himself; and was 'put in' by Thomas Dewing at the same time as he put in his own somewhat briefer signed application.

321 (**366**) reads:

> 'Thomas Worts prebyterian of Guestwicke in the County of Norfolke humbly requests His Majestyes Lycence to preach in the now dwelling house of Thomas Brady of Cawston in Norfolke'

This 'Thomas Worts,' Calamy notices in III. 2, where he tells us that he was ejected (in 1662) from the Vicarage of Barningham, which is some miles north or north-east of Cawston, the place for which he desires to be licensed, in accordance with this application on his behalf by Thomas Dewing.

Calamy also informs us that he was brother of Richard Worts, who was ejected from the Rectory of Foulsham and Guestwick (Cal. III., 314). But while Rector of the combined Parishes, Richard Worts was also minister of a 'gathered' Church at Guestwick, who chose him as their pastor, when in 1652 'they sat down in Gospel order.'

The same authority who states this, Mr. Harmer (Cal. III. 5), says that, after his ejection from the Rectory, he 'with fidelity and success 'laboured among them till his death.'

If Calamy's further statement (on p. 2) with reference to Thomas Worts is true, that after his ejectment he was pastor of a congregation at Guestwick in this county, he must have been co-pastor with his brother, which is not likely, as Mr. Harmer says nothing about it. But he seems to have gone to live with his brother at Guestwick, for in this application form [**321** (**366**)] he is described—or (as I have suggested) describes himself—as 'Presbyterian of Guestwicke in the county of 'Norfolk.'

Thomas Dewing's signed application in **321** (**365**) does not so describe him, and would almost leave us to infer that he was residing at Cawston, where he wishes to be licensed to preach in the house of Thomas Brady, for it reads:

> 'Thomas Woots presbiterian to preach in the house of Thomas Brady of Causton in the County of Norfolke.
>
> 'Tho: Dewing.'

The licences were made out early in the period during which so many are entered in **E.** without being dated (the six weeks between June 10 and July 22), on **E.** (**171**), and the entries read:

'Licence to Thomas Woots to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Thomas Brady in Cawston, Norfolk
'The howse of Thomas Brady of Cawston, Norfolk Pr. Meeting Place.'

There is an additional licence asked for a second house in Cawston, which is signed by Michael Dewing in memorandum **321** (**367**):

'A Roome or Roomes in the occupation of Thomas Stone of Causton in Norfolke to be lycenced for those of the presbiterian perswation
'to be delivered to
'Michaell Dewing.'

This would give two meeting-places in Cawston to be visited from Guestwick, by the brother of the pastor of the Congregational Church there. This is scarcely likely, however, as in a note on p. 301 of Browne's 'History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk,' there is a passing allusion to Thomas Worts, which makes the same implication which we have suggested, as contained in **321** (**365**)—viz., that he was living at Cawston. Mr. Browne is giving an account of Mr. Lougher of Alby and South Repps, and states in this footnote: 'Mr. Lougher published "A Discourse of the Preciousness of Faith "and of the Preciousness of Christ," also "Sermons on several "subjects"'; and he adds 'Another work entitled "Precious Promises," had a preface written by John Green of Tunstead, and an epistle to the reader, signed "T. W.," most likely Thomas Worts of Cawston.'

Both brothers suffered very severely from imprisonment in Norwich Castle (see Calamy III. 2, 3, 4). They seem to have been somewhat confused with each other. That, at least, is a very natural suggestion, not only from what we have seen already, but from a further fact brought out in **E.**

On **E.** (**165**) we have three dated entries of licences granted to him (and a fourth virtually for his benefit as well) in places much farther east than the three we have been considering—at least fifteen miles from the nearest of them; and these entries make him a resident at Witton, very near the sea coast, almost due east of North Walsham, though the licences give him authority to preach not at Witton, but in Ingham, some few miles south-east of North Walsham.

These were all actually issued on June 10, 1672:

'Like for the howse of Thomas Worts in Norfolk. 10 June

. . . . .

'The howse of Catherine Cubitt (Onbitt) in Inghã, Norfolk. Congr. 10 June
'Like for the house of Rob. Geel in Inghā, 10 June.
'Licence to Thomas Worts to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of Rob: Geel in Inghā. 10 June'

Now it is much more natural to suppose (1) that the faithful Richard would have licences for his work at Guestwick, as well as

Thomas, than that Thomas should alone be licensed ; and (2) that Richard and Thomas should each have their separate sphere of work ; Richard, inland, at Guestwick and Cawston ; and Thomas on the sea-board at Witton and Ingham, than that Thomas should have two homes, the one in Guestwick, whence he visited Cawston ; and the other in Witton, whence he worked Ingham.

Though, therefore, **321** (**365**), (**366**), and (**367**), all have 'Thomas Worts,' I venture to suggest that this may be a mistake, for 'Richard Worts,' which would give Richard Worts his natural sphere, as accepted and devoted pastor of Guestwick, leaving the other places on the Eastern sea-board for his brother Thomas, who had been ejected from Barningham.

3. EDWARD ECCLESTON, and JOHN SPILSBURY.

This is a 'London' gentleman who calls for and takes away licences for a Worcestershire friend, John Spilsbury of Bromsgrove.

Most probably, he was the 'Mr Eggleston' who figures in the 1677 'List of Merchants' as of 'Bankside.'

The memorandum he left at Whitehall is calendared **321** (**228**). It reads :

'May 22: 72

'Received then Mr Jo: Spilsbury of Bromsgrove in Worcestershire his licences for himselfe and his house

'I say recd by mee

'EDW: ECCLESTON.'

Mr. Spilsbury was neighbour then to Daniel Higgs on his retirement from his work in Gower. He had been Vicar of Bromsgrove, whence he withdrew at the Restoration, 1660.

His wife was a sister of Dr. Hall, the Bishop of Bristol, who every year spent some weeks with him, and made his only child his heir (who was afterwards minister of a congregation of Dissenters at Kidderminster). Richard Baxter gave him a very high character. In his 'Life and Times' (III. 92), he says of him : 'Born in Bewdley, a 'man accounted an Independent but of extraordinary worth, for modera-'tion, peaceableness, ability, and ministerial diligence, and an upright 'Life.'

These licences had been applied for on two memoranda, calendared **320** (**136**) and **320** (**137**) ; but neither of them either signed or dated. They had been ready nearly seven weeks, having been issued as early as April 19, 1672 [*vide* **E.** (**32**)] :

'Spilsbury Congr. Broomsgrove.	'Licence to John Spilsbury to be a Congreg. Teacher in his howse in Broomsgrove, Worcester. 19 Apr. 72'
'Broomsgrove Congr. Spilsbury's howse.	'The howse of John Spilsbury in Broomsgrove, licensed for a Congr. Meeting Place. 19. Apr. 72.'

4. NATH: ELDRED and JOHN LOMAX.

Nathan or Nathaniel Eldred calls at Whitehall on Saturday, May 25, to take away two licences for which John Lomax, the ejected minister of Wooler in Northumberland, had applied as early as May 3, by a letter to Sir Joseph Williamson; and which had been ready nearly a fortnight, as is shown by their entries on **E. (100)**, which are both dated May 13. They are for two houses in Shields, the one north and the other south of the Estuary of the Tyne.

Eldred's connection with Mr. Lomax, and with Tyneside, it would be interesting to ascertain. Was he any relative of John Eldred of Threadneedle Street, London?*

His acknowledgment of their receipt is characteristic enough to make us wish information were forthcoming:

321 (**260**):

'Rec^{d} this 25th of May 1672 two Lycences for two places to meet & assemble in for publique worship y^{e} one in y^{e} house of Isabell Greene of North Shields, the other in y^{e} house of Cuthbert Cotesworth in South Shields.

'I say rec^{d}
'p NATH: ELDRED.'

5. ROBERT LEVINZ AND 6. HUMPHREY LEVINZ.

These men have only their 'good offices' to speak for them. Each interested himself in one particular case; the former in Enfield, Middlesex; the latter in Ticknal, Derbyshire.

5. ROBERT LEVINZ.

Robert Levinz saw his case through. He put in two forms of application, the one practically the replica of the other. They are calendared **321** (**93**) and **321** (**94**). Both bear the same signature; but the handwritings of the two are unquestionably different. Both describe the minister applying in exactly the same terms: 'Haslefoot Bridges of 'Enfield in Middlesex Presbiterian pswation.' But there is a slight variation in the description of the 'place' he desires to preach in.

321 (**93**) gives 'Meeting house—to preach in'; but **321** (**94**) gives 'meeting place: In'—both memoranda resuming in almost the same terms—'his owne dwelling house or any Licensed place' (**94** omitting the word 'dwelling').

321 (**93**) is undated; **321** (**94**) bears the date, '11th May 1672.'

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* There is a John Eldred noticed in Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses,' the third son of Peter Eldred, of St. Christopher's parish, London, grocer. St. Christopher's le Stock was at the west end of Threadneedle Street, and was taken down to provide a site for the western extension of the Bank of England in the eighteenth century.

Now, as the licences were issued the 8th of May, it is evident that the first undated application must have been presented some time before the 8th, and that Robert Levinz must have gone on the 11th with a second dated application, which, after it was handed in, proved to be quite unnecessary, as the licences are given out to him, and he writes a receipt for them there and then.

321 (95):

'Rec^{d} 11th May, 1672, at Whitehall a Licence from his Majesty for Haslefoot Bridges of y^{e} Presbiterian ꝑswation to preach in his own house in Middlesex or any other Licenced place

'I say rec^{d} ꝑ me
'ROBERT LEVINZ.'*

The minister for whom these licences were secured was one of the Ejected. Indeed, he happens to be the *very first* of whom, according to Palmer's arrangement, Calamy gives account (Cal. I. 75), because he was ejected in London, and the name of the church comes alphabetically first of all the churches named in London.

Calamy says of him: 'He was a gentleman and a scholar; much admired, though of a reserved disposition.' He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; and was appointed Rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street, in the City of London. So that as a City minister he was nearest neighbour to Calamy's grandfather, Dr. Edmund Calamy, senior.

Their churches were only a short distance from each other. Both were in Love Lane; Haslefoot Bridges', St. Alban's, being at its junction with Wood Street, and Dr. Calamy's, St. Mary's, at its junction with Aldermanbury. Haslefoot Bridges' was the church from which Dr. William Watts, one of Charles I.'s chaplains, was sequestered; but he succeeded not Dr. Watts, but 'a person of the name of Glendon,' who had been 'intruded' into Dr. Watts's post.† The only other fact Calamy had learned about him is that 'about the year 1680, he lived at 'Enfield, in Middlesex; but whether he preached there or not doth not 'appear.' This licence-literature supplies in part the gap in the account, and resolves Calamy's doubt. At least, as early as 1672, he was living at Enfield, and Robert Levinz we see secures him licences to preach in his own house in Enfield, which were both dated May 8, 1672. [The personal licence is entered on **E. (81)**, the licence for his house on **E. (82)**.] He seems to have spent the rest of his days there. 'He was possessed of 'an estate, and was disposed to do good with it.' His only daughter being unhappily married, he gave the whole of it (on condition of her dying childless, as she did in 1695) to charitable uses: principally to the college where he was educated (St. John's College, Cambridge), and to the parish (St. Alban's, Wood Street) of which he had been minister.

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* The curious thing is that the signature is in the handwriting of **321 (94)**, not of what seems the original holograph, **321 (93)**.

† So Walker, 'Sufferings,' part II., 72, margin: 'In 1642, and one *Glendon* put in his Place.'

6. HUMPHREY LEVINZ.

Humphrey Levinz, like Robert, put in two applications. They were not duplicates, and neither is dated. They are for Timothy Fox of Ticknall in Derbyshire (south of Derby and very near the border of Leicestershire).

The first is **321 (267)**: and is endorsed: 'Derby.'

> 'M^r Timothy Fox of Ticknall in Com: Darby. Presbiterian perswasion.
>
> 'A meeting place in his owne house or in any other licensed place
>
> 'HUM: LEVINZ.'

The second is **321 (268)**. At the back is written: 'A Generall 'lycence for Tymothy Fox of The Presbiterian Perswasion.'

> 'Timothy Fox of Ticknall in the County of Darby Presbiterian perswasion.
>
> 'A Generall lycence for to preach
>
> 'HUM: LEVINZ.'

The licences were issued May 25, 1672, as we may see in **E. (137)**. Whether Humphrey Levinz fetched them away or not, we have no documentary evidence.

This Timothy Fox was a native of Warwickshire, being born at Birmingham, was educated there and at Christ College, Cambridge, and appointed to the Rectory of Drayton, a small village north of Penkridge in Staffs, whence he was ejected in 1662. He remained in the neighbourhood after his ejectment, until he was driven from the county by the Oxford Act in 1665, when he fled east into Derbyshire, settling on a small estate in Ticknall, and it was there he was licensed through the efforts of Humphrey Levinz.

What the connection was between Robert and Haslefoot Bridges and Wood Street, on the one hand, or between Humphrey and Timothy Fox, and Drayton, Staffs, or Ticknall, Derbyshire, or Birmingham, Warwickshire, we do not know.

Were Robert and Humphrey Levinz brothers? In Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses' the name Robert Levinz occurs as of Botley, Berks (1618-1650), who was educated at Oxford (Lincoln College), was created D.C.L. in 1642, became captain of the King's garrison at Oxford, and in 1650 was arrested in London and executed in Cornhill. Were Robert and Humphrey his sons?

Further, the name William Levinz occurs several times in the S. P. Dom. Car. II. as a Spy or Agent of the Government, who claims to be on the track of Colonel Blood.

(1) There is a note, dated December, 1666 (S. P. Dom. Car. II. **181**, 136), from William Levinz to Lord Arlington, reporting his visit to Ireland, where, though he failed to take Blood, he came across many of his acquaintances, and got valuable information.

(2) On July 25, 1667 (S. P. Dom. Car. II. **210**, 151), he sends a report to Lord Arlington of Blood's forcible rescue of Captain Mason as he was being taken to York.

(3) Seven months later, February 28, 1667-68, in a note to Joseph Williamson, he asks for a warrant to apprehend Majors Blood and Lee, etc.; and (4) On March 2, 1667-78, warrants are issued to him, for that purpose.

The interesting and significant thing is that he is shown to have an *alias*—viz., 'Leonard Williams.' Indeed, they are issued to 'Leonard 'Williams,' *alias* William Levinz.

Had this man any connection with the above Robert and Humphrey? Probably he had. And what more likely than that all three were brothers who took the Parliamentary side when their father declared so boldly for the King? So that, originally connected with the Puritan party, William apostatized and turned informer for lucre's sake, or perhaps for his own personal safety.

7. WILLIAM LOVEDAŸ and WILLIAM SMALLWOOD.

All that appears of William Loveday in these licence-documents is that he presented Application-memorandum **321** (**224**), which has written on the fold of the paper the reverse way:

> 'William Smallwood of the Prisbyteryan perswatyon.'

It reads:

> 'William Smallwood Deseyres a Licence to teach in his owne house Beinge a pristbeyteryane in his Judgment and Lives at Maple Durham in the Countey of Oxfordsh^r^.
>
> 'WILL^M^ LOVEDAŸ.
>
> 'May 22^th^ 1672.'

His connection with Oxford makes it probable that he was some relative of Matthew Loveday, who was born at Oxford 1643, matriculated at Oriel College, March 8, 1661-62, graduated B.A. 1665, and was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple 1673 [or had he some connection with 'Thomas Loveday of London City, gent,' whose son and namesake was born 1697 and matriculated at Baliol 1713?].

This William Smallwood was probably the son of a William Smallwood who had been minister at Bucklebury early in the seventeenth century; and had resigned the living at an advanced age some years before the Act of Uniformity. If so, the son probably succeeded him, and was ejected in 1662. Calamy gives us a 'M^r^ Smallwood' as ejected from 'Buckleburry,' so that it might well be this 'William.' [Palmer gives no further light upon the man, and with perversity of error changes Calamy's Buckleburry, which is right, to Bucklesbury which is wrong.] On ejectment he seems to have retired to Mapledurham.

The licences were not granted till nearly three weeks after the application—viz., June 10, 1672, as we see in **E. (149)**.

'Like for W^m^ Smalwood in his howse in Maple Durrhã Oxoñ. 10 June.
'The howse of W^m^ Smalwood in Maple Durrhã Oxon Pr. Meeting Place. 10 June'

The only suggestion which presents itself from these is what we might gather from the application—viz., the William Loveday had some connection with the Presbyterians of Oxfordshire.

Was William Loveday any relative of Samuel Loveday, who joined a certain Randal Roper in applying for licences for East Smithfield **321 (31)**?

> 'Samuel Loveday & Randal Roper Ministers
> 'The meeting place wholy employed for that use scituate in East Smithfield in the County of Midd. belonging to M^r^ Edw: Whiston'

On **321 (32)** his application is repeated, but he has dropped his association with Randal Roper; and on **321 (34)** we have his separate application in which he avows himself a Baptist:

> 'Samuel Loveday minister of a Congregation of Baptists Meeting at a Common meeting place in East Smithfield in the County of Middlex belonging unto Edward Whiston.'*

None of the applications are dated, but both licences are granted—were issued May 8, 1672, and entered on **E. (88)**.

8. RICHARD MARSHALL, and MATTHIAS ALFLATT.

Was he the 'Richard Marshall' of the 'Alumni Oxonienses,' born 1627, who matriculated from Pembroke College February 28, 1643-44?

He seems, in this 'licence' matter, to have been a man of one idea—of a single personal interest. But this one interest he carried through, viz. that of Matthias Alflatt, who, as Calamy tells us (III. 184), was ejected from the Rectory of Clutton, a village a few miles south of Pensford, in the north-east of Somerset; and after his ejectment 'preached at Bath,' where he 'died.' From the licences Richard Marshall procured for him—we see that he not only preached at Bath, but that he resided there in Cheape Street—as the licences 'desired,' issued and acknowledged, were for 'his own house,' as well as for liberty to preach.

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* This Edward Whiston was the uncle of William Whiston, the mathematician and translator of Josephus. He had been ejected from Little Laver, in Essex (Cal. II. 205). William's father was Joseph Whiston, another ejected minister, who had held the living at Maidstone, and retired to Lewes (Cal. II. 331, 332).

We have Richard Marshall's application in **321 (129)**; for though it is not signed it is clearly the same handwriting as **321 (168)**, which is signed 'RIC: MARSHALL.' It is undated, but reads:

> 'Mr MATTHEW ALFLATT of the Perswation comonly called Pres-'biterian humbly prays his Maties most Gratious Lycence to preach in 'his owne dwelling house scituate in Cheape Street in the Citie of Bath.'

The licenses were issued May 13, 1872, as we see by the entries in **E. (101)**:

> 'The howse of Matthew Alflatt in Bath, Somersett Pr. Meeting Place 13 May
> 'Licence to Matthew Alflatt to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Bath. 13 May.'

And three days later Richard Marshall fetches them from Whitehall, though by a singular slip he writes the Christian name as 'Edward' instead of 'Matthew.' His memorandum is calendared **321 (168)**, and reads:

> 'I doe hereby acknowledge to have received the 16th of May 1672 two Lycences graunted by His Matie to Mr Edward Alflat preacher for his person and house.
>
> 'Witness my hand
> 'RIC: MARSHALL.'

Was Richard Marshall any relative of Christopher Marshall of Yorkshire (Topcliffe Hall); Walter Marshall, of Hampshire, or Dr. William Marshall, who was ejected from Lancaster and settled afterwards in London?

9. WILLIAM MASCALL, and THOMAS GILSON.

William Mascall was a surgeon of Romford.

That he was of Romford is plain from the licence-entry which records the licence granted May 2 for his house: 'The howse of 'William Maskall in Rumford in Essex' [**E. (73)**]. That he was a surgeon we learn from the address of a letter written to him by the 'notorious' Captain, or 'Colonel' Blood. The letter is preserved in two forms: the original (holograph) **321 (144)**, and Mr. Francis Benson's official copy **321 (143)**. The address runs:

> 'For Mr William Maskall Chirurgion at his howse Romford—these.'

There is only one memorandum that bears his name — viz., **321 (27)**—and in that he appears as the personal friend of Thomas Gilson, M.A., whom he describes as 'Prebyter & formerly Rector of 'Little Baddew in Essex.' Calamy's account of Gilson (II. 186) is very meagre. 'He was born at *Sudbury*,' he tells us, and was trained up in the 'free-school at *Dedham*,' completing his education at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. 'He removed from Cambridge to Oxford, where he became 'Fellow of *Corpus Christi Coll.*' He settled at Little Baddow, whence he was ejected in 1662. 'After being silenced at Baddow,' Calamy continues, 'he went to London, and was chosen pastor of a Dissenting 'congregation in *Radcliffe* where he died, much lamented, about '50 years of age, in 1680.'

These 'Original Records,' however, show us that for several years he was living—with Mr. Willis, who had been ejected from Ingatestone—at Brentwood [on the Great London Road from Chelmsford (and Little Baddow)]. In 1669 they are both reported in the Bishop of London's Returns as holding a Conventicle at Brentwood (**R. 222**); and in this year of Indulgence they both take out licences to preach in their own houses [**E.** (**72**) (**73**)]. For ten years, at least, it is likely therefore that Thomas Gilson lived in Brentwood before retiring finally to London.

It was during this residence in Brentwood that William Maskall formed a friendship for Thomas Gilson, which takes practical form, this year of the Indulgence, by his going in person to Whitehall to secure licences for his friend. This he did on May 8, as is shown in the memorandum of application he left behind him [**321** (**27**)].

Endorsed, 'Essex,' it reads :

'Thomas Gilson, M.A: & Prebyter & formerly Rector of Little Baddew in Essex.

'Desires a Licence to preach in his owne house att Brentwood, in Mr Reeves house at Childerditch, in Mr Harris his house att Stenvills in Margarett Inn parish and in Mr Harroodes in Little Baddew

'ffor those of the Presbyteriall pswasion;

'May 8: 1672.

'To be called ffor by William Mascall of Romford:'

But why should he have to do this ? The Entry Book **E.** shows that Thomas Gilson's licences (for both his person and his house) had been made out six days before—on May 2. **E.** (**72**) enters the licence for his house, and **E.** (**73**) the licence for himself.

If the licences were still in Sir Joseph's office, waiting for someone to come and take them away, the Whitehall officials would surely have handed them over to Mascall.

It is true that in this application he asks also for licences for three other houses for Thomas Gilson to preach in, besides Gilson's own residence at Brentwood. But that most assuredly should not have prevented Sir Joseph or Benson from giving Mascall the two licences which were ready—if he still had them by him. To say nothing about the licences to Mascall when they had been in the office ready for several days, bespeaks one of two things : Either (1) the grossest carelessness ; or (2) a criminal 'arrangement' made by the agent who applied for them, not to give them out until he himself applied for them.

This agent was no less notorious a person than Thomas Blood.

He had left two memoranda at Whitehall applying for a large group of Essex licences. In **320** (**268**) (a paper which is signed by him 'THO: BLOOD') he had asked for eight Essex licences with several others in other counties.

These eight included the two for Thomas Gilson at Brentwood ('Burntwood' he calls it), and one for William Mascall at Romford [as well as one other at Burntwood and a second for Romford]; and in **320** (**269**) the whole of the licences asked for were for this one county, being three for Romford (one of them for William Mascall's house), and four for Brentwood ('Burntwood' as he consistently calls it); the two for Thomas Gilson being added at the back of the paper.

From Blood's letter to William Mascall (already referred to [**321** (**144**)]) we know that it was at William Mascall's request that Blood had applied for them. The first sentence in that letter is: 'I have sent 'you here inclosed those licences you gave me a note for.' Evidently William Mascall as early as the latter end of April had undertaken to secure licences for the Nonconformist brethren in the neighbourhood of Romford; and, from what he had heard about Thomas Blood, had judged that none would do it better than one who was just now so high in favour with the Duke of Buckingham and the King. He had given him a note for nine or ten licences, and Blood had put in his application for them.

Neither **320** (**268**) nor **320** (**269**) are dated; but probably they were 'put in' on separate days, or at any rate, at different parts of the same day: as the former includes applications for four other counties besides Essex (viz., Northumberland, Lancashire, Middlesex, and Kent); and the latter is exclusively for Essex. It looks, therefore, as though Blood's first application might have been made on the 29th or 30th of April, or even earlier; and the second (for the Essex licences alone) on the 1st of May. He fetches away the house-licences some two or three days after, but he leaves no memorandum of their receipt at Whitehall. Apparently, however, it must have been before the 8th of May (or William Mascall would have secured them when he called); and a week or so later, he sends these house-licences on to William Mascall—viz., Thomas Gilson's and Mr. Willis's in Burntwood; Mr. Erly's of Koyles; Mr. Kightly's in Abary Hatch; and George Locksmith's and William Mascall's in Romford, accompanying them with a note to say that he would send licences for as many more convenient 'places' as he (William Mascall) cared to ask for, without charge; but adding that for personal licences there was a fee of 5s. apiece, and fees for the Whitehall officials. This is clear from his letter to William Mascall **321** (**144**).

Most probably William Mascall personally distributed these licences as soon as he received them, which would be on May 15, the 'morrow' of Blood's note to him, and of his journey; and specially of his visit to his friend and neighbour at Burntwood. We are made almost eye-witnesses, through the lively words of the letter Thomas Gilson sends after him the very next day, May 16. [The letter is preserved in the Record Office—like Blood's—in duplicate; in **321** (**170**), the original, and **321** (**171**), the official copy in Benson's hand.]

It is addressed:

'For M^r^ Mascall att y^e^ 3 conyes in Romford.'*

It reads thus:

'Mr Mascall,

'Since yo^r^ departure I have had a conceit that blood (*sic*) hath detayned the personall Licences in his handes for me & M^r^ Kiteley till you send him up word of the money which he mentions. & therefore If you write to him write smartly that we cannot take it kindly to be so disingenuously dealt with as if he would stop our personall Licences though he knows us both, & only send downe Licences for o^r^ houses which signifie nothing without a person; and we should have taken it better if he had sent downe the personall Licences and Left it to o^r^ Courtesy in what we would gratifie the Clerkes and Door Keep with rather then to have a sum̃ imposed upon us, Contrary to y^e^ Kinges Express Com̃and that nothinge should be required; & therefore advise him to send downe presently the personall Licences For Thomas Gilson &— Kiteley lest they make their address some other way. For they are disturbed with the delay

'These Frõ
'Yo^r^ Lovinge & thankfull Frende
'May 16: 1672' 'Tho: Gilson

Probably Mascall had taken Blood's letter with the licences which he personally distributed. Starting from Romford, we can picture him driving first to Abary Hatch three miles west along the great London road, to Chadwell, and then north-west through Little Heath; and Mr. Keightly would no doubt grumble over his partial success.

Then he would drive eleven miles in the other direction along the great high road through Romford and Ingatestone—scarcely five miles short of Chelmsford—to leave Mr. Reeve's licence at Margaretting; reserving his visit to Mr. Gilson till the last, dropping in to have a good talk with his friend at Brentwood.

Evidently they were both troubled and distressed by Blood's conduct in the matter; though it would appear that in their mutual conference—with Blood's letter open before them—they had tried to put the best construction on it and on his conduct which they could bear; and they had finally agreed that William Mascall should write to Blood for the missing personal licences.

William Mascall had not gone long, however, before Gilson had settled down into an ugly conclusion which he had scarcely liked to suggest in their talk. The longer he broods over it, too, the clearer does that conclusion become. He cannot keep it to himself. He takes pen in hand, and writes this letter to his friend.

The preservation of this letter, too (and indeed that which he had received from Blood), gives a further vivid touch to the whole incident. These letters to William Mascall would not now be in the Record Office, had not William Mascall himself taken them to Whitehall.

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* Would this inn be used as a 'poste restante,' where residents called to see if there were any letters for them?

Gilson's letter, then, quite altered William Mascall's plans. He decided that he would not—or not only—write to Blood for the missing licences, but go up to London and show the Whitehall officials how scurvily Blood had treated him and his friends. This he evidently did, and laid the whole case before Sir Joseph Williamson.

The 'State Papers' and Sir Joseph's own diary make it plain that Blood was no favourite of Sir Joseph's, and that for some time Sir Joseph had been inclined to distrust him. Moreover, it seems almost certain that Sir Joseph quite concurred with William Mascall and Thomas Gilson in their view of Thomas Blood's part of the affair; as he must have asked Mascall to leave both letters (Blood's and Gilson's) with him to show them to his chief, Lord Arlington, and, it may be, to the King himself. And further shewing his sense of the seriousness of the whole affair, he instructs Benson to make copies of both, that he may keep them among the State Papers, even if he has to part with the originals by returning them to William Mascall.

This would probably be on the 17th or 18th of May.

Meantime Blood had gone to Whitehall and taken away the licences Gilson and Keightly had so much desired, and were so vexed to have withheld. This is proved by **321** (**136**), which is a memorandum of receipt of four licences, signed 'taken out by me Tho: Blood,' the first two lines of which are:

> 'Mr Kitlye in Essex presbiterian his licence
> 'Mr Gilson presbiterian techer'

The memorandum is not dated. But it is certain he could not have gone for the licences before the 14th, or at earliest the 13th of May. For this simple reason: the last two lines acknowledge the receipt of two licences for houses in Kent, which were both issued on that date. [They are Mr. Turke's house in Goudhurst, entered on **E.** (**110**); and Mr Tufton's in Wittersham, entered on **E.** (**111**).]

Between Blood's call at Whitehall, on the last days of April or the 1st day of May, when he applied (as William Mascall's agent) for all these Essex licences, and this call on the 14th, there is no evidence of his being in Sir Joseph's office except on the occasion when he left an application for the two licences in Kent amongst many others [**321** (**55**)].

Now one of these—viz., that for George Larcombe of Bridekirke—was issued May 8, the very day that William Mascall called for licences for his friend Thomas Gilson. So that Blood's intermediate visit to Sir Joseph's office may have been on that very day or the day before (May 7). [Was it his practice to look in on this licence-business once a week?] If it was on the 7th, it might well be that when he called for Gilson's and Kitley's personal licences on the 14th, the office people told him of Gilson's call the week before. If so, it would appear that he did deliberately what Gilson afterwards so shrewdly suspected him of doing—kept those personal licences to make something out of them, and sent off the house-licences that very day, which he may have got a week before (and which even then had been ready five or six days), or which he may have received at the same time as the personal licences (we cannot tell, as no memorandum of receipt for them has been preserved).

How the strange episode terminated we have no documents to inform us; but we may safely conclude that Sir Joseph Williamson communicated with Blood and gave him very sharp instructions to send the personal licences on to William Mascall: so that Gilson and Kitley would receive them by May 18 or 19.

With regard to the licences for which William Mascall made application [**321** (**27**)] on May 8, it seems that, with the exception of Thomas Gilson's house at Brentwood (which had been already issued six days before; on May 2 [**E.** (**72**)]), they were dealt with separately, and, in the excitement of this episode, very shamefully neglected. A separate licence was made out for Mr. Gilson, but not for him as resident in Brentwood. It is a general licence for 'Thomas Gilson of 'Weald,' which is a couple of miles from Brentwood. This, and the licence for Mr. Reeve's house in Childerditch, are not issued till July 16 (more than two months after Mascall applied for it) [**E.** (**196**)]. The licence for Mr. Harris's house in Margaretting was issued the day after Gilson's application, May 9 [**E.** (**94**)]; but it was evidently not in response to Mascall's application, as it is evidently not for Mr. Gilson to preach in, but for Elias Pledger; and was thus promptly granted on the intervention of Dr. Nicholas Butler [**321** (**65**)].

The third house for which Mascall sought a licence on behalf of his friend Gilson—Mr. Harroode's at Little Baddow; the place from which Gilson had been ejected—was apparently never granted or issued at all.

Frank Bates, in his 'Declaration of Indulgence, 1672,' is singularly unhappy in his references to the three persons most intimately concerned in this affair—viz., Colonel Blood, Thomas Gilson, and William Mascall (pp. 95-96).

He is referring to the question whether fees were asked for the licences, and says: 'Henceforth, Nonconformists did not escape pay'ments. Blood, for example, writes to inform a certain Wm. Mascall . . . 'that 5d. a piece for the personall licences should be gotten.' He does not seem to know who William Mascall is, although the address on Blood's letter to him would have revealed the interesting fact that he was a surgeon at Romford. He makes a curious blunder in the suggested fee. It is five shillings, not five pence. (The old form of the 's' was 8 or 8.)

When he refers, too, on the following page (p. 96) to Thomas Gilson of Weald, he quotes the case as quite disconnected from that of William Mascall, whereas he was the warm friend of Thomas Gilson who had gone up to Town to see the matter righted.

10. MR. RICHARDS, and THOMAS BAKEWELL.

321 (80) which Benson annotates (in the margin) as 'Given in by 'M^r Richards, 10 May,' is an application for licences for a 'Minister 'Presbyterian,' and 'y^e house of Richard Browne, Yeoman,' 'in the 'Towne Longdon in y^e County of Stafford.' The minister (Presbyterian) is Thomas Bakewell, who, Calamy tells us (III. 230, 231), had been ejected from a Lectureship in Burton-upon-Trent; but who, spite fines and imprisonment under the Penal Statutes, had preached as often as he could in a house he rented there, save for some time the Oxford Act compelled him to leave the neighbourhood altogether.

It was by special invitation of the people at Longdon that he went to preach to them in this year of the Indulgence (1672); and to make this possible the licence was applied for by Mr. Richards.

The host, 'Richard Browne,' was 'a yeoman in y^e Towne.' Evidently, the application was promptly attended to, for both licences are entered on **E. (111)**, as issued May 13, only three days after the application was 'Given in.' On the withdrawal of the 'Indulgence,' however, in February, 1673, the authorities resumed their old persecuting tactics, in application of the second Conventicle Act, and minister and people had to meet in secret in the woods or fields, on one occasion, their persecutors setting their dogs upon them (Cal. III. 230, 231).

Is this 'Mr. Richards' the same as the 'John Richards' who acts as intermediary for Sir John Banks?

There are four John Richards noted in Foster's 'Al. Oxon.'

(1) Native of the Isle of Wight, being born in the Rectory of Yaverland, 1612; educated at New College, Oxford; matriculating March 23, 1631-32; graduating B.A. April 11, 1635; and proceeding M.A., January 16, 1638-39; succeeded his father as Rector of Yaverland, 1638; was incorporated at Cambridge, 1640; became Rector of Weeke (or Wyke) in Dorset.

(2) Son of John Richards, Knight, of Yaverland; born 1617; matriculated Magdalen Hall, May 8, 1635; student at Middle Temple, 1636.

(3) Born 1643; son of Rev. John Richards of Winchester; matriculated New College, September 11, 1661; graduated B.A., 1665; Rector of Ashe, Hants, 1666.

(4) Son of (2), born at Yaverland, 1656; matriculated Trinity College, Oxford, May 5, 1673; student of Middle Temple, 1676.

The John Richards, who acts as intermediary for Sir John Banks, would surely be (2), the solicitor of the Middle Temple.

MISCELLANEOUS.

About the remaining forty, I have been able to discover so little, that my notices of them are necessarily bare and brief; and in the absence of any intelligent principle of classification I have fallen back upon the Alphabetical. They are the following:

1. Samuel Balding
2. Samuel Botley
3. Henry Bradley
4. John Burgis
5. Thomas Crundall
6. Isaac Davies
7. Owen Davies
8. Richard Davis
9. Thomas Foley
10. Henry Gearing
11. John Gould
12. Barnaby Hallett
13. Matthew Heppard
14. Edward Hobson
15. — Hockley
16. William Jones
17. John Juxon
18. Thomas Kett
19. John Leigh
20. Nehemiah Lyde
21. Peter Markes
22. Cuthbert Mauns
23. John Moxham
24. Richard Nesbit
25. John Newman
26. Thomas Parkhurst
27. Samuel Pirie
28. John Procter
29. Richard Prowse
30. Mr. Radcliffe
31. Edward Seaman
32. John Seller
33. James Sharpe
34. Matthew Sheppard
35. Edward Smith
36. Edward Swift
37. Mr. Vernon
38. William Webb
39. Anthony Withers
40. Timothy Wood

1. Samuel Balding.

This name appears on a single memorandum—viz., **320** (**286**). It shows that Balding's interest, direct or indirect, was mainly with the County of Suffolk. For he calls at Whitehall to take away eight licences, six of which were for Bury St. Edmunds. The other two were for Ovington, in Essex, just the south side of the border-river, the Stour.

The whole of these licences had been made out only the day before Samuel Balding called—viz., on May Day, 1672 (*vide* **E.** (**52**) and **E.** (**53**); except those for Robert Asty which were made out the very day he called, May 2 [**E.** (**67**)]).

For four out of the six Bury licences, and for both of those in Ovington, John Hickes had put in an application [**320** (**250**)], supplementing and enforcing previous applications, the personnel of which we cannot trace; and as it seems that it is John Hickes who brought the officials to the point of issuing the licences, it is also probable that Samuel Balding was known to John Hickes, and had been asked by him to call at Whitehall for them.

That Samuel Balding was a citizen of substance in London appears very clearly from the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1665-66 for London, $\frac{147}{627}$, which takes the form of a Hearth Roll, or Chimney Tax Roll.

In the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, Samuel Balding's house is assessed for thirteen hearths, so that his contribution amounts to £1 19s.; and the assessment shows that the house was a large one in that part of extra-mural London between the Fleet River and Temple Bar.

2. Samuel Botley.

Only once does this name occur—viz., on **320** (**299**)—where Botley acknowledges the receipt of 'a Lycence for Thomas Goldham to preach 'in his owne house at Bourwash in Sus̆ex,' the place whence Goldham had been ejected. It is dated May 3, 1672, and heads a list of three, the other two being receipts acknowledged by Jonathan Tuckney, of Hackney.

This Thomas Goldham is well spoken of by Calamy (III. 315), as a man of culture and ready wit. He had been ejected from the living of Burwash, where (this document shows) he continued to reside after his ejectment. We have no memorandum preserved of his application, but the licences (for his person and his house) were not issued on the same day—a fact which suggests that some mistake was made at Whitehall about his case.

The first licence was issued April 30, not seven weeks after the publication of the Indulgence. It is entered on the first line of **E.** (**56**):

'Gooldham Pr. Burwash.	'Licence to Thomas Gooldham to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse at Burwash Sussex. 30. Apr. 7̄2.'

Samuel Botley calls for the licences on May 2, two days after it had been made out. But on asking for them, he finds that only one was ready, the licence for his person. Being not a general licence, it needed to be supplemented by a second licence for his house, or the first licence would be useless. So Botley had to wait while this second licence was made out. This having been done, and entered as issued on that date on **E.** (**72**), Botley receives them both, and signs the form of receipt which appears to have been made out for him by the officials of Whitehall, carrying them off to despatch, or take them to his friend in Sussex.

The memorandum sheet later receives two other forms of acknowledgment: one for Josiah Rock, for Bole, in the County of Nottingham; and a second for Jonathan Tuckney, for Hackney, in Middlesex; and both of these are signed by Jonathan Tuckney himself, who, of course, takes them both away.

Burwash is in the easternmost section of Sussex, and not far from the Kent border, behind the hilly ridge which runs north-west and south-east to Old Hastings, between Brightling and Etchingham.

3. HENRY BRADLEY.

From the endorsements of the paper he puts in [**321** (**269**)] we learn Henry Bradley's address; but whether he was a permanent resident there, or only a lodger, while up in Town, looking after the licences for which he applies, does not appear.

It is not in a very aristocratic neighbourhood, but east of the Tower, on the approach to Ratcliffe Highway. The endorsement is really the address of the paper:

> 'These for Mr. Henry Bradly at the signe of y^{e} Tobacco role & suger lofe in east Smithfeld over against Ship brew house gate'

and at foot the words are added:

> 'HENRY BRADLEY will call for them.'

He applies for six licences for three places in Hampshire: Romsey on the south-west of the county, north-west of Southampton; and the other two, Havant and Hayling Island, in the south-east corner, in pairs, one for the preacher and one for his meeting-place. In the memorandum there are distinct traces of *legal* training in the phrases 'in Com̃': & 'in Com̃ p^{r}d̄.' There is also this peculiarity in the form of his application: he describes each of the ministers as 'clerke,' just as though they were still clergy of the Church of England, though of course all three were ejected Nonconformists. Thomas Warren had been ejected from Houghton, Hants, (Cal. II., 278-280), and was now at Romsey in the same County; John Harrison from Wortligtonn, or Warblington, close to Havant (Cal. II., 287), and was now living in Havant; and John Ridge from Exton (Cal. II., 265), on the River Aire (two miles from West Meon), and was now residing at Hayling Island. Bradley adds, 'all of the Presbiterian Judgm^{t}.'

The licences he applies for are all granted on the 29th of June [**E.** (**190**)], with one curious exception—viz., that for Thomas Warren. The house which is desired as his meeting-place—viz., Thomas Burbanck's in Romsey, is licensed June 29 [**E.** (**190**)]; but Warren's licence is not issued till July 25, a month later [**E.** (**213**)]; and then it is granted for him to preach at Clement Warren's house; and the houses of two other Warrens are licensed in Romsey the same day—viz., Clement Warren's and John Warren's—and a third house is licensed for John Warren in Bredland [? is it, *i.e.*, Broadlands, one mile south of Romsey]. It is odd that all the places named in the licence entries on **E.** (**213**)—as well as a second licence for Thomas Burbanks' house in Romsey, Hants, entered on **E.** (**214**)—are assigned to Wilts, instead of Hants.

4. JOHN BURGIS.

Only one memorandum bears this signature—viz., **320** (**244**). In it John Burgis acknowledges the receipt, on May Day, 1672, of a licence, or licences, for a minister in Essex.

His name is John Reeve, who should scarcely be reckoned among the Two Thousand, though Calamy has the name (John Reeve, M.A.) in his Nonconformists' Memorial (II. 217) under 'Springfield,' in Essex.

He was not ejected thence for Nonconformity in 1662, but because the sequestered minister whom he had replaced was still living at the Restoration. The minister whom he replaced in Springfield, Essex, Richard Freeman, also had the living of St. James's Garlick, Hithe, in London, ('Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy,' II. 170); from both of which he was sequestered by the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 'till cause be shown to the contrary.' 'But,' says Walker, 'he survived the usurpation, and was Restored to the *Rectory of Sprinfield*, at 'which time, one *Reve*, who had been in Possession of it, was forced to 'give it up to him.'

Walker, therefore, bears out the statement of Calamy, that he was ejected from Springfield at the Restoration. Though ejected from the living, John Reeve evidently continued to live in Springfield (which is a little north of Chelmsford). These 'Original Records' give twofold proof of this fact. In 1669, the Bishop of London reporting (**R. 222**) 'Conventicles in Essex,' gives 'Mr. Reeve' as 'Preacher or Teacher' to one 'At Springfeild'; and in 1672 he secures licences, dated April 30, '72, to preach at his own house in Springfield [**E. (45)**], as well as eight days later to preach in the neighbouring town of Chelmsford [**E. (94)**].

The licences for Chelmsford were obtained on the application of Dr. Nicholas Butler [**321 (65)**], the very day he applied for them, May 9. [The house in Chelmsford which was licensed for John Reeve's meeting-place was 'know by the signe of y^e^ King's head.' Was this meeting-place the courtyard of one of the old-fashioned country Inns? or was it in a shop with this sign belonging to John Reeve?] Those for Springfield, which show so clearly he was still living in the parish, from the Rectory of which he had been ejected twelve years before, had been issued on the last day of April [**E. (45)**], and had been applied for in a memorandum still preserved as **320 (215)**.

It is neither dated nor signed, and may have been put in either by John Burgis or by John Reeve himself. It reads: 'John Reeve a 'master of artes desires a Lycence to preach in his owne house at 'Springfield in Essex, who is of the presbyterian perswation.' John Burgis calls at Whitehall to take away the licences the day after they were issued. As two were issued—one for his person and one for his house—the probability is that he took both away; but the form of the receipt is so strange that from it alone we should imagine that he had taken out only one. These are its terms:

'the first of May 72
Received then out of my L^{d} Arlingtons Office a Lycence to
preach in Springfeild in Essex in the house of John Reeves
'I say by mee Received
'JOHN BURGIS.'

Its form might almost dispose us to think that John Burgis was himself a minister, who had gone in person to Whitehall to receive a licence to preach in John Reeve's house in Springfield.

We know, however, that John Burgis was not a minister, and that John Reeve was. Was he the John Burgis noted by Foster in his 'Alumni Oxonienses' as (1) born in Guildford, Surrey, 1618; and (2) matriculated from Balliol College, Oxford, in 1634? He would in that case be but fifty-two when he did this act of kindness for John Reeve.

Calamy's brief account of John Reeve has a very tragic end. 'He 'died pastor of a congregation in London, in which he succeeded 'Mr. *Thomas Brooks* in 1680.* He was imprisoned in *Newgate* and 'probably died there.'

5. THOMAS CRUNDALL.

The only way Thomas Crundall appears in this Indulgence literature is by presenting an application for two licences in Cripplegate, which are also asked for in stately legal form by Robert Mascall.

Crundall's application is on **321** (**259**), and is curiously slovenly in form and defective in detail, as compared with Mascall's.

Crundall's reads as follows:

> 'A Lycence is intreated for Mr. John Cruck of the Congregationall way, to teach in White's Alley in Little = Morefeilds in ye parrish of Cripplegate London
>
> 'And a Licence alsoe for the place
>
> 'THO: CRUNDALL'

The name 'Cruck' it would be difficult to identify, and the house in White's Alley is not described.

Mascall's application, however—which is inserted in **321** just before it, as **231** (**258**)—makes all clear. Mr John Cruck' is Crundall's disguise for 'John Crouch Mr of Arts,' who must be Calamy's 'Mr 'John Crouch of Lewes' (III. 337), Sussex; and 'the place'—for John Crouch 'to teach in,' 'in White's Alley'—is 'the meeting House 'in White's Ally, belonging to Mrs Holmes widow in Little More 'Fields, Criplegate London.'

Calamy can tell us little about John Crouch: simply that he was 'Of *Oxf.* university,' that 'He never was pastor to any congre'gation, but sometimes preached occasionally in the country, and 'sometimes resided in London.' But the 'Original Records' have much to say about him. In 1669 Seth Ward, the Bishop of Sarum, reports him (**R. 245**) as one of six Teachers of a Conventicle of about two hundred held 'at the house of Anth. Cooke and elsewhere' in the parish of St. Edmunds in Sarum City, and (**R. 243***b*) as one of three Teachers of a smaller Conventicle, of '30 or 40 at most' in three several houses in Allington and Newton Tony—all three places in the south-eastern corner of Wilts.

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* He appears to have preached his predecessor's funeral sermon. It was published in 1680; and on the title-page he is described as 'John Reeve M.A. and 'Preacher of the Gospel.' He had previously published a sermon on 'The Prayers 'of the Church Triumphant for the Church Militant.'

Three years later his activities are to be found much further eastward. We find him securing licences to preach in the town of his birth and in London. For Lewes he secures the services of Stephen Ford (then residing in Southwark), who, on May 7, in a note addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson (?) as 'Deare ffreind,' applies for a licence for him to preach at the back house of a Mr. Fissenden of Lewes' [**321** (**19**)]. The licences asked for him are the first of a list of five, and read as follows:

'Lewes

'The back house of Mr Tho: Fissenden the person Mr John Crouch the younger of Lewes, Congregationall Sussex'

The application is promptly attended to, for the licences are made out on the 9th of May and entered on **E.** (**95**).

'Licence to John Crouch to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of Thomas Fissenden, in Lewes Sussex. 9 May

'The howse of Thomas Fissenden junior in Lewes Sussex Congr. Meeting Place. 9 May'

There is a strange change in the attachment of the 'junior' or 'the 'younger' in the licence-entry as compared with the application.

If the 'application' gives the truth, we have this added touch in the story of John Crouch: that he was probably living still with his father in the home of his youth. The licences are actually taken away from Whitehall by Mr. Newton, the aged minister of Lewes, who went up to London to look after the licences long expected of himself and his friends. A pleasant picture—the venerable minister of St. Ann's, Lewes, who had probably been the pastor of both young Crouch and his father, bringing a Royal licence from Whitehall and delivering it to him in person—the aged minister a Presbyterian—to young John Crouch, a Congregationalist. The receipt is dated May 14 [**321** (**146**)], and John Crouch would get his licence by the 15th or 16th.

Even this is not all. We find him ten days later applying for licences to preach in London. He seeks licence to exercise his ministry in that parish of Cripplegate, where so many Congregationalists had settled and had meeting-houses: George Cockain, in Redcross Street; Nathaniel Partridge in Old Street; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, William Beale, the veteran Philip Nye, with his assistant, John Loder, and Stephen Coven, in the still sparsely inhabited district west of Moorfields.

It is in connection with these London licences that Thomas Crundall comes before us. As we have seen Robert Mascall put in a list [**321** (**258**)], which is 'Given In May 25th,' including two licences for Canterbury (in which he is specially interested); licences for George Cockain ('Cockin,' Mascall calls him) and Nathaniel Partridge; and those sought for John Crouch. And he gives us a clear description of John Crouch's 'Meeting-house' which Thomas Crundall does not. Cockain and Partridge are residents, but young Crouch is a stranger.

While they therefore ask licences for their own houses, John Crouch asks 'licence for The Meeting House in Whites Alley belonging 'to Mrs. Holmes widow.' The 'Editor' of Vol. **321** evidently thinks that Crundall put in his application the very day on which Robert Mascall put in his, as the memorandum that follows Crundall's [**321** (**260**)] also bears the same date. Seeing, however, that there is an interval of more than a fortnight before the licences are actually issued, there probably was an interval between Robert Mascall's application and Crundall's.

Both licences are entered **E.** (**164**):

'The howse of Widow Holmes in little Morefields Cripplegate, London for Congr. 10 June

'Licence to John Crouch to be a Cong. Teacher in Widow Holmes howse in little Morefields, Cripplegate. 10 June.'

[It must, however, be added that all the other licences applied for by Robert Mascall on May 25 were also similarly neglected. They are all entered as issued June 10, on the same page of the Entry Book [**E.** (**164**)].]

The house in which John Crouch is thus licensed to preach, and its hospitable owner, are both worthy of special note.

'The house in little Morefields'—more fully described by Robert Mascall as 'The Meeting House in White's Ally'—I cannot doubt was part of the house which Dr. Owen occupied for several years (or adjoined it). From **320** (**97**) we learn that in this year of Indulgence (1672) he was living in Charterhouse Yard; but from 1663-64 to 1669 (at least) we have evidence that he had been living in White's Alley. In Williamson's (so-called) 'Spy Book,' which belongs to the earlier date, we have this entry: 'D^r^ Owen (Pastor) dwells in y^e^ Fields on y^e^ 'left hand neer Moregate where y^e^ Quarters hang & meets often w^th^ 'Goodwine.' That description of the position of Dr. Owen's house exactly fits 'White's Alley,' a turning out of Little Moorfields; and there in 1669 the Bishop of London reports him holding a Conventicle. 'White's Alley in Morefields' is the Bishop's description of it. Robert Mascall's application, however, adds this further information about it—viz., that it belonged to Widow Holmes. We thus learn that for all these years (from 1663 to 1669 or later) Mrs. Holmes had provided 'house and home' for Dr. Owen as well as for Dr. Thomas Goodwin (the two great friends and learned champions of Congregationalism). The Spy Book is most explicit about Dr. Goodwin. In the Informer's account of 'Mrs. HOMES,' we read:

'M^rs^ Homes now or lately paid & discharged y^e^ Rent for y^e^ house 'w^ch^ Thomas Goodwin lives in, att Bone Hill beyond y^e^ Artillery 'Ground near Cherry Tree Ally'; and here in Mascall's application we have information as explicit about the house where Dr. Owen had lived in White's Alley.

Widow Holmes, then, assuredly deserves a high place in the grateful memory of all Nonconformists. We may take the Informer's scurrility as her highest meed of praise. 'M^rs^ Homes att y^e^ red Lyon a Grocers

'Shop in St Laurence Lane. is a great Patronesse of ye worst of People 'now in London. . . . She has a great Estate & spends it among those 'yt lie in waite to disturbe ye Peace of ye Kingdome. She is a 'frequent visitor of ye Prisons, & encourages & confirmes those that are 'in greatest opposicon to ye Government. Her cheife Servt is called 'Browne who 'tis thought was one of ye Rump Parliamt. Her Cash 'Keeper confessed in six months after her Husband died she gave away '800*l.*—tis no wonder, for she gaines wth her money severall from 'ye Church dayly, & under prtence of Charity corrupts many & wanting 'people.' From all this Calamy's statement about John Crouch receives ample confirmation: that 'he sometimes preached in the Country' (*i.e.*, in his Sussex home in Sussex), and 'sometimes resided in London,' where he gained licences to preach in the *quondam* home of Dr. Owen—the Meeting House in White's Alley.

Of Thomas Crundall I have [as yet (1914)] gained no information.

6. ISAAC DAVIS.

Only one memorandum bears that name—viz., **321** (**291**), and that is a receipt for four licences for Witham in Essex.

It is undated; but must have been handed in either on May 29—the date on which [as we see from **E.** (**142**) and **E.** (**145**)] all four licences were issued—or a few days later.

They had been applied for together, but when we know not, as the application-memorandum is undated—more tantalizing, too, it is unsigned—so that it does not appear whether the application was made by Isaac Davies or by someone else. It is on **321** (**289**), endorsed by Benson, 'Wittham,' and reads:

> 'George Lisle of Wittham in Essex a presbyterian for his owne house;
> 'Edmund Taylor; presbyterian; his owne House.
> 'In Wittham also:'

The licence-receipt, signed by Isaac Davis, is on **321** (**291**), and reads:

> 'Recd a Licence for George Lisle a Teacher and his house in Essex for Edmond Taylor and his house att Wittham in Essex
> 'ISAA: DAVIS'

George Lisle, we learn from Calamy (II. 213), was ejected from Rivenhall, which lies north-north-east of Witham, between it and Kelvedon. The only other fact that he mentions shows Lisle's steadfastness—viz., that he was imprisoned at Colchester for his Nonconformity. The Episcopal Returns of 1669 mention him. On **R. 222**, the Bishop of London reports as among the 'Conventicles in 'Essex,' a Conventicle At Witham,' of which the teacher is 'Mr Litle' (a clerical error for 'Lisle'), with this distinctive note appended, 'N.Conform.' showing that, as one of the ejected, he had been specially under the eye of the Bishop.

There is a singular fact connected with him revealed by these licence-memoranda. It is that in **321** (**319**) we have a completely filled-up licence made out for him ('George Lisle'), duly signed by the King at the top and by Lord Arlington at foot—yet undated—which never left Lord Arlington's Office, and is thus still preserved at the Record Office. The odd thing is that it is made out for him to preach, not in his own house, but at 'a Roome or Roomes in the house of Elizabeth Trew att 'Witham in y^e^ County of Essex.'

The licences asked for in **321** (**289**) were duly granted May 29, 1672 [**E.** (**142**)], and taken away by Isaac Davis. But we have no memorandum of request for a licence for Elizabeth Trew's house. Yet from **E.** (**155**) we learn that a licence was granted for her house on June 10. Was it, then, that when application was made for Elizabeth Trew's house the clerks at Whitehall had, in error, linked with it George Lisle's name, and thus made out a second licence for which he had no need, seeing that every licence for a particular place was available also for any other allowed place; so that his licence to preach in his own house was 'good' for Mrs. Trew's as soon as that was licensed? If it were so, that would account for the licence [**321** (**319**)] never being handed out, and never dated. (See further in Chapter VII.)

The second preacher, 'Edmund Taylor,' is likewise noticed by Calamy (II. 229), but among those who are said to have been ejected 'in this county' (Essex); but the places are uncertain.

Calamy's information is only fragmentary. He tells us that 'he 'preached in several places. He was imprisoned in Tilbury Fort, in 'the Duke of Monmouth's time, and died at Witham.' 'The Duke 'of Monmouth's time' (*i.e.*, his rebellion) was not till 1685; and he is here licensed both for his person and his house in 1672, so that he must have lived in Witham for a considerable time before he died there.

With regard to 'Isaac Davies' we are left, at present, to conjecture. Calamy gives us a 'Mr. Davis' as ejected from Gestingthorpe, which is in the same part of the county as Witham, though much farther north and very near the Suffolk border. If Calamy is right in supposing that he is the 'Robert' Davy, A.M., of Newcomb's Repertorium, the Christian name shows that he could not be the signatory of **321** (**291**).

7. OWEN DAVIES.

Of Owen Davies I was till quite recently unable to gather nothing but what can be extracted from these licence-memoranda.

There are fourteen of them—six in **320** and eight in **321**—distributed as follows:

320: (**85**), (**134**), (**135**), (**138**), (**175**), and (**176**).
321: (**82**), (**216**), (**238**), (**273**), (**296**), (**306**), (**307**), and (**358**);

showing that he must have paid at least a dozen visits to Whitehall—**306** and **307** bearing the same date. Eight of the memoranda are wholly applications, five are solely receipts, and one contains one fresh application appended to five receipts. The applications are for eighty-two licences; the receipts for fifty-two. The first application was for two licences for Wales (Swansea); but, in the rest, eight are for London, forty-nine are for Gloucester, fifteen for Notts, six are for Oxford, and four for Hereford. So that while the first application would suggest —as does his name—that he was a Welshman, the subsequent ones would suggest connection with the South Midlands, Hereford, Gloucester, and Oxford—especially with Gloucester—for which fifty licences out of the eighty (roughly speaking) were desired; while the block for Notts hints at special relation with that county.

More evidently and certainly he was a Congregationalist by sympathy and conviction, for while he secures two Baptist licences (for Oxford) and one or two Presbyterian, all the rest are for Congregationalists.

A detailed examination of these memoranda and comparison with the licence-entries yield some interesting facts.

(1) The first application, **320 (85)**, is for Wales, as seems appropriate for an agent with a name so palpably Welsh. But it is the only paper of the whole fourteen which contains an egregious blunder—Swansea (spelt 'Swansey') is assigned to 'pembrockshyere.'

In view of the care with which others are drawn up, is it a not unlikely supposition that this paper was written by someone else, though presented by him? This paper must have been put in before April 17, as the licence was granted on that day.

(2) The next two, **320 (134)** and **320 (135)**, are for London—Broad Street and London Bridge. These are undated, too, like **320 (85)**, but they must have been 'put in' before April 19, for it is on that date the London Bridge licences are issued [**E. (32)**]; and he called to take them away three days later, as we see from **320 (175)**, his signed receipt bearing date April 22.

The 'Broad Street' application for 'The Glass House' is refused. It was the large hall of what had been Verselyn's Venetian Glass Works; but, recently purchased by the 'Pinners' Company,' was also known as the Pinners' Hall.

(3) Next to London he applies in the interests of some Oxford Baptists on **320 (138)**, which was probably left the same day as **320 (135)**, as the licences are issued on April 19; and he acknowledges the receipt of them on April 22—on the same memorandum [**320 (175)**].

(4) At the foot of **320 (175)** is another application for London [in the same Broad Street district which is mentioned in **320 (134)** and **320 (135)**—*i.e.*, in Winchester Street] which is repeated in **320 (176)** on April 22, and which is granted nine days later—on May Day.

(5) There is now apparently a pause in Owen Davies' activity. It is not till May 10 that he goes again to Whitehall. But on that day he leaves a long list of fifteen applications for Nottinghamshire [**321 (82)**]. Seven of these are issued within a week (May 16) [**E. (116)**], and an eighth a day later—viz., May 17. These are: three for the Town of Nottingham, two each for Ashfield and Flintham, and one for Skegby. For these he calls at Whitehall three days later, receives them, and

leaves behind him a receipt [**321** (**216**)], dated May 20. The other seven he apparently neglects. They are not issued till the middle of June, and no memoranda are preserved to say who called for them or on what date.

(6) And now opens his great task for the Congregationalists of Gloucestershire. In **321** (**238**) he applies for twenty-nine licences—all for Gloucester places, and all for Congregationalists. As the earliest date on which any of these 'desired' licences are issued is May 22, it is extremely probable that when he took away the eight licences for Notts—viz., on May 20—he left this application for twenty-nine licences for Gloucester. This important memorandum he signs rather cryptically 'ꝑ D.' The handwriting is clearly that of Owen Davies.

(7) He calls again within the week, and, strangely enough, his next visit to Whitehall is on a *Sunday*—May 26 [**321** (**273**)], when he leaves applications for four more licences for Gloucester, and six for Herefordshire (still all Congregational). This paper he signs in full :

'All Congregationall way
'OWEN DAVIES.'

(8) But the licences asked for nearly a week before are not ready. Nor are they ready when he calls again on Friday, May 31, although that day he takes away nine licences he had not applied for, acknowledging their receipt on **321** (**296**)—one for Lincolnshire, four for Notts, three for Berkshire (Baptist), and two for London. This memorandum he subscribes in the same fashion :

'Congregationall way
'OWEN DAVIES.'

He doubtless remonstrates with the officials for their long delay, and arranges to call the very next day—Saturday, June 1.

(9) That day he is able to take away with him eight of the Gloucestershire licences which he had applied for on May 20, the one licence he had asked for Hereford, two others for Gloucester, which he had asked for on the previous day, as well as two other Gloucestershire licences which had been applied for by someone else, and had been made out and waiting to be taken away for nearly a month—viz., May 9, 1672. All these he acknowledges to have received on the two papers **321** (**306**) and **321** (**307**), which are both dated June 1, 1672.

(10) For another ten days he is inactive in this agency-business. And then, on June 12, he calls to take away twenty-five licences : see his list on **321** (**358**). They include twelve of the original batch of Gloucester licences which he had applied for on May 20 ; four Gloucester licences he had applied for on Sunday, May 26 ; one Gloucester licence which had been applied for by someone else, and had been waiting at Whitehall ever since May 16, and another Gloucester licence which had been made out only two days before (June 10) [as the twelve mentioned first above had been], with two for Berkshire (New Windsor)

and a single licence for Yorkshire (Leeds), which had all been applied for by others, and made out with these others on June 10.

This grand harvest closes his work as a licence-agent, as far as these licence-documents enable us to trace it. As beyond this date (the middle of June) none of these precious memoranda have been preserved, we cannot tell whether Owen Davies continued this beneficent activity as long as the Indulgence lasted, or dropped it, now that his work for Gloucestershire was fairly complete.

It is a splendid piece of work he was able to accomplish, comparable with that of Thomas Taylor and Richard Steele, though of course lagging far behind that of James Innes, junior, and that of John Hickes.

Who he was, where resident, and what his social position and normal occupation, it would be interesting to know. All that I can suggest, and that very tentatively, is that he was the Owen Davies noted by Foster in his 'Alumni Oxonienses': 'the son of David 'Morgans, who was born at Llaneldemolen, Carnarvon, in 1620, who 'matriculated from Jesus Coll., Oxf. June 1, 1636; & graduated B.A. 'Feb. 11, 1649-50.' By this Indulgence year he would be fifty-two years of age.

A much more interesting suggestion has been made to me by a co-worker in this great field of research. Rev. John Stanley, F.R.Hist.S., of Longhope, Gloucester, has called my attention to the fact that in the Evans MS. an Owen Davies is returned as Pastor of the Independent Church at Mitcheldean* (he calls it 'Mitching Dean') in 1715. [This Mitcheldean is within Gloucester county, where Herefordshire borders it, not far from Ross.] This return was made forty-three years after the Indulgence.

Mr. Stanley notes that it seems strange that he should get so many licences for others and yet not one for himself. Is it not possible, however, that in 1672 he had not entered the ministry; that he was a young man who, like James Innes, junior, was a trained and convinced Nonconformist, glad to do this work for Nonconformists; whose kindred were Welsh or Gloucestershire folk; and who afterwards entered the Congregational ministry? [Might not the lists of early Nonconformist academies contain his name, and give us the information of which we are in search?] Of course, it is just possible this Owen Davies, of Mitcheldean, was the Carnarvon man who is noted by Foster as completing his Oxford course in 1650, at the very late age of forty-eight! But he would have reached the extraordinary age of ninety-five—*almost* impossible for one to be still in active ministerial work as pastor of a church—in 1715!

It seems more probable that this Owen Davies, pastor of an Independent Church at Mitcheldean, Gloucestershire, was *not* the man noticed by Foster; but a young man, who had not yet entered the ministry, and gave himself to this work of licence-agency in 1672.

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* Rev. Alex. Gordon conjectures that this 'Owen Davies' is the minister of that name who was ordained pastor of the Congregational church, which from 1688, met at the Pâl, near Llandilo, Carm., and was minister at Swansea, Glam., from the middle of 1691 to the middle of 1693.

8. RICHARD DAVIES (DAVIS).

Was he the Richard Davis, noted by Foster ('Al. Oxon.'), who was born in London, 1628, the son of a London gentleman ('Arm'), who matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, 1642, and was called to the bar from the Inner Temple, 1654? He would be forty-four in 1672.

The memoranda to which this name is attached are for the Isle of Wight and for Sussex. There are three of them—all receipts. They are **321 (159), 321 (361)**, and **321 (378)**.

(1) The first [**321 (159)**] reads:

> 'May the 15th 72
> 'Received then a Lycence for John Martyn to teach in the house of Grace Byly'
> 'An other Lycence for a house of Richard Chudwell in Rude parish in the Eile of Weight
>
> 'by me
> 'RICHARD DAVIES.'

The two licences first mentioned were for Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, and had had a brief and satisfactory history. John Hickes applied for them, on **321 (87)**, in the clear fashion so characteristic of the man: 'John Martyn Independt teacher, & to teach in the house of 'Grace Byles at Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight.' 'May ye 10th 72.' They were promptly issued, three days later, May 13, 1672 [**E. (109)**], and now Richard Davies calls at Whitehall on May 15, and takes them away with him.

To the third attaches a strange, almost inexplicable story. It is a licence for the house of Richard Chiddell of Roud, in the parish of Godshill, in the southern part of the Island. John Hickes made application on Chiddell's behalf at the same time (and on the same paper), with those I have just spoken of; and its last line reads:

> 'Richard Chidell in Roude in the parish of Godshill in the Isle of Wight for a Presbyt. Congregat.'

Now its irregular form makes it ambiguous. Seeing that it is for 'Richard Chiddell,' it was not unnatural for the clerk (Mr. Benson?) to suppose it was a 'general licence' which he desired to preach to a Presbyterian congregation.

Accordingly, we find preserved in the Record Office—as **321 (89)**—an actual licence made out for 'Robert Chiddell of Roade in ye Parish 'of Godshill in the Isle of Wight *of the Perswasion commonly called* 'Presbyterien *to be a Teacher and to teach in any place &c.*'

It is signed above by the King, and at foot by Lord Arlington, but is not dated. The licence, too, was entered, as was Martyn's, on **E. (109)**, on the very next line to it, and is dated, as his is, May 13.

> 'Licence to Rich: Chidell of Roude, in the Parish of Godshill in the Isle of Wight. Pr. Grall Teacher. 13 May.'

Why, then, was the licence not taken away, but left at Whitehall? I think we shall see the explanation by turning to **E. (67)**. Its very first line reads:

> 'Rich^d Chiddell's howse for Pre. in Roade in the Parish of Godds-hill in Wight. 1 May.'

Evidently long before John Hickes made his ambiguous application on May 10, some one else had applied distinctly for a licence for Chiddell's house. The licence had been made out and entered May 1—nine days before John Hickes's application—but the officials had not produced it, because they had misread Hickes's paper. It had been waiting a full fortnight, therefore, when Richard Davis called. Davis, however, knew exactly what Chiddell wanted. So when the officials produced the general licence, not long made out (the entry of it being dated as they produced it over the counter, and waiting for the date to be filled in, if approved by the licensee or his agent), as well as the house-licence which had been ready for a fortnight, Davies would tell them that the general licence would be of no use to him, as Chiddell was no preacher, but only a generous Presbyterian layman; and would leave it with them at Whitehall. And so it has remained among the archives of the State Paper Office to this day.

(2) The second memorandum, signed by Richard Davis, also is the closing item of a still longer story. In itself it is even briefer than the last. It is **321 (378)** and reads:

> 'Febr. 19th 1672 [*e.g.*, 1673] Rec^d 2 licences one for M^r John Smith To Teach: and one for his house in y^e Parish of St. Nicholas in Newport in the Isle of Wight.
> 'I say rec^d them
> 'p me
> 'RICHARD DAVIS.'

Two things are noteworthy as to its date: (1) It is the latest licence-memorandum preserved in the Record Office, and so is the last slip mounted in Vol. **321**. (2) It is scarcely three weeks before the Indulgence was withdrawn, for the King gave in to the High Church Party in Parliament, and broke the seal from his Declaration March 7-8, 1672.

And now see the history of these two licences as told in the licence-documents.

They were applied for by John Hickes, with the others I have named, on May 10 [**321 (87)**], the line referring to them reading as follows:

> 'John Smith Independ^t teacher, his own house the place in the parish of St. Nicolas in the Isle of Wight.'

They were made out like the second one for Richard Chidell on the 13th [**E. (109)**]. The licence for John Smith is 'Like' it in form; and the licence was partially right, because for John Smith as 'teacher.' But no licence is made for his house, as this licence is only for a 'teacher in general.' Now William Carslake comes upon the scene, and on May 24 includes in his demand for licences [**321** (**248**)] a demand for

> 'The house of John Smith in the parish of St. Nicolas in Newport in the Isle of Wight for congrẽg.'

Fresh licences appear to have been made out, for they are entered **E.** (**183**). It must have been long after—that is, in the second half of June. They were not completed (by signature); so the entries are not dated.

Now—why, it does not appear—two more, a third set, are made out, completed, signed, and entered July 25, 1672 [one for his person **E.** (**210**), and two for his house **E.** (**216**)]. No one calls for them till Richard Davies calls and takes them away February 19, 1673!—more than nine months after they were first applied for by energetic John Hickes.

(3) The name of Richard Davis is also appended to a memorandum of receipt for four Sussex licences [**321** (**361**). These had been applied for in **321** (**348**)—a memorandum which unfortunately is neither signed nor dated—and which had all been issued on June 10, 1672 [as we see on **E.** (**159**)], only three days before they were called for by him.

The application [**321** (**348**)] is made out very fully:

> 'John Abbot minister of the Congregationall way desires a generall lycence to preach: Also a licence is desired for the house of Peter Legay at West Stoake in Sussex
>
> 'John Willis minister of the Congregationall way desires a generall licence to preach Also desires a Lycence for his owne house without Westgate near Chichester in Sussex'

The entries [**E.** (**159**)] show that these licences, though they may have been attended to promptly, were made out very carelessly: Willis is changed into 'Willie,' and the phrase 'without Westgate,' which merely describes the part of extra-mural Chichester in which he lived, is turned into 'Westgate,' as though it were the name of a hamlet 'near Chichester'; and the 'West Stoake,' which is the name of a village quite three miles north-west of Chichester, is made 'Westgate' in the licence for Peter Legay, and 'Westleake' in that for John Abbot.

The licences, however, appear to have been carried off by Richard Davis without any question. They are very loosely described in his receipt, so that in all probably they were not at all closely scrutinized when he received them. The memorandum [**321** (**361**)] reads:

> 'June the 13th 1672 Received a Lycence for John Abbot and a lycence for the house of Petter Legay
>
> 'and for John Willis and his house of Sussex.
>
> 'I say red
>
> 'p RICHARD DAVIS:'

The three persons for whom these licences are obtained form an interesting group.

Peter Legay was the centre of it. In his notice of John Willis, Calamy (III. 336 note) gives a brief but interesting account of him. He was a French Protestant who was a refugee from France in the time of the Commonwealth (driven thence by the persecution under Lewis XIII.) He had come over to Southampton almost penniless, but had commenced in a lowly way of business there. Calamy adds: 'After he had been awhile in England, he was greatly surprised to meet a young lady in the street at Southampton whom he had courted in *France*. They renewed their acquaintance, and married; and by an extraordinary blessing of God upon his industry in merchandise, he in a few years so increased his substance, that he bought the estate of *West-Stoke*' (*i.e.*, Stoke House, which stands in a park of considerable extent), 'where he lived in great credit to the day of his death.'

He evidently did not abandon in his prosperity the principles for which he had suffered persecution in France, and which drove him as an exile to England; for, when the Act of Uniformity was passed, he cast in his lot with the Evangelical Nonconformists of the land of his adoption, and was an avowed Nonconformist throughout the ten years of persecution. It was for his mansion, 'Stoke House,' at West Stoke, that he secured a licence.

It had been used for purposes of Nonconformist worship before. Mr. John Willis—the second of this group of three (Cal. III. 336)—who was silenced at Woolavington (or its neighbourhood), a village north-east of Chichester, on the road from Chichester to Petworth—had lost his wife a little before, and Mr. Legay had given hospitable shelter to the widowed Nonconformist minister, who, some time after, was married to a daughter of Mr. Legay. 'He lived with his father-in-law,' Calamy tells us, 'and preached in his house, to a number beside the 'family.' So that the penal laws were defied by this stalwart Huguenot, and hospitality given to the persecuted Nonconformists of the neighbourhood of Chichester.

John Willis, however, was not living in Stoke House at the time of the Indulgence. His second wife had died; and marrying a third time, he had gone back to Chichester to live outside the West Gate; and it was for liberty to preach in his own house there that he obtained the licence recorded on **E. (159)**.* Calamy was evidently misinformed as to his death before the Indulgence.

Peter Legay, however, had not ceased his active hospitality of Nonconformists. For John Abbott [Cal. III. 318] (the third of this group), who had been Rector of Fishborne—a village quite close to Chichester (south-west of it), and had suffered ejectment rather than conform—obtains a licence to preach, and probably preached, in Stoke House (though both he and Willis took out general licences, which would be available in either 'meeting-place').

There is a Richard Davis mentioned by Calamy (III. 496). He was ejected from Penbryn in Cardiganshire, and of course it is possible that he came up to London after his ejectment. Calamy gives us absolutely no information about him, however, and the name is so common a one that it would be the barest conjecture to suggest that he may have been the agent who secured this group of Sussex licences. May I make another suggestion?

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* In an early Lay Subsidy Roll (22 Jas. I. Sussex $\frac{191}{365}$) I find under 'The Liberty 'of Lodsworth':

'xii$^{\text{lb}}$ John Willis .. .. in lands iij$^{\text{b}}$

There was also a London solicitor of this name, the son of a London gentleman, John Davis. He was born 1628, matriculated from Wadham College, Oxford, August 20, 1642, and was called to the bar from the Inner Temple in 1654; and it is quite as likely that it was he whose services were enlisted for this interesting trio.

9. THOMAS FOLEY.

One memorandum only [**321** (**331**)] bears his name. It desires two licences for John Overed (or Overhead) of Essex. These are its terms:

> 'Licences for John Overhead of the Presbiterian perswasion for his owne House at Castle Henningham in the County of Essex
> 'THOMAS FOLEY'

Calamy notices 'Mr. John Overhead' as ejected from Topsfield (Cal. II. 222). Topsfield (or Toppesfield) lies west off the high road from Halstead to Haverhill, about six miles from Halstead; and Castle Henningham (better known as 'Hedingham') is only about four miles north-west of Halstead, on the road which branches off north-eastward from the Haverhill road to Sudbury. So that his original living and the place of his retirement lie only some four miles apart (Castle Hedingham being south-east of Topsfield). Davids ('Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex,' pp. 499-501) gives particulars of his life, which show him to have been a vigorous Puritan.

He was appointed by Parliament to the living of Topsfield (as 'John Overed, Clerk') in 1648. The same year he is returned in the scheme for Presbyterianizing the Churches of Essex, as minister of Topsfield in the Tenth or Hinckford Classis (p. 289), the elders being 'Christopher Earle Esq:, M. Samuel Smith, & Rob^{t} Warmsford'; and that year, too, he signed the Essex Testimony. The following year he signed the Essex Watchword; and in 1650 he is returned as 'an able, godly, preaching minister.'

He continued his ministry there—not till St. Bartholomew's Day in 1662, but only till the Restoration of the King and Episcopacy, when on the plea of the sequestered parson Thurston, whom he had replaced, he was dispossessed as 'insufficient.'

All that Calamy has to say of him after his ejectment is that he was 'an aged, grave, serious, and humble man, and a very good preacher,' and that 'he died between 1670 and 1680.' We know that his death was subsequent to 1672, because he secured his licences on June 10 of this year, to preach in his own house in Castle Hedingham, as we see from the licence-entries [**E.** (**160**)]:

> 'The howse of John Overhead at Castle Henninghã, Essex Pr. Meeting Place. 10 June

'Licence to John Overhead to be a Pr Teacher in his howse at Castle Henninghã, Essex. 10 June'

We know, too, that he secured them through the kindly services of 'Thomas Foley.' I have not been able to trace the connection with Essex which gave Thomas Foley such a practical interest in John Overhead.

There is little doubt, however, that he was a member of the well-known Worcestershire family of that name, noted alike for their strong Puritan leanings and their social influence.

Richard Foley, Mayor of Dudley and founder of a grammar school there, is the first member of the family made famous in this connection, since it was on his recommendation that Richard Baxter, then schoolmaster of this Bewdley grammar school, was presented to the living of Kidderminster. With the Foley family Richard Baxter remained all his life in close and grateful association.

In speaking of Kidderminster ('Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,' Part III., p. 93), he says: 'On this occasion I will mention the great Mercy of God 'toward that Town and Country in the raising of one Man, Mr '*Thomas Foley*, who, from almost nothing, did get about Five Thoosand 'Pound *per Annum*, or more, by Iron-works, and that with so just and 'blameless Dealing, that all Men that ever he had to do with, that ever 'I heard of, magnified his great Integrity and Honesty, which was 'questioned by none: And being a Religious, Faithful Man, he 'purchased among other Lands, the Patronage of several great places, 'and among the rest of *Stourbridge* and *Kiderminster*, and so chose the 'best Conformable Ministers to them that could be got: And not only 'so, but placed his Eldest Son's Habitation in Kiderminster, which 'became a great Protection and Blessing to the Town; having placed 'two Families more elsewhere of his two other sons, all three Religious 'worthy Men. And in thankfulness to God for his Mercies to him, 'built a well-founded Hospital near *Stourbridge* to teach poor children 'to read and write, and then set them Apprentices, and endowed it with 'about five hund(red) Pounds a Year *per Annum* (*sic*): Such worthy 'Persons, and such strange Prosperity, and holy use of it are so rare, and 'the interest of my poor Neighbours in it so great, that I thought meet 'to mention it to God's Praise and his.' No doubt, it was when planning the erection and endowment of this Hospital at Stourbridge that, in 1668, he went to Abingdon to inspect the Hospital there and 'see how their lands were settled,' as we learn incidentally from the genial Diarist Pepys.

Under date June 10, 1668, Pepys tells us how in the course of his summer's outing he came to Abingdon, and writes: 'Up and walked to 'the hospitall very large and fine, and pictures of founders and the 'History of the hospitall; and is said to be worth 700*l.* per annum, and 'that Mr. Foly was here lately to see how their lands were settled.'

As early as 1652 he was selected by the Gentlemen of Worcester to present a petition to the House of Commons on behalf of a godly ministry in Worcester County. In 1658 he presented Joseph Read to

Great Whitley. In 1660 he represented Bewdley in the Conciliation Parliament. He died 1677. His son, Thomas, was M.P. for Worcester County from 1678 to 1681.

Philip Foley of Prestwood, near Kidderminster, was a great patron of good Puritans. He represented Bewdley in Parliament 1678-1679, was M.P. for Droitwich 1690 and in 1700. George Fowler, Richard Cooke, and John Warren, all noted by Calamy, were his chaplains.

Further, a younger son of Thomas, Paul Foley, rose to higher eminence than any of them, as he became Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of William III., 1695. He represented Hereford City in 1678 and 1679, and 1690-1695.

Bishop Burnet ('Life and Times,' Vol. IV., p. 191) notes Paul's rise to parliamentary importance in 1693 as with Mr. Musgrave joining the opposition to the Whig ministry though a strong Whig himself; and he does so in terms which remind us of Baxter's language. 'Paul Foley,' he says, 'was a younger son of one, who from mean beginnings had 'by iron works raised one of the greatest estates that had been in 'England in our time,' adding: 'He was a learned, though not a 'practising lawyer, and was a man of virtue and good principles, but 'morose and wilful: and he had the affectation of passing for a great 'patriot, by his constant finding fault with the government, and keeping 'up an ill humour, and a bad opinion of the court.'

Surely it is Thomas Foley, the Puritan millionaire, Paul's father, who did this kindly service to John Overhead.

10. HENRY GEARING.

His name is subscribed to a single undated memorandum [**321** (**325**)]. It contains an application for two licences: one for a house in Ramsbury, Wilts, and the other for a house in Hungerford, Berks.

The owners were severally Thomas Freeman and Daniel Reade. The memorandum reads:—

> 'For the house of Mr. Thomas Freeman Tanner of Ramsbery in Wiltsheire presbyterien
>
> 'Daniell Reade of Hungerford in Barksheire for his house—presbyter.
>
> HENRY GEARING.

Both were granted the same day—viz., June 10, 1672—as we see on E. (**153**), where the latter precedes the former on the page.

It is curious to learn—as I was informed by W. Summers in notes communicated to me not long before his lamented death—that while Mr. Thomas Freeman, of Ramsbury, is described in this application as 'a *Tanner*,' Daniel Reade was 'a *saddler*, a man of credit and repute, 'being a Trustee of the Town properties. He may have been the son 'of Jonathan Read saddler, who is spoken of in the Lambeth return 'three years before as a leader of the local Nonconformists. By 1676, 'Jonathan Read seems to have taken a brewery on the east side of the 'main street, and Daniel was in that year residing in a house on the 'west side nearly opposite. The probable inference is that Jonathan 'had given up the saddlery business to Daniel somewhere between '1669 and 1672. The house in which Daniel lived in 1676 is there-'fore in all probability the same for which the licence was granted, and 'is easily identified by the Quit-rent Rolls of the borough which begin '1676. It has been much modernised in front, but is very quaint inside, 'with traces of secret staircases and peep holes which are singularly 'suggestive.'

It is interesting, too, in Seth Ward's Returns in 1669 to find, a representative of the Reads of Hungerford, Thomas Freeman of Ramsbury, and a member of the Gearing family in Hester Gearing.

'Jonathan Read a Sadler' is reported on **R. 248b**, together with 'Richard Bell—a Tanner' as Abettors of a Conventicle of one hundred at Hungerford, which had 'Mr. Burges' (a Nonconformist minister who had been ejected from Portsmouth) and 'Robert Goddard, a 'weaver,' as its 'Teachers.'

Mr. Thomas Freeman is also reported in 1669 (**R. 249***b*) as one of five abettors of a Presbyterian Conventicle of '50 or 60' in Romesbury, which met 'very often, but not Constant,' and was ministered to by six ejected ministers, the 'head & front' of the offending being Henry Dent, who had been ejected from Ramsbury. [The others were John Clark, from Hungerford; Christopher Fowler, from Reading; Daniel Burgess, from Collingborne Ducis; Jonathan Smith, from Hempstead, Glocester; and Stephen Webb.] The proverb 'Nothing like leather' seems here to apply to the circle of staunch Puritanism, and both licensees being in the leather trade suggests that their friend Henry Gearing may have been in the way of leather too.

It is surely significant, too, that according to **R. 229***b*, Lesser Conventicles of Presbyterians in Newbury ministered to by six ejected ministers, two of whom are two who 'ministered at Ramsbury—Mr. 'Dent and Mr. Burgis'—were held often 'at y^{e} houses' of Elizabeth Cottle and Hester Gearing 'on Weeke-days.' Was not 'Hester Gearing' some relative of the Henry Gearing who makes the application?

There is a 'Henry Geary'—cited by Dr. Urwick in his 'History of Nonconformity in Herts' as a deacon of the Puritan Church in Tring—who in 1662 was presented with John Geary and his son in the Ecclesiastical Courts for not coming to church. Was he a namesake and connection?

Calamy's mother was Mary, eldest daughter of Joshua Gearing of Tooting.

11. John Gould.

There are three memoranda left in his name. One point in the form of two of them is characteristic, and I think unique. The persons and places for whom licences are sought are put first, and these are followed by a little note addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson. John Gould seems to have been personally known to Sir Joseph, and was evidently anxious to make use of the fact.

An odd thing has happened, however. The list of licences desired in the first application has disappeared, so that we have only a very polite note to Sir Joseph making a request for an object which does not appear. It is calendared **321** (**276**). It is addressed :

'For y^e R^t wors(hipfu)^l S^r Joseph Williamson K^t these'

and reads :

'Whitehall

'S^r

'Your kind permission hath begott this trouble I humbly begg they maye bee got reddy soe soone as Possible.

'Your most humb^e serv^t

'John Gould

'Clap. y^e 25th Maye 1672.'

The second [**321** (**315**)] is an application for three licences in Norfolk, two houses and one teacher. It is endorsed 'Mr. Gold.' The whole document runs :

'The house of Henry Miller of Albrough in Norfolke.

'The House of Will^m Chapman of hanworth in y^e same County, for People of both presbiterian & Congregatio^ll Judgments.

'M^r Jn^o Lougher of y^e Congregationall pswasion a Licence to Preach :

'S^r Joseph,

'I humbly beg this favour, and y^e dispatch of y^e rest.

'Your obliged Ser^t

'John Gould.

'1th June 1672'

They seem to have been attended to promptly—that is, licence-forms were filled up and entered [on **E.** (**166**) and (**167**)]—though 'Miller' in the application becomes 'Milton' in the licence-entry ; but the entries are undated, so it remains a question whether they were issued. If they were, it would be some time in the middle of June. The first licence on **E.** (**166**), and the first on **E.** (**168**), are both dated June 10.

The third memorandum is a very short one, an application for a single licence in Kent. It is **321** (**345**) :

'A Lycence for the house of Jn^o Savery Called y^e Chequer In y^e Parish of Ash neer Sandwich for y^e Presbeterian & Independent pswasion.

'S^r Joseph,

'S^r

'I also beg this Licence

'Your serv^t

'J. Gould'

This licence had also been asked for some time before [**321** (**45**)], but without the owner's name being given, simply as 'a Room or 'Rooms in a house called the Chequer in Ashe in Kent.'

Perhaps the absence of the owner's name is responsible for its neglect, for the others asked for at the same time [in **321** (**45**)] had been granted on May 8. This licence seems to have met with exactly the same fate as those asked for in **321** (**315**). It is made out and entered on **E.** (**167**), but it is undated. So we do not know whether it was ever signed and issued.

John Gould, the applicant for these licences, seems to have been a London merchant of some repute living in 'The Spittle.' At any rate, this we know: On **E.** (**2**) we have the following entries:

'London Presbyt. Gould's house (erased). Vincents.	'(altered 16 Apr.) M^{r} Vincent's howse 'Licence allowing a Roome or Roomes in M^{r} Gould's howse in the Spittle to be a place for a Teacher 2 Apr. 1672. 'Presbyterien.'
'Maddockes Presbyt. London.	'Licence to W^{m} Maddockes to be a Teacher in M^{r} Broome's howse in Bartholomew Lane & in M^{r} Gould's howse in the Spittle. Apr. 2. 1672. Pr.'

A Mr. Gould, who had strong Presbyterian leanings, then was living in 'The Spittle,' East of Shoreditch, and willing to have his house licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place. That the licence was afterwards transferred from his house to that of Mr. Vincent does not alter the position thus revealed.

It is quite possible, too, that it is to this John Gould (or Gold) that Pepys twice refers in his Diary: once on January 10, 1659-60, when at the Coffee-house there was a great 'confluence of gentlemen; viz.: 'M^{r} Harrington, Poultny, chairman, Gold, D^{r} Petty &c.'; and again on Jan. 20, 1668-69 [just about nine years after]. 'Heard at the 'Council-board the City . . . here I observed M^{r} Gold, the merchant, 'to speak very well and very sharply against the City.' [The City was demanding a tax upon all goods, imported and exported. And this 'Protective Tariff' the merchants of that day very strongly opposed. And 'the merchants did quite lay the City on their backs with great 'triumph, the City's cause being apparently too weak.']

John Gould lived outside the Wall, and had independent opinions. He may well have been Pepys's great merchant.

[N.B.—A 'Peter Gold' is assessed, in 1666 (Lay Subs., London, $\frac{147}{617}$), in Bishopsgate Ward, in St. Buttolph's Without (the east side), on 32 Hearths—£4 16s.—a large mansion. And in 1668 Stephen Gould is assessed in 'Algate ward vx^{b},' and the note is appended 'will not pay'; while in 'Part of Lyme Street, Isaac Gould is assessed on vij^{s}, ij^{s} vi^{d}.' It seems, therefore, that John Gould belonged to a family of substance in the City. Was he brother of Henry Gould, of London, gent., whose son, John Gould, born 1687, matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford (March 12); graduated B.A., 1709, became Vicar of Chardstock, Devon, in 1718; Rector of Talborough, Sussex, in 1723; and in 1728 proceeded M.A. from King's College, Cambridge? (Foster's 'Al. Oxon.') If so, our John Gould was his uncle.]

Since writing the above a passage from the 'Life of Richard Lyde,' quoted in the article on his son, Nehemiah (who wrote the 'Life'), makes John Gould's identity quite clear. Richard Lyde is referring to those who had helped him in his efforts as a licence-agent when quite a young man, and he names as 'Sollicitors at Court'—in addition to 'Innys' for the Presbyterians, and 'Kiffin' for the Antipædobaptists—'Dr. Owen 'and John Gould Esquire of Clapham for the Congregational.' Now, the first document that bears John Gould's name is the letter [**321** (**276**)], which is dated thus: 'Clap, ye 25th Maye 1672.' 'Clap.' clearly is an abbreviation for 'Clapham'; and our 'John Gould' stands revealed as Richard Lyde's 'John Gould Esquire of Clapham,' who was born 1616, and died 1679; whose family is noted in Prince's 'Worthies of Devon' (1701); a friend of Dr. Owen, and a decided Congregationalist; but large-hearted enough to work with and for Presbyterians as well.

12. BARNABY HALLETT.

Barnaby Hallett put in three memoranda; two of application—viz., **321** (**63**) and **321** (**92**), and one of receipt **321** (**196**).

By these it appears that the two counties of Somerset and Leicester specially engaged his interest.

With Somerset alone the first application and the receipt are wholly concerned. **321** (**63**) is endorsed 'Halletts note, Somerset'; is dated 'London, May 9th, 1672'; and 'desires' licences for three houses: John Laver's, in Coat; Richard Hayward's, in Weeke, Glastonbury; and Alice Hawker's, in Whitehill—all as Presbyterian meeting-places.

321 (**196**) is a receipt for these three, dated May 17. The licences had all been issued four days before—on May 13; and all are entered on **E.** (**113**).

The only other memorandum bearing his name is **321** (**92**), dated London, May 11, 1672. It asks four licences for Leicestershire: two for teachers—viz., Mathew Clarke of Market Harborough, and John Shuttlewood of Lubbenham; and two for meeting-places—one for Robert Basse's house in the former place, and the other for John Shuttlewood's own house in the latter. The peculiar thing about this memorandum is that though the phrase 'To be call'd for by Barnaby Hallett' is added to each of the three items (not simply put at the foot of the whole paper), Benson has endorsed it 'Basse's note'). The way in which the applicant puts 'London' before the date of the memoranda might suggest that he is a resident in the Metropolis; but neither Basse nor any of the Halletts of whom we have information were Londoners. There are no less than three Halletts in Calamy's list of ejected ministers, all of them in southern counties—one, Mr. Thomas Hallett (Cal. III. 334), ejected from Street, in Sussex; and the other two from the adjacent counties of Dorset and Somerset. These are: 'Mr Hallet' (Cal. II. 148)—Calamy does not give his Christian name—who was ejected from Shaftsbury (otherwise called 'Shafton' or 'Shaston') in Dorset; and 'M^r Joseph Hallett,' ejected from Chisleborough in Somerset (Cal. III. 183, 184), who, Calamy says, retired to Exeter, where he was licensed in 1672.

Of Joseph Hallett there is a fairly full account in the Dictionary of National Biography. He was born at Bridport in Dorset in 1628, was a good Greek and Hebrew scholar, though he had not had a University education. In 1652 he was called to the work of the ministry at Hinton St. George, near Crewkerne, Somerset, being ordained that same year at Salisbury. In 1656 he was promoted to the neighbouring Rectory of Chisleborough and West Chinnock; but was ejected in 1660 to make way for the sequestered clergyman. He then retired to his native town, Bridport, living with his wife's father; but settled finally in Bradpole (only a little north-east of Bridport, in the same county of Dorset), keeping Conventicles there. But in 1672 he was called to Exeter by the Presbyterians (and was licensed there, as we know). On the Revocation of the Indulgence, however, the next year, he was fined £20 for preaching in the house of one Palmer (who also had had a licence for his house). Still he continued to preach, and was twice imprisoned for it in the South Gate—the second time, in 1685. After the Indulgence of 1687 he became the first minister of the Presbyterian Meeting in Exeter (called the James's Meeting), and died in 1689, his funeral sermon being preached by George Trosse, his successor.

Of course, it is possible that 'M^r Hallet' of Shaftsbury may be Mr. Barnaby Hallett, and that after his ejectment he had gone up to London. There is also a 'James' Hallett, who was licensed for Cerne Abbas in Dorset.

It would be interesting to know whether these were members of one family, but Calamy gives us no information on the point.

13. MATTHEW HEPPARD.

But one memorandum bears this name—viz., **321 (158)**, which is a very condensed, business-like receipt. It is for six Coventry licences: two for teachers—Mr. Burton and Mr. Collier—and four for houses—viz., those of John Bevan, William Wilson, John Crichloe, and Richard Cranwell. It is headed 'Rec^d y^e 15^th May 1672,' and signed very distinctly 'p MAT: HEPPARD.'

Though so business-like in its brevity, it is very inaccurate. These six licences are all for one community—the Congregationalists of Coventry. This is made very plain in the two application-memoranda, in both of which these same six licences are desired. They are calendared **321 (24)** and **321 (25)**. They are both in the same handwriting, and the first is in the form of a letter, which—though dated 'May 8° 1672,' and signed 'Your lov: broth^r J. B.'—unfortunately, is not addressed.

It can scarcely be addressed to any of the Whitehall officials, for it begins 'Good Brother.' That looks much more like one minister writing to another.

The writer, I venture to suggest, was 'John Boun,' whom several testimonies agree to credit with the foundation of the original Congregational Church in Coventry.

'J. B.' writes to his friend—who evidently took the letter to Whitehall, and left it there—with the second memorandum [**321** (**25**)], which is practically a duplicate of **321** (**24**), with all its epistolary elements dropped out or 'shed.' It reads:

'Good brother,
'I intreat you to gett out licenses (according to y^{e} Instrucc̃ons following) viz^{t}
'For a congregac̃on in y^{e} Citie of Coventry, of y^{e} way, com̃only called Congregational
'Teachers. M^{r} Abel Collyer & M^{r} Tho: Buxton
'Places. a Room, or Room's in y^{e} Howses of
'M^{r} John Crichlowe
'M^{r} John Boun
'M^{r} Richard Cranwell.
'M^{r} W^{m} Wilcox.
'I left y^{e} Instrucc̃ons with M^{r} Benson (by S^{r} Joseph Williamson's direction) who appointed mee to attend for y^{e} Licenses on Sat. next
'Yo^{r} lov: broth^{r}
'May 8° 1672 'J. B.'

The more formal paper [**321** (**25**)] is endorsed by Benson: 'Coventry'; and in its slight variations from the above is made an interesting duplicate of it:

'His Majesty's gracious license is humbly desired for a Congregation in the Citie of Coventry of the way com̃only called Congregational.
'Places desired—a Roome, or roomes in y^{e} Howses of
'M^{r} John Chrichlowe
'M^{r} John Boun.
'M^{r} Rich. Cranwell.
'M^{r} W^{m} Wilcox.
'Teachers—M^{r} Abel Collyer & M^{r} Thomas Buxton'

The literary graces of these two documents, as well as their formal accuracy, all 'fit in' with what we know of Mr. John Boun.

The authors of 'Independency in Warwickshire' (pp. 49 *et seq.*) call him 'M^{r} Boon,' and say of him that 'he was ejected from the living of Settrington, a village near New Malton, in Yorkshire. The account given by Calamy of this good man,' they add, 'is exceedingly brief.' [It is found in III. 447.] We are informed that 'he was a pious and learned 'gentleman of good estate and family, and had been educated at Emanuel 'College, Cambridge. He at first followed the profession of the law.' The language of Calamy in Palmer's 1803 edition is very meagre and indefinite. Under 'Settrington' he simply names 'M^{r} Boon' in addition to 'M^{r} 'Mekal,' and cites a sentence of Mr. Tong's (in the preface to a funeral sermon for Mr. Joshua Merrel), which speaks of 'Mr. Boon, of

'Finsham'* (meaning Finham, near Coventry) as 'living and preaching 'in these parts.' Though 'silenced' as a recognized minister in 1662, therefore, it is by no means clear that he was 'ejected' from the living of Settrington.† That twenty-five years after he was living at Finham, near Coventry, we know by the authentic records of the Bedworth Congregational Church, in which Julius Saunders—its first pastor—says distinctly that in 1687, November 16, he was ordained in the house of Mr. Boun (or Boon) 'because by reason of his illness he was not able to come to us' (*i.e.*, at Bedworth). The form of this reference, too, implies that at this time he was recognized as a minister of influence and standing, as Julius Saunders felt his ordination would not be complete without Mr. Boun's presence and participation in the service.

That he was living at Coventry in 1672 is made evident by these documents, as we can scarcely doubt that the 'M^r^ John Boun' whose house it is desired to licence—together with three others in this city—was the Mr. Boun who, later, settled in Finham.

Another thing, too, is equally clear. At this period of his life John Boun was not 'preaching' or acting as minister or pastor to even the tiniest community. He was practising the profession of the law, but cherishing his own Nonconformist faith as a Congregationalist, worshipping, as the times would allow, with his brethren of the Congregational way—under the joint ministry of Mr. Abel Collyer and Mr. Thomas Buxton; but was glad to secure a licence for his house, that in turn he might give hospitality to the Congregation as they ministered to it. If this identification is correct, who could more efficiently draw up the applications than this university-bred but Nonconformist lawyer? [We should like to know who the 'dear brother' was to whom he sent both letter and formal duplicate.]

Pondering the problem presented by them, I am inclined to think that **321** (**25**), though placed by the editor of **321** after J. B.'s letter, was the earlier document of the two—that John Boun came up to London expressly to see to this licence-business; that he called at Whitehall; made inquiries of Sir Joseph Williamson as to the proper method to pursue; was told to make out a memorandum of the Places and Teachers for whom 'His Majesty's gracious licence' was desired; made it out in the paper here preserved as **321** (**25**); and left it, as 'y^e^ Instruccõns' he refers to in **321** (**24**), 'with M^r^ Benson' as Sir Joseph's chief clerk. Mr. Benson had appointed him (J. B.) 'to attend 'for the Licenses on Saturday the 12th of May.'

John Boun had been prevented, I imagine, from staying in London so long. He wrote this letter to his 'Good Brother' either from London—just before his enforced return to Coventry, or from Coventry as soon as he had got back home—asking his friend to supply his lack of service by calling at Whitehall and getting out the licences for him. The licences were all made out the day after he had written this letter (Thursday, May 9), and are all entered on **E.** (**95**).

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* Palmer's improvement (!) on Calamy's 'Finham.'

† Rev. Alex. Gordon urges that Palmer has misplaced Calamy's note (in Continuation, p. 864), which was to be added to his account of Warwickshire; and is quite at a loss to understand why it was introduced by Palmer under Settrington. John Boun had nothing to with Yorkshire.

His 'good brother' does not call for them on Saturday. And they are not taken away till the Wednesday in the next week—May 15; so that they had been waiting at Whitehall six days. The actual recipient is this Matthew Heppard. He does not waste words in his memorandum [**321** (**158**)]. But he makes some strange mistakes. The two teachers he gives as (1) 'Burton' instead of 'Buxton,' and (2) 'Collier' instead of 'Collyer'; while three out of the four owners of the houses would scarcely recognize their names. (1) John Boun becomes 'John 'Bevan'; (2) William Wilcox becomes 'W^m^ Wilson'; (3) John Crichlowe is less disguised—it becomes 'Jn^o^ Crichloe'; and (4) the fourth is given accurately, 'Rich. Cranwell.'

This set of licences writes clearly a chapter in the history of Congregationalism in Coventry, of which the authors of 'Independency in 'Warwickshire' appear to have had no 'inkling' even.

The two 'Teachers' of this Congregational (Church or) Congregation—Mr. Abel Collyer and Mr. Thomas Buxton—are not even mentioned.

The first it is not easy with any certitude to identify. But Calamy mentions a Mr. Collier as ejected from Whitacre (Lower), of whom he says: 'While he was in the living he kept a school.' If what he adds is literally and exactly true, the identification cannot be maintained: 'On leaving it he went to London and applied himself to secular 'business.' If the statement admits of a laxer interpretation, however, he might first have retired to Coventry, which is only some eleven or twelve miles distant, and have maintained a ministry there for some years at least. It may be added that to find a licence issued for the house of Sophia Viscountesse Wimbaldon in 'y^e^ parish of Nether-'Whitacre in Warwickshire for the use of such as are of the Congr. 'perswasion' [**320** (**214**) appl.], issued on April 20, 1672 [**E.** (**47**)], is a fairly reliable indication that 'M^r^ Collier,' the ejected minister, was of the Congregational way, and therefore adds probability to my suggestion.

A note in Calamy, attached to the name of Anthony Collier, who was ejected from Morton, in Herefordshire (II. 296 §) further confirms it. In Maitland's 'History of London' is the following copy of an inscription upon a gravestone in Bunhill-fields: 'Abel Collier, 'minister of the gospel and pastor of a congregation at Halsted in Essex 'who died May 29, 1695 in the 66th year of his age.' For this Abel Collier may have removed from Coventry to Halsted, and thence retired to London, to die there 1695.

The epitaph shows he was born 1630; so that in the Commonwealth period he might well have been minister of Nether Whitacre from 1653 to 1662; in retiring to Coventry have laboured there for nearly a decade; removing to Halstead to work there for another ten or fifteen years; and finally settling down in London till his death.*

Thomas Buxton is a much more tangible historical reality. He is mentioned by Calamy (III. 243) as having been ejected from Tattenhall in Staffs; though he adds nothing as to his career. In 1669 he is reported as the first of three preachers who minister to a Conventicle in Shuttington (Warw.), which was held 'in the parish church, there being noe 'minr residing upon it (**R. 194**).' The other two teachers are Thomas Hill and Thomas Dowley, who both held Conventicles in their own houses in Newton Regis, the Bishop adding, with reference to the Conventicle in Shuttington Parish Church: 'all ye resorters to it are frõ 'Newton Regis.'

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* Rev. Alex. Gordon confirms my identification of Abel Collier, but shows that his Halstead ministry and his residence in London were not successive, but contemporary. 'He was of New Inn Hall, Oxford, matric. "ser." 9 Dec. 1650; B.A. '1656. Though in business in London he preached at Halstead: the Common Fund '(afterwards known as "Presbyterian") granted him, from 1690, £12 a year for Halstead.'—(A. G.)

And in this year 1672 he was licensed for Tamworth [**B. (32)**], as well as Coventry [**E. (95)**]. Tamworth was in his old county, Staffs, and quite near to Shuttington and Newton Regis; and he evidently had retired to Tamworth, as his house there is licensed as well as himself. This Tamworth licence he obtained as early as April 16, from Sir John Trevor. Still, I doubt not it is the same Thomas Buxton who is licensed to minister to the Congregationalists of Coventry, as it was as a Congregationalist Thomas Buxton was licensed for Tamworth. The Coventry licence he secured through the application of 'J. B.'—whether John Boun or John Bryan (as Mr. Gordon suggests)—more than three weeks later (May 9) from Lord Arlington.

14. EDWARD HOBSON.

Edward Hobson's name appears only once on these licence-documents. It is at the foot of **320 (255)**, which applies for licences in counties as far apart as Sussex and Yorkshire. The applications are made out with great precision and fulness:

> 'Mr John Corbet sometimes minister of the Citty of Chichester in the County of Sussex desiers a Lysence to preach and pforme religious services in any Lysensed place he is of the Presbiterian pswation.
>
> 'Mr John Noble of the Presbiterian pswation desires a Lycense to preach in the house of Leonard Warde in Tanshelfe in the Westriding of the County of Yorke or in any other Lycensed place.
>
> 'Edw: Hobson will call for these Lycences.'

It is difficult to find a 'common denominator' for these two cases—the single 'general' licence for John Corbet and the two licences for John Noble. Edward Hobson's knowledge of John Corbet is noticeably intimate. For though he had had a living in Chichester, it was not from Chichester that he was ejected, but from Bramshott, in Hampshire. John Corbet (Calamy II. 259-262) was a native of Gloucester, was educated at Oxford (Magdalen Hall), began his ministry in his native city. That must have been prior to 1643, as he was in the city throughout its siege by the King. From Gloucester he went to Chichester; and thence to Bramshott, in Hants. We have proof positive that he was at Bramshott in 1658; for in that year he and John Hooke were added to the Commission in the County of Hampshire 'for ejecting scandalous, 'ignorant and insufficient ministers' (Capes' 'Rural Life in Hampshire,'

p. 197); and we probably shall not be far wrong in saying that he was Rector of Bramshott from 1654 to 1662. That would put his ministry in Chichester in the decade from 1644 to 1654. On his ejectment from Bramshott Calamy says he lived privately in and about London till King Charles's Indulgence. In 1664 the informers report him as preaching on May 27 at Mr. Bailey's, in Ironmonger Lane; and on December 14 at 'The Seven Starres' on Ludgate Hill. But he could not keep away from his old friends on the borders of Hants and Sussex. In 1669 the Bishop of Chichester reports him (**R. 176**) as preaching with Mr. Reeves to a Conventicle of 'neere 200' of 'midle rank,' held 'att the house of Roger Shotters' in 'Fernhurst' (Farnhurst), which is as far from Haslemere southward (on the Chichester road) as Bramshott is south-west just off the great London-Portsmouth road. [Mr. Reeves had been his neighbour in the old times, for when John Corbet was at Chichester Thomas Reeves was at Bognor.]

In 1672 Calamy tells us 'a part of his old flock invited him to 'Chichester.' The paper put in by Edward Hobson expresses their desire to have him licensed, and inserts as a reason for granting the licence the fact that he was 'sometime minister of the Citty of Chi-'chester.' It is not a special licence for a particular place, but a general licence authorizing him to preach in any place allowed or licensed—whether in Gloucester, Chichester, Bramshott, Farnhurst, or London.

John Noble was a Yorkshireman, educated at Cambridge (Cal. III. 450; and Dales's 'Yorkshire Puritanism, &c.,' pp. 114, 115); first appointed to Whitgift in 1637, and nine years later (1646) to 'Smeton' (Kirk Smeaton); signed the W. R. Ministers' Attestation in 1648; is described in the Parliamentary Survey as 'an able and painfull preacher,' and was much troubled by Quakers. At Smeaton he laboured sixteen years, till the Act of Uniformity ejected him. Thence it seems that he retired to Tanshelf, a village near Smeaton. Dale tells us that after the death of Joseph Ferret, of Pontefract, in 1663, he regularly preached at 'the Court,' the house of Leonard Ward, in Tanshelf; and here we find that through the good offices of Edward Hobson he secured a licence to preach in the house of Leonard Ward.

The fact that a Mr. John Hobson (Cal. III. 447) was Rector of Sandal Parva—a place 'near Doncaster,' and only a few miles south of both Kirk Smeaton and Tanshelf; who, after his ejectment, continued to live there on his own means, and who in 1672 secured a general licence through the kindly offices of Timothy Cloudsley [**E. (61)**], inevitably suggests the idea the Edward Hobson in London may have been some relative of his, and that, at John's suggestion, Edward may have taken up Noble's case at the same time that he put in John Corbet's application.

Edward Hobson's application was more than successful in that not only were the three licences issued on May 1 (the same date on which Cloudsley secures a licence for John Hobson), but the very next day a second group of licences are issued. The first are entered on **E. (66)** and the second on **E. (70)**. I suppose it is simply a case of inadvertence or carelessness on the part of the Whitehall officials.

15. Mr. Hockley.

All that we learn about Mr. Hockley from these licence-documents is that on April 20, 1672, he 'gives in' a long list of applications for licences drawn up in the handwriting of John Hickes—**320 (154)**. These applications are for two licences in Somerset, eight in Cornwall, and eleven in Devon.

We may therefore credit John Hickes with the active intelligence concerned in the business. Mr. Hockley is simply his 'hand' in the matter.

(i) For the two Somerset licences the application was needless. The licences had already been drawn out the previous day. They were for Mr. Gardner to preach at David Bayly's house in Bridgewater.

Two applications had already been made for them: one **320 (113)** by Hickes on April 17; the other in an official list drawn out the following day [**320 (125)**].

The licences were made out two days after—as we see on **E. (33)**. Appended to each entry is a note—in Sir Joseph Williamson's handwriting—which shows that, by an act of culpable carelessness, the Whitehall officials failed to notice that the two items which headed the list Mr. Hockley put in, were for licences they had already made out, and that they should have there and then handed them to him. It is to the effect that the officials gave them out to Mr. John Hickes three days subsequent to Mr. Hockley's visit. To 'Mr. Gardner's' licence—it is 'Mr. Hickes r̃d. it 23. Apr.'; and to David Bayly's 'Mr. Hicks 'rđ 23. Apr. 72.'

The rest of the applications were promptly attended to—those for three houses in Devon—the very day that Hockley called.

All the Cornwall licences and six of those for Devon were made out two days later (April 22); and only one was left longer—viz., that for William Bartlet's house in Biddeford, and that was not issued till December, if issued then—*vide* **E. (279)**.

16. William Jones.

The 'William Jones' who 'put in' **321 (373)** cannot be identified with either of the two of that name included in Calamy's list. (1) The first was ejected from Denbigh (Cal. III. 477). He was a native of Merioneth, born 1595; matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxon, 1615 (December 8); graduated B.A. October 20, 1617; and M.A. 1620; Rector and Vicar of Denbigh 1648. After 1665 he found a comfortable retreat in Plas Teg in Flintshire, and he was there in the year of Indulgence, for a licence was procured for him there October 28 [**E. (261)**]. If he had been up to London June 17, he would certainly have got his own licence then. (2) The other was ejected from Cilmaenllyd [Kilmaenllwyd, on the Pembroke border] (III. 497); was four years incarcerated in Carmarthen Castle; and in prison became a Baptist—after his liberation founding a Baptist Church in 1668 at Rhydwillim. It is almost certain that so strong an Antipædobaptist would not have gone up to London to receive licences for Independents.

The memorandum reads :—

‘M^{r} Hen: Walter Independant and his house att Parke y Pill in the parrish of Lanterneum
‘M^{r} John Powell Independant
‘M^{r} Josua Lloyd Independant Itinerant [erased]
‘For these 3 places. The Bell Inn in Caerwent y^{e} house of John Morrice
‘The house of Will: Howell in y^{e} ꝑish of Undy
‘The house of Joane Jones called y^{e} Milton in y^{e} parrish of
‘Xch̄urch June 17th 72
‘Rec^{d} these licences
‘by
‘me WILLIAM JONES.’

The list is not in the handwriting of William Jones, but is evidently drawn up by the same hand as **321 (353)**, in which application is made for exactly the same licences as those which William Jones takes away on June 17. With one exception, every one of these licences were granted June 10, just a week before William Jones calls for them at Whitehall [see **E. (156)**, **E. (166)**, and **E. (169)**]. The one exception is that for Joshua Lloyd [though a licence for his house ‘in Henesant’ (which had not been asked for) was entered on **E. (166)**], and calls for comment. Joshua Lloyd’s was to be in the terms of **321 (353)** —‘Independ^{t}, Itinerant (if possible).’ But the clerk misread the word ‘Itinerant,’ and took it to be ‘Henesant,’ making out the licence as a general one, and making ‘Henesant’ the name of his place of residence: as see the licence entry on **E. (170)**. ‘Licence to Josuah ‘Lloyd of Henesant, Monmouth to be a Găll Ind. Teacher. 15 June.’

Evidently, however, there was some difficulty about it, when William Jones calls for the licences, for the word ‘Itinerant’ which is written on the receipt as it was written on the application, is erased, or rather very rudely blotted out. Doubtless, too, the word would be crossed out in the licence itself which William Jones took away. For there is no such place in Wales—or anywhere else—as Henesant; and it would be explained to him that a ‘general’ licence is as near an approach to an ‘Itinerant’ licence as could be, since it authorized him to preach in *any place* which was licensed or allowed, though the Indulgence did not permit even a licensed person to preach in any place for which a licence had not been issued.

17. JOHN JUXON.

The surname Juxon is so uncommon that the conjecture comes unbidden that this agent for Nonconformists in Gloucestershire was a relative of the celebrated William Juxon [who was so ardent a disciple of Archbishop Laud, rising through his influence to be successively

Dean of Worcester, Bishop of Hereford, and, in 1633, Bishop of London; who, from 1635 to 1641, was Lord High Treasurer, attended Charles I. in the Isle of Wight, and on the scaffold at Whitehall; and who at the Restoration of Charles II. was made Archbishop of Canterbury, dying only three years afterwards, June 4, 1663].

The Juxon family belonged, however, to Sussex (William was a native of Chichester), which is far enough away from Gloucester. It is true, the two places in Gloucester for which these licences are asked are on its western border, the part adjoining Herefordshire: so that it is possible John, with other of William Juxon's kindred, may have got to know, or even formed connections with, that part of Gloucester during William's Bishopric of Hereford.

Fortunately, we are not left wholly to such tentative speculations. The authority of a State Paper, belonging probably to the year 1664, enables us to identify the personality of John Juxon, and makes his kindred with the Archbishop more than probable. This State Paper is calendared S. P. Dom. Car. II. 109 (64); and is endorsed 'East Sheene, Fanatickes there.' It was drawn up by a nameless informer, who sent his information to 'the Right Honorable the Lord Croftes,' the devoted Royalist who was amongst the last Barons created by Charles I., who accompanied young Charles II. to Paris, and was high in his favour on his return, more than once entertaining his Royal Master at his mansion at Southam.

The first section of this paper is headed in this remarkable fashion:

'At East Sheene, these the Grandees.'

And the central pair of names is of John Juxon and his elder brother, in the following terms:

> 'Nicholas & John Juxon Brokers & Sugar bakers by trade Nicholas was a Justice in Oliver's time & a man very Active.'

Their father, 'John Juxon of East Sheen,' had been dead nearly thirty years. In 1629 John Juxon, senior, had been admitted to Gray's Inn; in 1636 was created B.C.L.: and by (his relative) Dr. William Juxon, then both Bishop of London and Lord High Treasurer, had been appointed an officer in the Royalist Army. Before the civil war was over he died (1643), and was buried in St. Lawrence Pountney. His sons, however, Nicholas and John, were both decided Parliamentarians, and Nicholas was made a J.P. in Oliver's time (as this paper testifies). John was associated with him in business, which was doubtless carried on in London. So that though their country house (and ancestral home) was in East Sheene—the beautiful hamlet, just south of Mortlake and east of Richmond—John and his brother would be often in Town; and John could drop in at Whitehall, with these applications with which distant friends in Gloucestershire had entrusted him.

I have just alighted upon a document which belongs to the same date as the informer's paper, which makes this conjecture certain, and shows that their town house or houses were in St. Stephen's Walbrook.

It is an 'Assessment on the Inhabitants of St. Stephen's upon Wal-'brook for the poor, 1664.

'Nicholas Juxon ...	... 3 week...	...	£1 1 08
John Juxon ...	... 3 „ ...	...	13 00.'

And in the Vestry minutes of St. Margaret's New Fish Street, under date 1649-50, is this entry:

'M^r^ Gethen towards the lecture of this Winter
M^r^ Juxon's legacy ... ... 01 00 00.'

Surely this will be a legacy of John Juxon, senior (who died 1643), paid through one of his executors, Mr. Gethen.

And in 1652:

'p^d^ M^r^ Meritonn for the lecture, beinge M^r^
Juxon's Legacy ... ... 01 00 00.'

1660 and 1661:

'p^d^ M^r^ Swallwood—M^r^ Juxtone's Legacy for
the Lecture ... ... 001 00 00.'

The paper John Juxon put in at Whitehall is calendared **321** (**293**), and reads:

'For Mr. Thomas Smith, of Huntley in glocestershire of y^e^ presbiterian perswatõn.

'For an out house beelonging to Thomas Bradley of Ruarden in the county of Glocest^r^shire,

'JOHN JUXON.

'May 31^st^, 1672'

Ten days later a licence was issued in accordance with these instructions, entered on **E.** (**160**):

'Licence to Thomas Smith to be a Pr. in Tho: Bradley's Outhouse in Burden, Glocester. 10 June'

There is no evidence as to who took it away. But two things about it are most unsatisfactory. (1) 'Ruarden' or (Ruardean) is changed into 'Burden'—an absolute 'Utopia.' (2) No licence for 'Thomas Bradley's outhouse' was made out, either for 'Burden' or 'Ruarden' or anywhere else. So that Thomas Smith's personal licence is 'held up' as absolutely useless.

All that Calamy knows about Thomas Smith (II. 251) is that he was ejected from Longhope (where he had been vicar for seven years), and that he afterwards lived at Bristol (without Lawford's gate), where he died at a ripe old age (nearly ninety) in 1705. These licence-documents show, however, that on his ejectment, or not long after, he had retired to Huntley, as he is described in John Juxon's memorandum, as 'of 'Huntley.' These three places: Longhope, whence he had been ejected; Huntley, where he lived; and Ruardean, where he hoped to be licensed to preach, are very near to one another. Longhope is in the centre, and Ruardean is six or seven miles from Longhope on the south-west; and Huntley little more than two, on the north-east.

When his useless licence arrives, he evidently hesitates to trouble John Juxon further to rectify the matter, and secures the services of James Innes, junior. This time he instructs him to get a licence for his house in Huntley, and one for himself to preach in it. These 'desires' James Innes, junior, inserts in memorandum **321** (**364**), which contains by far the longest list of applications which were ever put in at Whitehall. Though **321** (**364**) is undated, it was probably handed in by the middle of the month of June—not many days, therefore, after Thomas Smith had received his futile licence. And they seem to have been promptly attended to, for both are entered on **E.** (**174**); and though they are not dated, they belong to the four weeks between June 15 and July 16. Still Thomas Smith is not satisfied. Is it that he never received these two licences for himself and his house in Huntley? [Such a possibility I have consistently considered a probability with these undated entries.]

At any rate, fresh applications must have been put in two or three months later, and for all three licences; for we find three licences entered in his interest on **E.** (**238**), two of them dated September 5th, the previously missing one for Thomas Bradley's outhouse being entered on the first line of the page :

'The house of Thomas Bradley of Ruarden in Glocestrsh̄. Pr. Sept 5th
'Licence to Tho: Smith of Huntlÿ in Gloctrsh̄. to be a Pr. Teacher Sept 5th.
'The house of ye above sd̄ Smith at Huntlÿ in Glocestrsh̄.'

We see, then, the enterprise—undertaken by John Juxon as early as the last day of May—completed at last, by some unknown friend (or possibly by a personal visit to Whitehall by Thomas Smith himself), on the 5th of September, 1673.*

18. THOMAS KETT.

This Thomas Kett put in two applications on the same day, June 1, 1672, the one an afterthought and supplement to the other. The first [**321** (**301**)] was for five houses in the Eastern Counties, four in Suffolk (two in Bungay, one in Waybread, and one in Hopton), and one in Norfolk (Alburgh). The second [**321** (**302**)] was for a teacher and a house in Norfolk, Redenhall cum Harleston, quite close to Alburgh. These places are all in the same district, the southern part of Norfolk, and the northern part of Suffolk. The licences, too, are all for Congregationalists; only the first two in Bungay are for Baptists as well, the Bungay Church evidently being a 'Union' Church.

* Another Juxon, Thomas [probably brother of John Juxon, senior, as he died October 6, 1672], also of East Sheen, was a wealthy man, whose heiress was his only daughter. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Meredyth, of Green Hills, co. Kildare, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. After Thomas Juxon's death, she became the first wife of Dr. Daniel Williams (founder of Dr. Williams's Library).

The applications were put in June 1. Nine days later they were made out, and entered as issued June 10, 1672, on **E. (159)**.

In the absence of definite information, we are left to conjecture about Thomas Kett. Kett is a name closely connected with the history of Norfolk. [For in Edward VI.'s reign, the people resented the excessive power of the aristocratic families around the young King; and two brothers, Robert and William Kett headed an armed insurrection against the Government, which was mainly political in its aims. William Kett became a democratic judge in the neighbourhood of Norwich, sitting Deborah-like for judgment under a tree, which was called the Reformation-tree. But the political uprising became also a religious one, the malcontents demanding a resident clergy and preaching. The insurrection was crushed by Warwick, and Kett was hanged.]

Was Thomas Kett a descendant of this insurrectionary hero of a century before? The revolutionary blood in his veins might well have predisposed him to rebel against the persecuting spirit of the Clarendon régime.

19. JOHN LEIGH.

This John Leigh, whose signature is so bold and clear, contributes four memoranda to this licence-literature, but they are very 'scant' in the number of licences concerned.

The first [**321** (**16**)] is an application. It is endorsed : 'Leighs note. 'Cristow,' and reads :

> 'A Generall Licence is desired for John Hopping of Christow in the County of Devon Clerke being of the Presbiterian P̃swasion
> 'to be call'd for
> 'ꝑ Jo: LEIGH
> '7° May 1672°'

Apparently he fulfilled his promise and called six days later, only to find his request ignored. So he leaves a second application [**321** (**102**)] endorsed: 'Devon.' It is dated 'May 13°, 1672°'

> 'A Generall Lycence is desired for John Hopping of Christow in the County of Devon Clerke being of the Presbiterian ꝑswasion to preach in any lycenced place
> 'to be called for ꝑ
> 'Jo: LEIGH.'

The same day, too, he leaves another application **321** (**103**):

> 'May 13° 1672°
> 'A Lycence is desired for the house of William Greene of Topsham in the County of Devon that it may be lycenced for Ministers of the Presbiterian ꝑswasion to preach in
> 'to be called for
> 'ꝑ Jo: LEIGH.'

This third application was promptly attended to. A licence was made out, and is entered on **E. (124)**, only three days later, as follows:

> 'The howse of W^m Green in Topshã, Devoñ Presb. Meeting Place. 16 May'

His only other application is for another house in Trusham, **21 (309)**. It is dated about three weeks later:

> 'June 4° 1672°
>
> 'A Lycence is desired for a house called Whatcombe house in the parish of Trusham in the County of Devoñ in the possession of John Stooke and William Stooke for licenced Ministers of the Presbyterian Perswasion
>
> 'to be called for
>
> 'p Jo: LEIGH.'

We have no proof that he ever called for it. So much we would learn from the memoranda themselves. Yet **E.** shows us that the natural conclusion drawn from the absence of any receipt for John Hopping's licence and the drawing out of a fresh application is a false one. Not only had his previous application been noticed, but it had been promptly attended to. Only two days after he first applied for it, it was issued—viz., on May 9, as *vide* **E. (94)**; and the following day, May 10, John Hickes had taken it away [**321 (88)**]. The singular thing is that the officials did not tell John Leigh that it was made out, and that John Hickes had received it. They treat **321 (102)** as an entirely fresh application, and a second licence is made out, and entered on **E. (143)**, dated '29 May,' which shows that they allowed more than a fortnight to elapse before they attended to it.

A similar mistake seems to have been made, or at least similar difficulty seems to have arisen, about Whatcombe House, Trusham. Six days after John Leigh's application on June 4, 1672, a licence was issued. It is entered on **E. (158)**: 'Like for John Stooke's howse in 'Tushã Parish, Devoñ, June 10.' Yet nearly three months later another licence was issued for 'William Stooke's'—viz., on September 5, 1672. It is entered on **E. (248)**: 'The house of William 'Stookes call by the Name of Whitecombe house in Trusham in our 'County of Devon. Presƀ. Sep^r 5th.'

This John Leigh was perhaps the John Leigh of Devon, 'pleb.,' who (Foster's 'Al. Oxon.') was born 1589; matriculated from Exeter College, May 22, 1612; graduated B.A., 1615; and proceeded M.A. from Brasenose, 1622, July 1.

Or was it his son? Was the first application rejected because the place was wrongly named 'Tusham'? or because the 'house' was not named? and its ownership was put down to one only of the two brothers John. Even so, the second was scarcely more satisfactory, as (1) the house was wrongly named 'Whitecombe,' instead of 'What-'combe'; and (2) the ownership is still accredited to only one of the brothers, this time William.

20. NEHEMIAH LYDE.

Of 'Nehemiah Lyde' we know nothing (*adhuc*), save that he signs four application papers, and that a fifth, earlier than any of the rest, is in his handwriting.

This 'last which is first' is **320 (128)**, and asks eight licences: two for Hornechurch in Essex, one for Manchester (Henry Newcome's house), two for Flint (Philip Henry's person and house), and three for Suffolk (East Bergholt).

Those for Henry Newcome and Philip Henry, Richard Steele takes up, and is responsible for; and the three for Suffolk appear in the next of Lyde's series—viz., **320 (186)**, which is signed by Nehemiah Lyde, and is dated April 24, 1672. But beside the three in Suffolk for which he had previously applied, he applies thereon for five licences in Herefordshire (four in Hereford City and one at Tidstone-Delamere).

This memorandum, too, is interesting as giving suggestions, if no more, as to Nehemiah Lyde's personality. It is dated '24 Apr. 72,' and is signed:

> 'at Mr. Traherns a Goldsmith next doore to the King's head Taverne neere Sommerset house for
>
> 'Yr servant NEHEMIAH LYDE.'

It looks as though he were a mere lodger in this shop-house in the Strand, though whether as a permanent resident in London, or only in London for a time on this licence business, does not appear.

The next [**320 (257)**] is an application for a single person, though for his house as well as his person, at Bole, in Notts.

In **321 (9)** three licences are asked for Herefordshire; (one of them already asked for in **320 (257)**, that for Samuel Smith, junior); and one is asked for Mr. Henry Vaughan, of London [who had been ejected from Grantham (Cal. II. 417), and was staying in London, in an interval between two long residences in the Bermudas,* where, indeed, he ended his days].

This application was lodged at Whitehall May 6. In the following Memorandum [**321 (10)**] he simply renews the application for two of the Herefordshire house-licences.

Was he any relative of Nicholas Lyde, of Lovington, Soms, gentleman, whose son and namesake matriculated from Balliol College, Oxford, 1669? or of Richard Lyde, who was born at Berry Pomeroy, Devon, in 1605? [Foster's 'Alumn. Oxon.']

The other licence-documents enable us to follow the varied fortunes of these applications, none of which Nehemiah Lyde presses on Whitehall till he obtains them [though some of the facts herein revealed tempt one to question whether **320 (186)** was not intended as a memorandum of receipt rather than an application].

* That his first brief visit to the Bermudas was in 1665-66 is made clear from S. P. Dom. Car. II. 109, 58, 'An Account of Presbyterians in London' (1664-65), in which his name appears in a list of 'preachers at ye Conventicles,' and he is referred to as 'Mr Vaughan who is going to Bermudas.'

Of the licences applied for in **320 (128)** (1) those for W. Blackmore, of Hornechurch, were also applied for by Mr. Blany [**320 (129)**], on April 18 or 19, and put on an official list [**320 (146)**] on April 19. They are promptly made out, and entered on **E. (34)** as issued April 20. Indeed, the note is appended on this application of Lyde's, 'given out 'to him Sat. 20 Apr.' The 'him,' I presume, is the licensee, William Blackmore, who must have come up from Hornechurch to Whitehall to receive it.

(2) That for Henry Newcome's house in Manchester is the third application which was made for it, and yet it was not issued for another three weeks. [It is entered on **E. (89)** as issued May 8, and even then it was not taken away for another two days, as it was eventually by Richard Steele—till May 10—[**321 (91)**.] Indeed, it was Richard Steele who had drawn up the first two applications—**320 (88 A)** and **320 (127)**—though 'Mr Parsons' had actually 'put in' the first for him. It was fit, therefore, that Richard Steele should finally secure and take them away.

(3) Philip Henry's licences had twice before been applied for by his friend Richard Steele [on **320 (87)** and on **320 (127)**]. Yet this third application was not responded to for another ten days, for the licences were not issued till April 30, as entered on **E. (49)**.

(4) The three for East Bergholt did not get attention for more than a fortnight. A second application for them [on **320 (186)**] put in by Lyde on April 24, produced as little result as the first, and it was only a third application, in the form of a letter to Mr. Benson, Sir Joseph's chief clerk, **321 (8)**, which brought the Whitehall officials to the point. The licences were then issued May 2 [as entered on **E. (53)**], but were not called for, nor 'given out,' till May 6 [see note appended to **321 (8)**]. Even then it does not appear by whom the licences were actually taken away.

Beside the second application for the East Bergholt licences, **320 (186)** put in applications for four licences for Hereford City and one for the town of Ross; but all these had been already issued, with the exception of one for Samuel Smith junior:—Mr. Primerose's and Mr. Samuel Smith senior's, in Hereford City, on April 19 [as entered on **E. (31)** and **E. (32)**]; Mr. Voyle's (though entered as 'Wm 'Boyle') in the city, and Mr. Collier's in Ross, a day later [as entered on **E. (37)** and **E. (35)** respectively]. As I have said, that tempts us to look upon the paper as a memorandum of receipt, but the Essex applications on it, which had to wait for a week before they were acted on, show too clearly that it was an application form, though in these cases a needless one.

320 (257) applies for licences already applied for in **320 (256)** by an unknown friend of Josiah Rocke's. Both licences are granted on May Day [*vide* **E. (65)**], and a second pair are issued the following day, May 2 [*vide* **E (71)**, and [as we learn from **320 (299)**] they were taken away by Jonathan Tuckney the day after that, May 3, 1672. **321 (9)** is so absorbed with Hereford that Mr. Benson has endorsed it 'Hereford: 'Lyde's note.' Only one of the three is an old application, viz., that for Samuel Smith junior; indeed it is actually a fifth application. **320** (**186**) was the third, and **321** (**8**) was the fourth. To that memorandum (as we have seen already) the note is appended that the licences were given out May 6—the very day on which **321** (**9**) was put in by Lyde—but, according to the entry-book, it was not issued till May 8. [The note did not properly apply to this licence.]

Two other applications are for houses in Hereford (Thomas Seaborne's and George Primerose's); but these are not granted till Nehemiah Lyde has called to leave a second application on **321** (**10**). The first is issued May 8 [**E. 83**]; but the second, not for a week later, May 16 [**E.** (**121**)], when a second licence for Thomas Seaborne was issued, and both were handed out to Timothy Wood on May 18 [*vide* **321** (**204**)].

* * * * *

Since writing the above, I have been favoured with a most interesting communication from Rev. Alex. Gordon, which in a very vivid way accounts for the presence of Nehemiah Lyde in London at this time, as also for his activity in securing licences for the Nonconformists of Herefordshire and Essex.

In his vigorous old age (when over eighty) he wrote the life of his father, under the title: 'A Narrative of the Life of M^{r} Richard Lyde 'of Hereford. And Some Memorials of Others related to him by 'Affinity or Consanguinity, &c. . . . London Printed in the Year 'M.DCC.XXXI.'

It is dedicated 'To the Relations of the Deceased. . . . From 'Nehemiah Lyde. Hackney. Aug. 8. 1731. ætat 8$\frac{0}{1}$. Born '23 January 165$\frac{0}{1}$.'

Nehemiah's father, Richard, was born at Hereford, December, 1611, of a family formerly owners of the Lordship of Upper and Lower Lyde, Hereford. He was a goldsmith by trade, a citizen of substance and influence, and attained the dignity of Mayor, and died there November 9, 1676.

Nehemiah was his elder son by a second wife, and (as we see above) was born January 23, 165$\frac{0}{1}$, when the Commonwealth was young. His father gave him a good education, putting him to two schools, and later placed him under two Nonconformist ministers, George Primrose for Greek, and William Voyle for Hebrew.

These ministers had been associated with Mr. William Low and Mr. Samuel Smith as joint pastors of the Cathedral Church in Hereford throughout the Commonwealth period, but at the Restoration, of course, had lost their livings, while the Act of Uniformity prevented them from taking any other in the Church of England. This would be when he was sixteen or seventeen, for we know Mr. Voyle had retired for a time to Bristol, the Bishop of Bristol reporting him in 1665-66, among 'such Non-conforming Ministers whoe are Now inhabiting 'wthin the Cittie of Bristoll, contrary to the late Act of Parliament,' so that he would not be back in Hereford before 1666 or 1667. With the completion of such a 'liberal' education, his father seems to have placed him with a citizen of London, following the same business as himself—viz., 'Mr. Traherne a Goldsmith next doore to the Kingshead Taverne 'neere Somerset house'; so Nehemiah describes his London home on April 24, 1672 [**320 (186)**], just three months after he had attained his majority. While in London he had the advantage of the friendship of Sir Edward Harley, through his father's 'particular Interest in that 'ever honoured Patriot (Grandfather to the present Earl of Oxford; 'who with his Father Sir Robert Harley, both Knights of the Bath, 'were the eminent Patrons of Religion both in Parliament and in that 'County for a Series of One Hundred Years);' speaking gratefully of Sir Edward, 'honouring him with a Visit in London when a servant 'after his father's death.' This shows that his apprenticeship and service to Mr. Traherne lasted till 1677 or later. He left London for Portugal, where Sir Edward Harley carried on a correspondence with him (he 'wrote me letters when in Portugal'), and 'placed him' there 'with his Brother's Son Thomas Harley Esquire.' Later, about 1680, he became corresponding clerk to Sir Humphrey Edwin in his continental and India business. Returning from Portugal to London, he retired eventually to Hackney, where he wrote his father's life.

The motto, closing its title, has a touch of pathos from the pen of an old man of over eighty:

'Parve (nec invideo) sine me Liber ibis in Urbem. Ovid.'
(aut orbem)

He survived its publication six years, dying in July, 1737.

It is in his very early days, when he had not long started in life in London, that he acted as Licence-agent for the Nonconformists of Herefordshire, by the direct instructions of his father.

His account of it is most vivid and illuminating, though the reminiscences of what took place nearly sixty years before:

'When there was a great persecution of Dissenters in King *Charles*'s Reign in favour of the Papists' [here Nehemiah's memories are a little astray] he [his father, Richard Lyde] exerted himself in making his House sometimes a little Church (as my first Wife [did] when a Widow)* for M^{r} Primrose to preach in on Lord's Days; and, being beloved by the Magistrates was never disturbed:—But when some Years after the King gave a publick Indulgence in 1673 [in this Nehemiah is a little "late," though the Indulgence lasted into January and February of that year] to the Country, though he connived at it in *London* before—and I being then resident there, ordered me to procure licences for Herefordshire; and in it took particular Care to have Respect to those Market Towns where there was not an able publick Minister, but rather an inveterate Opposition; as particularly *Bromyard*,† where the Reverend *Woodward*‡ preached on a Week-Day at the Opening of their first Meeting on that Text: Can any Good come out of

---

* Her name was *Reade*, whom he did not marry till 168$\frac{8}{9}$. She must have been widowed early. Was she the 'Widow Reade' of Steventon, Beds, for whose house a licence was secured (for John Allen to preach in) May 16, 1672, by the agency of Thos. Taylor or maybe John Bunyan himself?

† A licence was secured for the house of John Bond there, but nearly four months after his successes for Hereford City (August 10). For that date we have no memoranda preserved.

‡ W. Woodward's licences were not for Bromyard, but for Orleton. They had been secured (a week before Nehemiah's application) by John Hickes, April 17, 1672.

Nazareth? John i. 46. 'I remember they beat the Drums in the Street near the Place to drown his Voice: And when that Liberty was suppressed at the first Meeting of the Parliament, and there was a fierce prosecution of Dissenters; yet when the first Lord's-Day in the Morning the Mayor (Mr John *Williams*) and Magistrates at Hereford permitted it, yet in the Afternoon, interrupted Mr Primrose, and convened him and some of the Hearers and Members before them in the Market-House; yet they omitted my Father, the principal of them.'

Returning from this little excursus to the part he himself took in the Indulgence time, having referred to Sir Edward Harley (*ut supra*), he continues:

'So my Father having an Advantage by him, sent me to him with a Representation of their case in their Distress, with a Petition to the King; but Sir *Edward* drew up another more suitable to publick addresses, and gave me Letters not only to his particular Friends, but to some eminent Noblemen—them of the CABAL (as then held) or Government at Court; the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Anglesey*, then Lord Privy-Seal, *Denzil* Lord Hollis, but more especially to *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury* then Lord Chancellor, and also to some Sollicitors at Court, to assist and introduce me in the delivery of the Letters; as the Reverend Mr *Innys*, a *Scotch* Nonconformist Minister, well acquainted with the King, who mostly solicited for the Presbyterians; as Dr *Owen* and *John* Gould Esquire of *Clapham* for the Congregational; and Mr *Kiffen* for the *Antipedobaptists*, and Sir *Edward* did also in Parliament and personally attended the King to sollicit it himself: And though I with others attended and delivered several Petitions, particularly Mr *Primrose* one himself a *Re infecta* without effect: yet it had that good effect that though my Father and others were threatned and indicted as Rioters, yet by traversing the Indictment to Indictment, none of them suffered in their Persons or Goods by Seizure (as they did in other Places) by my Father and Friends Interest.' He goes on to say that his 'Father was at great Expences in *London* on that account,' but prospered 'in his Trade more than before.'

It will be seen, by what precedes this account of him, that Nehemiah's exertions, in petitions and attendances at Whitehall, were not as he somewhat pessimistically describes them 'without effect.' This young scion of a good Puritan stock takes his part (though he appears so late upon the scene) in the persistent process which did actually secure licences for his tutors, Primrose and Voyle, and Samuel Smith, of Hereford; and Anthony Collier, of Ross.

Was it through his father's possessions in Essex that he was approached by the Nonconformists of East Bergholt?

21. PETER MARKES.

His name appears only on two documents, but the transaction he undertook was carried through with promptitude and success.

'Some of the inhabitants of Backelie in the Countie of Lancaster' had drawn up a Petition to the King, beseeching and supplicating His Majesty's 'Allowance and approbation that the house or houseing of 'Mr Thomas Pyke may bee a place for your petticioners and others that 'please to Assemble ther for their Publicke Worship and Devotion'; and that his Majesty 'would bee pleased lickewise graciously to Allow 'of Mr Thomas Pyke of the Presbyterian perswation to Exercise his 'ministeriall function their.' The Petition was signed by ten inhabitants; and was committed to the care of Peter Markes. It is preserved in the Record Office as **321 (78)**, and is endorsed as received the 10th of May.

He takes it to Whitehall, leaving also the paper **321 (79)**—which is endorsed: 'Marke's note, Lancashire'—in the following form:

> 'Memor̃ to gitt (*sic*) a Lysence for Mr Thomas Pycke of ye Presbiterian perswasion
> 'at his house or housing in ye Towne of Blacklee in ye County of Lankester.
>
> 'PETR MARKES.'

We find from **E. (101)** that the application was promptly attended to. The licences were issued only three days after the petition had been received—viz., on May 13; and Peter Markes called for and took them away only two days after—May 15: as witness **321 (162)**:

> 'May 15th 1672
> 'Recd then a Lycence for Mr Thomas Pycke of Blacklee in Lancyshire of ye Presbiterian perswasion to Teach in his own hous:
> 'by mee
> 'P. MARKES.'

Who he was—whether a Lancashire man (resident in or near Manchester) who came up to London, either expressly to carry this matter through, or who, coming up on some personal business, undertook to look to it; or a Londoner, who undertook the matter on the request of some Lancashire friend—I have no clue to determine.

There is a point worth noting, incidentally raised by Rev. Frank Bate in his 'Declaration of Indulgence, 1672' (Constable & Co., 1908), in connection with the character of the places for which licences were sought. He says (p. 94): 'Some boldly asked leave to use large public 'halls, churches that were vacant, and chapels that were unendowed'; and after referring to the proffered loan by the Haberdashers' Company of their Hall for Dr. Jacomb, he says: 'Thomas Pike successfully 'requested a licence to preach in Blacklie Chapel.'

In a footnote he cites 'C.S.P.D., 1672-73, p. 504,' in support of his statement. The reference is inexact. It is on p. 527 of that volume of the 'Calendar' that Thomas Pike (or 'Pycke') is mentioned, and the document cited as the basis of the reference is **321 (78)**. But this is the petition reproduced in Appendix I. (on p. x) [though it is cited as on p. 93! —93 being the number at the foot of the paper, '78,' the number cited in the 'Calendar,' being the number at the *top* of it]. And that is the petition partly quoted above—*not* made or sent up by Thomas Pike: his name does not appear among the signatories—but by ten of the 'Inhabitants 'of Blackelie,' for his Majesty's allowance and approbation—*not* for *Blacklie* Chapel (it is not mentioned in the document from beginning to end), but 'that the house or houseing of Mr Thomas Pyke may bee a 'place' . . . 'for their Publicke Worship & Devotion.' And that his Majesty would be graciously pleased 'to Allow of Mr Thomas Pyke (of 'the Presbyterian perswation) to Exercise his ministerall Function their.' The document Frank Bate cites lends no support therefore to his statement. Yet there must be some evidence forthcoming, or Frank Bate's further statement in Note 55 (p. 94) would be purely imaginary: 'Dr. 'Nicholas Stratford, Dean of Manchester, complained that Pike was 'successful because he vowed that the chapel was unconsecrated, and 'devoid of a minister, both of which statements were false.' F. Bate does not, however, quote his authority for this latter statement.

Is 'Peter Markes' any relative of 'James Marke,' whose house in Droxford, Hants, was licensed April 13, 1672 [**E. (20)**], for Henry Coxe, of Southampton, to preach in ?

22. CUTHBERT MAUNS.

This man was an 'agent' in the true sense of going to Whitehall to procure and receive licences for the licensee, presumably undertaking to convey them to him when received.

Two papers bear his signature—a signature not very easy to decipher. In both cases it is Hampshire licences he is negotiating.

(1) In the first [**320 (278)**] he applies for two licences, and takes away other two—

(i) The application is for 'Mr Richard Upjohn'* who

> 'desireth A Licenc to preach in his dwelling house in Weston in ye parish of St. Marys nere Southampton he being of ye Congregationall way.'

(ii.) The receipt is for Mr. Gyles Say, of the town of Southampton itself:

> 'May 2th 72. Received a Licence for Mr Gyles Say and for his House in Southampton.
>
> 'CUTHBERT MAUNS.'

This is evidently 'Giles Say' (Cal. II. 279-280), who was ejected from St. Michael's, Southampton.†

(2) The second [**321 (160)**] is dated nearly a fortnight later—May 15, 1672—and contains receipts for three licences: the two applied for in **320 (278)**, and one for Swinnick, in Hants:

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* 'Mr. Up-John' is noted by Calamy (II. 277) as ejected from 'Riply' (a tything in Sopley parish, north of Christchurch), Hants, and licensed for Weston, May 13, 1672 [**E. (103)**].

† Was reported by Bishop Morley as preaching at Southampton in 1669 (**R. 264**), and secured licences for pr & ho:, dated May 2, 1672 [E. (**53**)].

'May 15. 62
'Received two Licencis for
'M^r Richard Pyjohn ("Upjohn") at Weston nere Southampton
'one for Wiłł Houghtons house in Swinnick in Hampshere (*sic*).
'received out by
'CUTHBERT MAUNS.'

I read the name as Cuthbert Mauns. He clearly had friends in Southampton and its immediate neighbourhood.

23. JOHN MOXHAM.

This name is attached both by way of endorsement and of signature to **321** (**46**), which is an application for four licences in Sussex: in Heathfield, Bredhampton; in Eastdeane and How (Hove). It reads:

> 'Joseph Osbourne of Heathfield, desires a place at y^e House of John Fryland in Bredhampton in the County of Sussex, being of an Independant perswasion.
>
> 'William Wallis of Eastdeane, desires a place at the House of S^r John Stapley in How in y^e County of Sussex, being of a presbiterian ꝑswasion.
>
> 'JOHN MOXHAM.'

As it is undated, we cannot judge whether it was attended to promptly; but attended to it was, and it looks as though it were dealt with promptly, for everyone of the four licences desired was issued on the same date—viz., May 8, 1672—and they are entered on successive lines on p. **83** of **E.**, thus:

> 'The howse of S^r John Stapley in How Sussex Pr. Meeting Place. 8 May
>
> 'Licence to W^m Wallis to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of S^r John Stapley in How Sussex 8 May
>
> 'Licence to Joseph Osbourne to be an Ind. Teacher in the howse of John Fryland Bredhempston, Sussex 8 May
>
> 'The house of John Fryland in Bredhempston Sussex Ind. Meeting Place. 8 May'

Unusual as the name is, I have been unable to trace John Moxham or any of his family, The 'locale' of the licences suggests connection with Sussex, and the vicinity of Brighton—for 'How' must be Hove, and Bredhempston 'Brighthelmstone' or *Brighton.*

24. RICHARD NISBETT.

There are four memoranda which bear his name: three of them signed by him, and the fourth—earlier than all the others—endorsed with a direct reference to him.

This fourth, which is the earliest, is **320** (**293**). The memorandum itself is an application for five licences, written in John Hickes's clear hand:

> 'YORKSHIRE
> 'M^r^ John Donkinson Presbyt.
> 'M^r^ Nicholas Wressel of Barwicke upon Tweed presbyt.
> 'M^r^ Gilbert Rule Presbyt.
> 'M^r^ John Denton at Newton in y^e^ parish of Stonegrave. Presbyt.
> 'Rich. Baker's house in Kingsbridg. Devon. for a Presbyt. Congregation.'

The endorsement shows that John Hickes has committed the collection of these licences to a friend, 'Nisbet' by name. It reads:

> 'To be delivered to Mr. Nisbet a Gen^t^ of Grays Inne'

The first name is that of a minister, for whom no application has been made before. It was soon applied for a second time by John Hickes in person [**321** (**87**)], on May 10. When he called again it still was not ready, and he left a third application a day or two later in **321** (**120**). In both of these applications John Donkinson is more distinctly described as 'neare York Presbyt. teacher.' Then the licence was drawn up and issued May 13, 1672, as we see its entry on **E.** (**99**); and the same day Mr. Nisbett calls and takes it away, leaving an acknowledgment, which constitutes the earliest of Nisbett's signed memoranda—viz., **321** (**245**):

> 'May 23^d^
> 'Rec^d^ one lycence for M^r^ James Donkenson of y^e^ Citie of Yorke to preach in all lycensed places
> 'R. NISBET'

The second licence applied for in **320** (**193**) is for Nicholas Wressell, in Berwick on Tweed. Two other applications had been already made on his behalf by James Innes, junior, but in both cases for him to preach in the Tolbooth of Berwick—(1) in **320** (**67**):

> 'M^r^ Nich: Wressell Presb. of Barwick.
> 'The Talbooth at the towne-house in Barwick'

But in the left-hand margin, opposite the second line, the words have been added by Benson 'not app' [meaning 'not approved'].
(2) in **320** (**68**):

> 'M^r^ Nicholas Wressel. Presb. the Talbooth at the towne-house of Barwick.'

And this paper is endorsed by Benson 'some not approved.'

Disencumbered of the application for a public building as a place of meeting, the licence is issued promptly for him as a 'generall teacher' on May 2, *q.v.* **E.** (**68**):

'Like to Nicholas Wressell of Berwick 2 May 72.'

Who took this away and sent it to Wressell we do not know; but John Hickes, in ignorance of the fact, leaves another application for him on May 10 in **321 (87)**, only he writes the name in an almost unrecognizable form as 'Mr Tocestell.'

The third person applied for in **320 (193)** is Gilbert Rule, of Berwick. John Hickes made a second application for him on May 10 in that same memoranda [**321 (87)**], in which he had so murdered Wressell's name; and actually describes him as 'neare York,' instead of as 'of Berwick upon Tweed.' These applications are most persistently ignored, and it is not till September that a licence is issued. The licence is entered on **E. (240)**:

> 'Licence to Gilbert Rule of Barwick upon Tweed pr. Teacher Sept: 5th'

And once attended to the favour is repeated, for a second licence is entered on **E. (253)**:

> 'Licence to Gilbert Rule of Barwick upon Tweed to be a Pr Teacher'

The fourth name on **320 (293)** is that of John Denton of Newton in Stonegrave. This has a special interest, as Stonegrave was John Hickes's first living, and near his birthplace. The licence is not issued till May 16 [as entered on **E. (127)**]—and then to preach in 'Osgoodby 'Grange'; nor is it taken away for nearly another fortnight, when it is called for by Mr. Nisbett. The memorandum on which he acknowledges its receipt is **321 (280)**; but this paper should have been placed before the one that follows it [**321 (281)**], because **321 (281)** contains an application for a licence which Richard Nisbett acknowledges the receipt of at the same time as John Denton's—viz., that of Nathan Lamb of York. To this we shall return.

The fifth and last name on **320 (293)** is Richard Baker, for whose house in Kingsbridge an application is here made. John Hickes had made two applications for R. Baker's house before this—once in **320 (40 A)**, and a second time on **320 (58)**. As neither of these is dated, we do not know how long his applications were ignored. This third application presented through Mr. Nisbett, however, is attended to, and the licence is issued May 13 [as *vide* **E. (99)**]. The following day, too (May 14, 1672), it is called for and taken away by W. Carslake—a Devon man [**321 (149)**].

Mr. Nisbett's next call at Whitehall is made on May 29—that is, six days after he had called and received Mr. John Denton's. On this Wednesday he leaves two memoranda (the last of his which are preserved in the Record Office)—**321 (280)** and **321 (281)**.

The one [**321 (281)**] is an application for two Yorkshire licences—one for a general licence for Mr. Nathaniel Lamb, of York city; the other, Lady Bethell's house in Aulne, eleven and a half miles north of York.

Of the latter we find no further traces. No licence is entered for her ladyship's house at all.

The former, Mr. Nisbett, receives on the spot, there and then, and he leaves the acknowledgment of its receipt on **321** (**280**).

The receipt is for three other licences beside Nathaniel Lamb's—viz., John Denton's, which he had applied for on **320** (**293**), and which had been issued thirteen days before—viz., on May 16 [as see **E.** (**127**)]. The other two licences are for 'Mr Sturr' and 'Sturr's house.' Two applications had been made for one of these two licences; but in both papers the name is written 'Scurr,' and it is for 'the house of Mr John Scurr in the County aforesaid' (viz., the county of Yorke). Both papers are drawn up with scrupulous neatness and care. Indeed, one is a 'duplicate' of the other. The first [**321** (**140**)] is signed 'Willa Thomson,' and is dated 'May the 14th.' The second [**321** (**166**)] is not signed (though, as is noticed *in loco*, it is palpably in W. Thomson's handwriting); but it is endorsed in a way that shows no less a person than Lord Denzil Holles to be interested in the applications. Not (we should imagine) in these Yorkshire licences, but much more probably in the Lincolnshire ones, and most probably in the one for 'the house 'of the Lady Jane Berry in Linwood Grange.' The endorsement shows that this second application was handed in two days later: 'Given in by Ld Holles May 16. $\overline{72}$.'

Lord Holles's intervention acts on the Whitehall officials with magical effect. They make out all the licences that very day [**E.** (**127**).] And from the entry we learn what we are not told in the applications—that John Scurr's house is in Osgoodby Grange, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Now turning to the personality of the applicant, Richard Nisbett. From the endorsement of **320** (**293**) we learn that he is a 'gentleman' in social rank, probably reading for the bar; at any rate, living in chambers in Gray's Inn.

Further, he is certainly personally known to John Hickes, undertaking, in the first instance, to see through certain applications which John Hickes has made. Probably, too, he is a Yorkshireman by birth and kinsmanship, for all the Yorkshire licences are for the North Riding—York city, Aulne, Osgoodby Grange, and Stonegrave. And John Hickes was a native of the North Riding, being born near Thirsk, and having his first living at Stonegrave, the place for which he seeks licences for John Denton. The one licence, too, which appears at first glance such a stranger on **320** (**193**)—viz., that for Richard Baker's house in Kingsbridge, is linked up with the rest by its close connection with John Hickes, for we know that it was from Kingsbridge that John Hickes came up to London to occupy his energies in securing licences for his brethren; more largely in Devon and Cornwall, the counties of his adoption, as the North Riding of Yorkshire was the county of his birth and youth. [From Stonegrave he had gone to Stoke Damerell, Devon (close to Plymouth); thence removed, on ejectment in 1660, to Saltash, Devon; and, though staying there as long as he could after ejectment in 1662, compelled to leave it in 1665 by the Five Mile Act, and returning to Devon County to settle down in the retirement of Kingsbridge.]

At the back of **321** (**280**) is the note, 'Newly returned from France Chevalier.' The date of its being handed in, May 29, 1672, was the King's birthday, and the twelfth anniversary of his triumphal entry into London on his Restoration.

25. THOMAS PARKHURST.

The name of Thomas Parkhurst occurs only twice: once as receiving two licences for which John Hickes had applied, and once as applying for two licences for Chapel-en-le-Frith (in the north of Derbyshire).

The first was an instance of promptitude on the part of Thomas Parkhurst, but not on that of the Whitehall officials.

John Hickes had handed in a list for forty-three licences [**320** (**145**)] on April 18, of which Thomas Evance's were two. 'Tho: Evance in Birmingham in Warwickshire his house for the place of meeting. Presbyterian.' These licences were not made out for nearly a fortnight. They are entered on the first two lines of **E.** (**47**):

Birmingham Pr. Evance's howse.	'The howse of Thomas Evance in Birminghã in Warwickshire licensed to be a Pr. Meeting Place. 30. Apr. 72.
'Evance Pr. Birmingham.	'License to Thomas Evance to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Birmingham Warwick. 30. Apr. 72.'

But the very next day Thomas Parkhurst calls for them at Whitehall and takes them away with him.

He seems to have gone under the escort of the 'Universal Provider,' James Innes, junior, for his receipt is made out on the same piece of paper with 'Ja: Innes Jun^{r}'s' for eight licences (for Wilts, Dorset, and Hants).

320 (**243**):

> 'M^{r} Tho: Evance Person and Place in Birmingham, Warwicksheir
> Rec^{d} by mee this 1st May.
> THO: PARKHURST.'

The second [**321** (**70**)] is a document complete in itself. It is endorsed 'Chappell le Frith. Parkhurst's note,' and reads:

> 'M^{r} W^{m} Bagshaw Prisbiterian for Georg Shirts Howse in the p^{r}ish of Chappell Le Frith in Darbyshier.
> desir'd by M^{r} Tho Parkhurst.'

It is not dated. In Vol. **321** it follows another memorandum of application, which is unsigned as well as undated, but is fuller in its descriptions of the would-be licensees.

320 (69):

> 'William Bagshaw M^r^ of Arts of the Presbyterian Perswasion for the house of George Shirt Yeoman, in the parish of Chappel-le-Frith in the County of Derby.'

Is **69** the original memorandum drawn up by William Bagshaw himself? and **70** Thomas Parkhurst's précis of the same, weighted with the urgency and influence of his signature?

Both licences are granted. They are issued May 9, 1672, as the entries testify on **E (96)**:

> 'The howse of Geo: Shirts in Chappell Le Frith Darbyshire Presb. Meeting Place, 9 May.
>
> 'Licence to W^m^ Bagshaw to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Geo: Shirts in Chappell le Frith Darbyshire 9 May.'

Thomas Parkhurst does not trouble to call for them. He leaves that to John Hickes, who calls at Whitehall the following day, 'May y^e^ 10th 72,' and takes away thirty-seven licences, these two amongst them [**321 (88)**]:

> 'William Bagshaw Derbyshire.
> George Shirst Derby.'

The only suggestion I can make as to Thomas Parkhurst's personal identity is that he may have been the 'Mr. Parkhurst' who is reported by informers as preaching in Conventicles in London, almost always in association with Charles Humphreys (ejected from Cleobury, Salop, and a Lectureship at St. John Zachary, London): in 1663, in Paul's Alley, Glover's Hall, Beach Lane, and in two places in Wood Street; in 1664, in the three last places, in Bow Lane, and in Newgate Market; and in 1665, in the last named, in Sea Cole Lane, and in Fenchurch Street. According to the reports of the informers, he had been one of the most active of these early conventiclers.

26. S. PIRIE.

He is made known to us as a Londoner who goes to Whitehall to fetch away two licences for Southwark Independents. His memorandum is **321 (213)**:

> 'May 24th 1672
>
> 'Rec^d^ then 2 licencyes for M^r^ Stephen Moore independant or his meetting
>
> 'In the house of Barnabas Bloxon in Winchester Yard in Southwark
>
> 'I say, Rec^d^ by mee the day above written
> 'S. PIRIE'

Of both these men, we have independent and interesting information. Of Stephen More, Neal ('History of the Puritans,' II. 25) says that he was a 'citizen of London, of good natural parts, and of con-

'siderable substance in the world; he had been their deacon for 'some years'—*i.e.*, of a little Independent Church in Southwark.* On the death of More's pastor, Mr. Samuel Howe, the little Church was in great straits, and in their 'present exigency' More himself 'accepted of the pastoral office, to the apparent hazard of his estate 'and liberty.' It was under his care, when a Puritan Parliament came to power in 1640, and 'this poor congregation, which had subsisted almost 'by a miracle for about twenty-four years, shifting from place to place to 'avoid the notice of the public,' ventured to erect a meeting-place in Deadman's Place, and open their doors for public worship January 18, 1641. The Marshall of the King's Bench disturbed them, and arrested and imprisoned most of them in the Clink, but the Lords, before whom six or seven of them were brought, simply reprimanded them, and the authorities connived at their continuance.

They had evidently continued under the care of Stephen More for the next thirty years, though doubtless harassed, under the Penal Statutes of the Clarendon Code, and it must have been Stephen More's Conventicle, which is described in the 1669 Return (**R. 264***b*), as one of the six Conventicles held in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, 'Att 'St. Mary Ouerye's Dock.' St. Mary Overie's Dock was practically at the northern end of Deadman's Lane, and close to Winchester Yard [what had been the Courtyard of Winchester House (the Town Residence of the Bishop of Winchester)]. It is true that More's name is not given as its 'Head and Teacher.'

That column of the Return is a blank for this particular Conventicle, and the 'Qualitie' of the congregation assembling in it is given as 'not knowne.' Still the numbers are given as 150, and the Sects to which it belonged as 'Independents & fift Monarchy men,' which only means that they were Independents of the stouter sort; and, what is more interesting still, the Conventicle is so located as to identify it still more certainly with that for which S. Pirie acknowledges the receipt of two licences, for it is returned as 'one in the house of one Bloxsom a 'Taylor'; 'Bloxsom a Taylor' being without doubt the same as Barnabas Bloxon of these Indulgence licences.

The licences had been applied for early—by whom does not appear—for the application-paper [**320** (**294**)], though endorsed 'Southwark,' is neither signed nor dated:

> 'A licence is desired
> 'For M^r^ Stephen Moore independant.
> 'His Meeting att the house of M^r^ Barnabas Bloxon in Winchester yard Southwark. . . .'

They had been prepared and issued promptly, too. For the entries of them are dated May 2, 1672 [*vide* **E. (71)**]:

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* Neal tells us (II. 24, 25) that this Southwark Church had been founded in 1616 by Mr. Robinson and Mr. Jacob, and then was shepherded by Mr. Lathorp till he fled to New England in 1634. Mr. Canne following Mr. Lathorp in the pastorate for two or three years, and then fleeing to Holland, a Mr. Samuel Howe succeeding him till his death.

> 'Licence to Stephen More to be an Indep. Teacher in the howse of Barnabas Bloxon Wintoñ Yard Southwark 2. May'

. . . . .

> 'The howse of Barnabas Bloxon in Wintoñ Yard Southwark licensed for a Pr. Meeting Place 2 May 72.'

So that when S. Pirie went for them to Whitehall they had been ready *twelve days already*.

The site of the meeting-place should be very clearly identified by these various descriptions. Winchester Yard, or Winton Yard is the older name, surely, of what is now Winchester Square, due west of St. Saviour's Churchyard, and due south of what was Winchester House, close to St. Mary Overie's Dock. The difficulty lies in linking it closely with Deadman's Place. Stone Lane, or Stone Street, skirts its western side, and Deadman's Place is farther west.

27. JOHN PROCKTER.

John Prockter signs only one of these licence-memoranda—viz., **321 (97)**. It is an application-memorandum for eight licences—two in Banbury, Oxfordshire, and six in Leicestershire.

It is endorsed 'Prockter's note,' and is dated May 11. It reads:

> 'James Sutton presbiterian At Banberry Oxford sheire att his own dwelling howse in Sheepe Street in Banberry: & for his person
> 'Nathaniel Stephens Presb. of Stoke in the county of Leicester. Teacher
> 'Abigail Dowells howse in Stoke in Leicestersh.
> 'Nathanael Stephens Junior of Higham in Leicestersh his house.
> 'Samuel Ward of Hinckleye in Leicester his house
> 'John King of Witherly in Leicestershire his house
> 'John Darby of Drayton in Leicester his house
> 'JOHN PROCKTER
> '11th May 1672'

The above list is a composite affair. The first two lines are in one hand, the rest is in quite another.

That first application (for James Sutton at his own house in Sheep Street, Banbury) has a peculiar fate. His house is promptly licensed. Indeed, if the entry in **B. 33***b* is correct, it was already granted before John Prockter applied for it. For it is entered as a supplementary meeting-place for Samuel Welles to preach at, his own house being the other. But this whole entry is rather a puzzle, as Samuel Wells (who had been ejected from the Banbury Parish Church [Cal. III. 120]) had secured a licence to preach at William Weston's house in Sheep Street on the double application of Richard Steele (Philip Henry's friend) [**320 (146)**] and Thomas Blood [**320 (151)**] as early as April 20 [**E. (35)**], Richard Steel fetching it from Whitehall [**320 (242)**]. So that it seems quite needless that he should have another trio of licences issued for him three weeks later: for himself as preacher, and for his own house and James Sutton's as his meeting-places.

The application for James Sutton's person is long ignored. Indeed, before it is attended to, a second application has to be put in [**321 (288)**], and then it is coupled with five others for Leicestershire, four of them being four of the six for Leicestershire for which John Prockter had applied.

Then his personal licence was granted on May 29 [**E. (144)**], and a second licence for his house; and at the same time all the others which Prockter had applied for in **321 (97)**.

Who John Prockter was I have not been able to trace. There are two Proctors mentioned in these Original Records.

One, Anthony, was of Yorkshire, and the other, Thomas, was of Somerset, whose hospitality is amply reported in **R. 142*b***, **R. 143**, and **R. 144*b***.

28. Richard Prowse.

As yet I have been able to get no information about Richard Prowse, except what may be gathered from these licence-documents.

But the number of them—there are fourteen—show his eagerness and activity in this business. Their form, too, precise and definite, to the point almost of verbosity, shows his care.

The licences he applies for, also, show pretty clearly that his interests, and therefore his personal connections, are mainly with Devon. The licences negotiated are thirty-six in number, and of these no less than twenty-eight are for Devon. The others are pairs for four other Counties: Stafford, Berkshire, Sussex, and Dorset. The applications for Stafford and Sussex occupy one of the earliest of the memoranda [**320 (221)**]. The Berkshire and Dorset pairs go in with other Devon licences.

His warm interest in Devon might suggest that he was a friend of John Hickes, and working with him. The history of the applications, however, does not bear that out. He is thereby linked quite as closely with Walter Payne and William Carslake.

His sympathies are strongest, apparently, with the Congregationalists. Further, the fact that two or three of the applications take the form of letters or notes directly addressed to Mr. Benson inevitably suggests that he was personally known to Sir Joseph Williamson's chief clerk.

His handwriting is so characteristic that I have no hesitation in assigning to him some memoranda that do not bear his signature.

The very earliest of the series, indeed, is unsigned [**320 (159)**], though between the second and third items is inserted 'ꝑ prowse'; and it has at the back the note, which rouses curiosity without allaying it—'I had all y^{e} capt^{s} names.' The five applications are all for Devon; only one for a teacher (Nicholas Mallery of Molland); though the last of the list shows that the application must have been put on the last week of April. The other applications are neglected for fully six or seven weeks, none of them being entered in **E.** till we reach [**E.** (**178**)], which probably was written about the middle of June.

The last in the list is for Mrs. Kendall's house in Cofton, Dawlish. It had been applied for in a list drawn out by John Hickes, and put in by Mr. Hockley as early as April 20 [**320** (**154**)]; and the licence is made out, on **E.** (**40**), for that very date. So that John Hickes's further application, on **320** (**164**), was belated, like Richard Prowse's.

At any rate, it seems to have been set aside with the rest, and in June, when the others are attended to, and entered on **E.** (**178**), a second licence is made out for Mrs. Mary Kendall's house, and entered on that same page. ('The howse of Mary Kendall in Dowlish, Devon Pr.')

The next application-memorandum [**320** (**221**)] was probably brought to Whitehall about two or three days later. The licences applied for are for Eccleshall, Staffordshire, and Kingston (by Lewes) in Sussex. They are attended to promptly, and issued April 30 [*vide* **E.** (**45**)].

The next [**320** (**241**)], which is the first signed, is singular in the arrangement of its contents. It gives the application-memorandum first, and then appends a personal note. It is endorsed: 'R Licence 'M^{r} Prowse's note. Devon.'

This is how it reads:

> 'A License is prayed for Richard Bickle to preach to a people of y^{e} Presbeterian Judgment.
>
> 'The place called y^{e} Cheape howse belonginge to Sam: Cabell Esq^{r} in the parish of Buckfastleigh in the County of Devon.
>
> 'ꝑ prowse
>
> 'Pray M^{r} Benson
>
> 'get the abovesd Licence wth w^{t} conveniency you cann for
>
> 'p^{r}sent Freind
>
> 'RI: PROWSE
>
> 'May Day 72.'

The Whitehall people take their time in attending to it. Not till May 12 (eleven days after the application) are the licences made out and entered on **E.** (**110**). But they are taken away, with a host of others, by William Carslake, on May 14 [**321** (**149**)].

It must have been later the same day, or perhaps on the day following, that Prowse puts in **320** (**290**) [for Uffeulme], for the licences are issued and entered May 2 [*vide* **E.** (**69**)], and they are taken away by Walter Payne the same day [**320** (**287**)]. So the memoranda should have been placed in a different order. [The application **320** (**290**) should have come before the receipt **320** (**287**).]

The next [**320** (**297**)] is specially interesting in virtue of its P.S., and as showing that Prowse was interested in the same part of Devon as James Innes, senior. It is addressed 'For M^{r} Benson,' and reads:

'M^r^ Benson,

> you have a paper for M^r^ Saunders to preach to a people in Tiverton in Devon of y^e^ Presb: Judgm^t^ in y^e^ English Schoole howse w^ch^ being not pmitted tis desired in y^e^ howse belonginge to M^r^ William Wood in y^e^ s^d^ Towne
>
> yo^rs^ Ri: Prowse

'3° May, 1672

> pray get this signed before y^e^ Kinge goes.'

This Mr. Benson found impossible. He got it signed the very day after the King's return to Town. This we know from Sir Joseph Williamson's Diary which, under date 'May 7, Tuesday,' has this note : 'King returned from Portsmouth at 8 tonight.' And both these licences (for Mr. Saunders and for Mr. Wood's house) are dated May 8' [**E. (89)**].

Mr. Saunders was also licensed as a general teacher for Honiton, the Devon town for which James Innes, senior, writes to Sir Joseph Williamson.

These two licences were fetched from Whitehall by William Carslake six days later—May 14 [*vide* **321 (149)**]—with a whole host of others.

The first application for these licences had been made as early as April 18, on a paper [**320 (126)**] which, as its endorsement by Benson tells us, was 'Given in by Mr. Treasurers Steward. 18 Ap.'

The discussion of 'permission' or 'allowance' for the Tiverton School House had something, no doubt, to do with the neglect of the application for Mr. Saunders—so it is a fortnight before this second application is made—another five days before the licences are made out and entered, and still another six days before they are taken from Whitehall.

In **321 (50)** Prowse reminds Mr. Benson, the Whitehall official, that he had applied for licences for 'Mr. Saunders in the house of 'Mr. Wood,' implying, of course, that he had not yet received the licences. So that this memorandum must have been put in before May 8. The fresh licences he applies for are two in Berkshire (Thomas Chesman of East Ilsley—for both his person and his house), and one for Francis Whiddon's house in Totnes. For the Berkshire licences he has to make a second application in **321 (182)** before the matter is attended to, when the licences are issued and entered on May 16 [**E. (121)**].

The application 'for a howse belonging to Francis Whiddon in 'Totnes' is somewhat of a puzzle. In an unsigned letter addressed to Sir Thomas Clifford (the Treasurer)—not to Lord Arlington (or Sir Joseph Williamson) application had been made very early [**320 (42)**] for him and 'his owne howse' in Totnes; but at the same time, and in the same hand, another application had been put in for him [**320 (43)**] with another meeting-place 'desired' for him—viz., 'a house Newly 'erected & fitted for that purpose, being lately the howse of M^rs^ Yard 'and now belonginge to y^e^ s^d^ M^r^ Whiddon in y^e^ Towne of Totnes in 'Devon.' [At least, so I take it: that this was not Whiddon's residence, but a Chapel specially erected for his ministry separate from his dwelling-house.] The application for his own house was promptly attended to, for licences were made out both for him and his house on

April 11 [**E. (11)** and **E. (15)**]; yet John Hickes made a third application for Francis Whiddon (with no distinct mention of any meeting-place) on April 18 [**320 (145)**]; and we have this fourth, for 'a house 'belonging to Francis Whiddon' (which must surely be a second for the 'Meeting House' or 'Chapel'); but that seems again disregarded—as no separate licence is entered for it. [Was the Chapel, after all, part and parcel of Whiddon's residence?]

321 (128) is signed 'Prowse' and addressed 'For M^r Benson', and contains an unusually complete description of a house 'desired' in Exeter for the active Independent, Lewis Stuckley, to preach in. It must have been put in May 12 or 13, for the licence is issued May 13, and entered on **E. (102)**.

He must have left **321 (181)** at most a day or two after. In it he applies for two licences in Dorset (Stalbridge), and one for a house in Sampford Peverell, in Devon. They are all three issued May 16, and entered on the same page of **E.** [**E. (126)**], only 'Groffe' is turned into 'Goffe,' and 'Rookelife' into 'Rokelife.'

The next [**321 (182)**], though a separate memorandum, was probably handed in the same day as **321 (181)**. It contains a second application for the Berkshire licences, and an application for 'Lewes Hacche' to preach in 'Robert Hacches' house in Saterleigh. These are all issued, like the three just referred to, on May 16, and entered on one and the same page [**E. (121)**].

Those for Lewis Hatch—that is the more usual spelling of the name—and for his namesake Robert seem in part unnecessary. A 'general' licence for Lewis ('John') Hatch had been applied for by John Hickes on April 18, and issued the same day [*vide* **E. (31)**]. The licence was really needed only for the house of Robert. Still, both were made out May 16, not to be taken away till May 25, as we shall see [**321 (262)**] they were by Richard Prowse.

The next three application-memoranda were put in by him in the course of the week between the 16th and 24th; **321 (234)** a list of seven in another hand—two in Exeter, four in Topsham, and one in Bishop's Clift; **321 (235)** applying for two more in Exeter; and **321 (236)** for two more Devon houses—one in Culliton (Colyton), and one in Talliton (Talaton). All these were issued on May 22 and were entered on **E. (128)** and **E. (129)**, except the Colyton house, which was not issued till June [entered **E. (178)**].

Beside these, Prowse put in two other application papers [**321 (323)** and **321 (371)**—which are curiously signed 'Pewrse' and 'PROSE'] for two other houses in Devon—the one in Kenn and the other in Hemyock ('Henniock').

The former was issued and entered on **E. (155)**, June 10. The latter was made out and entered more than twenty pages later [**E. (178)**] undated, but probably some ten days or so later.

321 (371) completes the long list of applications for which Richard Prowse is responsible.

One other document remains—his single memorandum of receipt [**321 (262)**].

The last line and signature are his:

'Rec. y^e^ 25th May 1672
'per me
'Ri: Prowse.'

The list of names is in such uncouth form, and the spelling so barbarous that he cannot be held responsible for it. Indeed, the spelling is so amazing as to be almost undecipherable. Still the deciphering is possible by the aid of the other documents.

It is as follows—the first line reads:

'Josshef Collet in the house of M^r^ pim Exon.'

These are the two applied for by Prowse in **321** (**235**): 'Mr. Joseph 'Hallett, of Exon, and the howse of John Pym of Exon &c.'

The second line is:

'Edward houchshinge in houchinches peares house and passons house'

The first two words represent the 'Edward Hutchenson' (teacher), of **321** (**234**), in Exeter; the second word represents the last item on that paper—Edw Hutchinson's house in Bishop's Clift. The third, 'peares house,' is 'Adam and Samuell Pierce's house in Exeter'; and the fourth, 'Passons house,' is Thomas Parson's house in Topsham [of **321** (**234**)].

In the third line—'Edward ebden & holmes'—represents the two 'teachers'—'Mr. Edward Ebdine' and 'John Homes' of Topsham—all in **321** (**234**); and in the last line 'Leues Hacche Techer in Robert hacche 'house,' is more easily identified with the 'Lewes Hacche' for whom 'a Licence' is desired 'to preach to a people of the Presbiterian Judg- 'ment,' and 'the howse of M^r^ Robert Hacche in y^e^ parish of Saterley 'in the County Devon,' which was applied for as 'The place for their Worship' in **321** (**182**).

These applications had all been 'put in' by Richard Prowse.

The last-named licences (for Lewis and Robert Hatch) had been issued May 16. entered on **E.** (**121**); but all the rest were not issued till May 22 [entered on **E.** (**128**) and **E.** (**129**)]; and it was three days later still that Richard Prowse called to take them away.

The 'Prowses'' seems to have been a great West country family: Foster has several from Somerset (the neighbourhood of Yeovil), and others from Devon—on both sides the county—Stoke Damarel, Plymouth (1812), and St. Petrocks, Exeter (1719).

29. Mr. Radcliffe.

This Mr. Radcliffe is honoured in those for whom he asks licences. His application is contained in **321** (**184**). It is endorsed 'Bucks,' and reads:

'Edward Terry
'Congregational perswasion
'at M^rs^ Anne Fleetwood widow
'her house in the parish of Chalfont Giles in the County of Bucks.
'M^r^ Radcliffe to cal for the Licences'

Edward Terry was the son of a minister and brother of a minister, who, like himself, was ejected for non-conformity. [In this account I combine information given by Foster, 'Alumn. Oxon.,' with Calamy II. 447-448.]

His father and namesake, Edward Terry, was clergyman of Greenford, in Middlesex (east of Uxbridge), and there he was born. He was educated at Oxford, as was his brother James; but James was at Pembroke, while he, Edward, matriculated at Christ Church, April 5, 1650 (nine years later than his brother); but he graduated B.A. the same year from University College, and he proceeded M.A. in 1653. He was a sound Classic, and was elected Fellow of University College, holding his Fellowship till the Restoration. Altogether he remained in the University seven years, after graduation distinguishing himself as a tutor. In 1657 he was appointed Rector of Agmondesham (or Amersham), in Bucks; but was extruded from that living, when he was ejected from his Fellowship—*i.e.*, 1660. Still, he received a second appointment in 1661—none other than the Rectory of his native place, which his father had filled before him—viz., Greenford Magna, in Middlesex.

As he could not conform he was ejected a second time, in 1662; and retired to the neighbouring county of Bucks, where he had exercised his first ministry, not far from Amersham—viz., in Chalfont St. Giles. There he preached in private as he had opportunity. Most probably he would there have the high honour of familiar intercourse with Milton; for in 1665 the immortal poet fled from plague-stricken London, and lived in a house secured for him in Chalfont by the Quaker, Thomas Ellwood. At any rate, Edward Terry is reported, four years later, in the Episcopal Returns of 1669 (**R. 212***b*), as holding Conventicles in turn with Dr. Stanton [Dr. Edmund Stanton, some time Principal of Corpus Christi, and now residing in the neighbouring Hertfordshire village of Bovingdon (W.H.S.)] and Mr. Samuel Cradock [Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (W.H.S.)].

What a galaxy of learned luminaries! 'in the house of M^rs^ Fleetwood,' where Presbyterians met in numbers 'not great,' the only person of 'Quality' attending being 'M^rs^ Fleetwood, y^e^ rest' being described as 'inconsiderable.' And now, in 1672, on the application of 'M^r^ Radcliffe,' licence is asked for him to have authority to preach and teach there without let or hindrance. The licences are granted May 16, and entered:

E. (121), last line—

'The howse of widow Fleetwood at Chulfoat Gile, Bucks Congr. Meeting Place. 16 May'

and **E. (122)**, the very first line on the page—

> 'Licence to Edw: Terry to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of Anne Fleetwood in Chalfont Gile Bucks 16 May'

By a pathetic coincidence Edward Terry ended his days as did the great poet—whom he would meet in Mistress Fleetwood's house—in total blindness; Calamy adding: 'but took great pleasure in having 'others read to him. He was much honoured for his work's sake, and 'as a lover of peace and truth.'

As to who precisely Mrs. Anne Fleetwood was it is difficult to say. Lady Charles Fleetwood was Bridget, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, widow of Ireton, and was living in retirement in Stoke Newington. But Lord Charles Fleetwood, son of Sir W. Fleetwood, had two cousins, one of whom, George, was as firm a Cromwellian as himself, though his brother James—Dr. James Fleetwood—was as decided a Royalist, and afterwards became the Bishop of Worcester. This 'Mistress Anne' may have been widow of Sir George. At any rate it would be safe to say that the husband of this good Puritan was kinsman of Lord Charles and Sir George, if not Sir George himself.

Was **321** (**185**) presented by the same? The handwriting strongly resembles that of the preceding memorandum. It also [like **321** (**184**)] is an application for a strong Congregationalist—so sturdy a one that in the County of Bedford, where Baptists were called Congregationalists as much as Pædobaptists, the would-be licensee calls himself an Independent.

321 (**185**) is simply endorsed 'Bedford,' and reads:

> 'Isaac Bedford of the independent perswasion to preach to a congregation in his owne house at Clifton in Bedfordshire.'

The licences are granted the same day as those just referred to, and are entered on **E.** (**124**):

> 'The howse of Is. Bedford at Clifton, Bedford Ind. Meeting Place 16 May
>
> 'Is. Bedford to be an Ind. Teacher in his howse in Clifton. 16 May.'

Is Sam. Pepys' 'M^r^ Radcliffe' any relative of this licence-agent? Under date May 29, 1661, he writes that at Walthamstow he 'heard 'M^r^ Radcliffe, my former school fellow at Paul's (who is yet a merry 'boy) preach upon "Nay, let him take all, since my Lord the King is '"returned &c." He read all, and his sermon very simple.'

30. Edward Seaman.

The one memorandum which bears Seaman's name [**321** (**332**)] is an application for a licence for a house in Little Modbury, in South Devon. Its form is unusual in its directness:

> 'I Desire a Lysence for the Dwelling howse of the Widow Shynner of Little Modbury In the County of Devon for to Preach In
> 'By Congregation or Presbyterian Minesters.
> 'EDW: SEAMAN.'

The surname inevitably suggests his great namesake, Dr. Lazarus Seaman, a native of Leicester, whose ability and learning secured him the patronage even of Archbishop Laud—though by the order of Parliament at the same time (Cal. I. 80) he was appointed in 1642 to Allhallows, Bread Street. He had been educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and been appointed master of Peterhouse in that University, early receiving the Lectureship at St. Martin's, Ludgate. He was a great Hebraist, as well as a good preacher, and a great authority in Ecclesiastical Government; was appointed by Parliament one of their Commissioners to treat with King Charles I. at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight—attracting Charles's special attention by the signal ability with which he handled questions of Church government. In the Commonwealth period he was appointed in 1653 Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. He was ejected from Bread Street in 1662; and retired to Hammersmith, where, on May 2, 1672, he secured a licence as a general teacher through the efficient agency of the younger Innes (James Innes, junior) [application, **320 (67)**; receipt, **320 (295)**]. About six weeks later a licence was made out for his house at Hammersmith. But the entry on **E. (179)** is not dated, and we have no memoranda of application or receipt. Was Edward a relative?

The application he puts in unfortunately is not dated. The licence was granted on June 10, and is so entered on **E. (159)**:

> 'The howse of Widow Skinner in little Modbury, Devon for Pr. 10 June'

The officials neglected the fact that the good lady wished her house to be used as freely by the Congregationalists as the Presbyterians. There was special reason why the licence should be so made out, for the nearest Nonconformist minister to Little Modbury was a Congregationalist. Mr. James Burdwood, who had been ejected from St. Petrock's, Dartmouth (Cal. II. 14-16), had continued to reside in Dartmouth till the Five Mile Act drove him away [in 1665 he was reported by the Bishop of Exeter, together with Mr. John Flavell, as outside the little group, 'all of them liveing upon their owne & behaving themselves peaceably '& Quietly,' inasmuch as they 'are reported to have private Meetings' (**R. 405** *b*), or (less pleasantly in his Summary), as 'Conventiclers' (**R. 308**)], and had then retired to Bigbury (which was not more than four or five miles south of Little Modbury), where he was living in a comfortable house called 'Hexdown.' It is, of course, also true that the large colony of Nonconformists who were settled in the southernmost promontory of Devon (which had its centre in John Hickes, of Kingsbridge) were all Presbyterians; Aveton Gifford, the north-westernmost of the group, being almost as near to Little Modbury as Bigbury.

Still, the wish of Widow Skinner should have been respected, and the

Congregationalists named in the licence, as well as the Presbyterians—as had been already done in more cases than one.

Edward Seaman was certainly a citizen of London, for his name appears in the Merchants' List, 1677, with the address of Thames Street.

31. John Seller.

I have ascertained nothing of the personal career or character of Seller. He appears in this literature as signing two memoranda [**321 (300)** and **321 (305)**]—the former an application for two licences for Cranbrook, and the latter a receipt for fourteen in different places. He was also the applicant who put in **321 (286)**, for the handwriting is undoubtedly his, though he has not signed it. It is an application for sixteen licences, which are really only fourteen, because the two at the back are duplicates of two on its face.

The notable fact is that these are all for persons and places in Kent, and all for those of the 'Baptist perswasion.'

The places are all in one district, about the centre of the County—Boughton, Charing, Headcorn, Marden, Smarden, Frittenden, and Cranbrook ; and four out of the eight teachers are Kingsnorths : Henry, Thomas, Daniel, and Richard.

John Seller may therefore be fairly called the agent *par excellence* for the Baptists of Kent.

As all the licences asked for are issued and entered the same day—viz., May 29, on **E.** (**146**) and (**147**)—the probability is that John Seller left the application for them [**321 (286)**] on that date, or a day or two before—especially as he is so prompt in calling for them. This he did only the third day after they had been made out, as we see from his compact business-like receipt [**321 (305)**], which he signs and dates June 1. The same day he leaves his second application [**321 (300)**] for two more Baptist licences—viz., for Cranbrook. These were not issued for another nine days. They are entered on **E.** (**168**), and dated June 10. But we have no memorandum of their receipt. Probably John Seller fetched them, but we have no documentary evidence of it.

There were two John Sellers in business in the City at this time. John Seller, senior, hydrographer to the King, lived at the Hermitage, Wapping, with a shop in Exchange Alley, and published charts between 1671 and 1691. John Seller, junior (probably his son), was in the same line of business in Cheapside. Either of these was favourably situated to do this Licence-agency work.

32. Mr. (James) Sharpe.

The third, and probably the fourth, of the applications on **321** (**55**)—viz., one for 'Mr Richard Tufton's house in Wittersham (Wittrisham) 'Kent, & another for Samuel Turke's house in Goudhurst in Kent,' are 'Desired by Mr Sharpe.' Now Calamy (II. 328) gives a 'Mr 'Sharp' as ejected from Gravesend, so that though his former living and the places for which he makes application are on opposite borders of the County (Gravesend on the northern, or the Estuary of the Thames, and both Wittrisham and Goudhurst on the southern), it is probable that the applicant is this Kent sufferer. It is equally probable that he is the James Sharpe who was living in King's Head Court, Beach Lane, a street continuous eastward with the Barbican (a street in which a Conventicle was being conducted by a Mr. Ellott in the Glover's Hall there in 1669 [**R. 219***b*]), and who secured licences for himself and a house in Beach Lane, in the first batch issued—viz., on April 2, 1672 [**E. (3)**].

Though safely ensconced in this Nonconformist quarter in London, he does not forget his Kentish country cousins. Still he does not take the paper personally to Whitehall. He commits the applications to Blood, who puts them in with two desired by 'Mr Wells of London.' The licences are issued on May 13 [entered on **E. (110)**, and **E. (111)**], and Blood fetches them [**321 (136)**], probably the same day, and with them the personal licences for Thomas Gilson and Mr. Keightly, about which Mr. Gilson and his surgeon-friend William Mascall, of Romford, raised such a breeze.

33. MATTHEW SHEPPARD.

Two memoranda have Matthew Sheppard's (also spelt 'Shephard' and 'Shepheard') name attached to them—viz., **320 (188)** and **320 (285)**—the latter acknowledging the receipt of the licences for which the former is an application.

320 (188) is endorsed 'Surrey,' and the peculiar thing about it is that the application-memorandum properly so called, which is the only part of the document in Matthew Sheppard's handwriting, is simply an addendum to a letter, which is addressed to Sheppard by one David Clarkson.

It is addressed :

'For Mr Matthew Shephard in Clemens Lane. London.'

The letter is as follows :

'Sr

'You pmised your indeavor to get us a licence I desire you would do it with all expedition you can. that we may lose no time, in improveing the advantage, offered, for the good of soules by his Mtys gracious declarao. the pson to be allowed I need not tell you. the house belongs to John Beamish in Mortlake. It is much desired, the license may be, for the Use of such who are of the pswasions, both presbyterian & congregational. for the meeting consists of both (as you know). & both are at the charg of all, & to appropriate it to either, would be counted a prjudice to the other I depend upon you for this. being

'Your affectionat frend & servt,

'DAVID CLARKSON.

'Ap 25—72.'

The addendum, which is to serve as memorandum for the Whitehall officials, is as follows:

‘ person David Clarkson
the to be allowed
place belongs to John Beamish in Mortlake Surrey’

This ‘David Clarkson’ was a man of ability, and had a career singularly chequered. Born at Bradford, in Yorkshire, 1622, he was educated at Cambridge, and for some time was Fellow of Clare Hall (Cal. III. 305, 306). During his fellowship, one of his pupils was John Tillotson, who, spite his practical Puritanism, did not leave the Church in 1662, but conformed and rose from stage to stage till he became Archbishop of Canterbury. He never ceased, however, to honour his old tutor, whom he succeeded in the Clare fellowship when it was vacated by Clarkson. Clarkson vacated it to become pastor to the Church at Mortlake in Surrey, from which he suffered ejection in 1662. He seems to have retired to a studious life, living in the obscurity of a silenced wanderer for the next ten years; and then, on the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, he sought opportunity for authorized work again in his old parish. After another nine years of silence and persecution, he was called to be co-pastor with Dr. Owen in 1682, only a year before Dr. Owen's death. He himself died five years later.

This application in 1672 was promptly attended to; the licences were issued five days after Clarkson wrote his letter. That was April 30 [**E.** (**49**)]. Two days later Sheppard called at Whitehall and carried off the licences. The receipt shows that Mr. Benson, Sir Joseph Williamson's chief clerk, carried the matter through. It is numbered **320** (**285**), and reads:

‘Rec^d^ y^e^ 2nd May 1672. of Mr. Benson
‘A Licence for Mr David Clarkson, presb^n^.
‘an other alsoe for M^r^ Beamish his house in Mortlake in Surry
‘p Mat: Sheppard.’

Since writing the above I have come upon a paper which most happily identifies this and another licence-agent (already commented on, p. 539). It is calendared S. P. Dom. Car. II. 109, 64. It is a brief report of the ‘Fanatics’ resident in East Sheene and Mortlake, and shows that both Matthew Sheppard, who put in both **320** (**188**) and **320** (**285**), and John Juxon, who puts in **321** (**293**), were among the gentry there.

The first entry is:

‘At East Sheene these are the grandees
Coll: Shepheard so cald & his sonne Matthew Shepheard, and at his house John Ireton formerly Lord Mayor.’

Matthew Sheppard's interest in these Indulgence Licences then is completely explained. His father was a Colonel in Oliver's army, and a friend of the Iretons, and would be an intimate of the Nonconformists of Mortlake close by. His country house is in East Sheene, and his business premises are in Clement's Lane, Lombard Street.

Young Matthew would be therefore pleased and eager to fetch David Clarkson's licence, and that of his friend Beamish from Whitehall.

34. EDWARD SMITH (SMYTH).

Two memoranda were put in by Edward Smith [**321** (**243**) and **321** (**244**)]. They are duplicate applications for eight Sussex licences: four 'ministers' and four houses. The first is drawn up in 'clerkly' fashion, and only signed by Smith; but the second, though not signed by him, is clearly wholly in his handwriting.

In one respect these memoranda are unique—viz., that in the personal licences the person is described, not as 'preacher' or 'teacher' —only designation recognized by the Whitehall officials—but as 'minister.'

The 'editor' of **321** (**243**) has revised and modified Edward Smith's work. Edward Smith—in **321** (**244**)—had given the denomination to which each pair belonged: 'presbiterian' at the end of the first three, and 'Congregationall' after the fourth. The 'editor' gives the first three without any indication, and then adds, 'all of them Presbiterians'; and the fourth is described by him as 'a Congregationall man.'

To the description of the first 'house' ('called Kenwards in the Parrish of Lindfeild in Sussex') the editor adds: 'Mr John Challen dwells in the house' (Edward Smith had omitted to give his name). The second house is described in curiously different ways. In **321** (**244**) Edward Smith describes it as 'a house Called Nyland* in Balcombe in 'Sussex'; **321** (**243**) describes it as 'Alexander Berdyes house at 'Nylond in Sussex'—again supplying the most important information as to the owner of the house in whose name the licence had to be made out. In the case of the third house, Edward Smith's 'Hurst House, in 'Wivelfeild in Sussex,' becomes, in **321** (**243**), 'Mr Tho: Hursts house 'in Weevilfeild in Sussex.' And in the fourth, 'Toscars house,' of Edward Smith's list, becomes 'Ninion Taskers house.'

Evidently the revision and amendment were needed to give any chance of the licences being granted, if for no other reason that the particulars required to fill in the 'form' would not otherwise have been furnished.

The applications were lodged May 23 [*vide* **321** (**243**)], but the licences were not issued for over a fortnight. The entries are all dated June 10, and are found in **E.** (**154**) and (**155**):

> 'Like to Wm Mills, Congr. in the howse of Jujan Tackers, at Balcomb, Sussex. 10 June'

E. (**154**):

> 'Like to Thomas Hallett in the howse of Thomas Hurts in Watillfield, Sussex. 10 June
>
> 'Like to Rich: Turner in the howse of Alex: Bridges at Nylond in Sussex. 10 June

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* In Morden's map of Sussex (*circa* 1670) 'Neland' is marked a little south-east of the parish church.

'Like to Edw: Lullũ in a howse called Kenwards in Liendfield, Sussex. 10 June'

E. (155):

'Like for a howse called Kenwards in Lindfield, Sussex. 10 June
'Like for Alex. Bridges howse at Nylond, Sussex. 10 June
'Like for the house of Tho: Hurst at Watillfield, Sussex. 10 June
'The House of Jujan Tackers at Balcomb, Sussex, for Congr. 10 June.'

There is so much that is special about these applications, and indeed about the licences themselves, that our appetite is whetted to know who this Edward Smith was. But of the numerous Smiths noticed by Calamy only one belongs to Sussex—*Zachary* Smith, who was ejected from Glynde (III. 319); and one 'Mr Smith,' ejected from some place in Surrey unknown (III. 309), who was probably Francis Smith, a Baptist, who was licensed April 20 [**E. (41)**] to preach in a malt-house in Croydon, Surrey, and afterwards (October 28, 1672) in Cornhill [**E. (267)**], London.* There is no evidence, as yet, to connect *Edward* with either of these.

35. EDWARD SWIFT.

He was specially and solely interested in the Nonconformists of the two eastern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk—of Wymondham in Norfolk, and of Lowestoft, Beccles, Wrentham, and Kissingham, all in the north-eastern portion of Suffolk.

There are three memoranda bearing his name. (1) The first **321 (169)** is a double receipt, each half dated May 16:

'May the 16: 1672
'Recd then one lycence for Mr Robert Ottic to teach in his owne house in Beckles in ye county of Suff
'EDW: SWIFT'

'May the 16: 1672
'Recd then another Lycence for Mr William Ames to teach in a meeting house erected by nonconformists in Wrentham in Suff:
'EDW: SWIFT'

These licences had all been desired in stately, formal fashion, in two petitions presented to his most excellent Majesty the King. Only in the first case—that presented by the inhabitants of Beccles—they had asked for 'The Guild Hall' as their meeting-place. That request had been refused, although it was signed by ten of the members of 'a Church of Christ in Beccles' [**321 (74)**], and was accompanied by a certificate [**321 (74 I)**] signed by twenty-one inhabitants, who were the 'Trustees 'for the towne Hall in Beccles (Called the Guild Hall), And others—the

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* This conjecture Dr. Whitley rejects; showing that Francis Smith was not an ejected minister, but a 'bookseller' in Croydon and Westminster.

'Chiefe Officers of the said towne,' including the 'Port reeve' and 'Cheife Surveyor'—giving their full consent [**321 (74 I)**].

Mr. Ottie's house was licensed in place of the Town Hall, and the licences are entered in **E. (96)** as issued May 9, 1672, though with a singular rendering of the names of both place and person.

> 'Licence to Rob. Otteway to be an Indept Teacher in his howse in Beckles, Suffolk. 9 May.
>
> 'The howse of Rob. Otteway in Beeckles, Suffolk Ind. Meeting Place. 9 May'

The petition of the inhabitants of Wrentham—signed by twenty-one of them [preserved in **320 (204)**]—was granted; and two licences were issued in exact accordance with its terms, which are:

> 'that One house prpared for that use in Wrentham above said be allowed of by yor Majestye . . . . And that yor Majestye would likewise be gratiously pleased to approve Mr WILLIAM AMES Teacher to that congregation to wch yor Majestyes humble suppliants doe belonge'

Licences for William Ames and the 'Meeting howse' are accordingly entered on **E. (112)**, as issued May 13, 1672.

Edward Swift called at Whitehall and received them three days later (May 16) [**321 (169)**], therefore just a week after the Beccles licences were made out, and only three days after the completion of those for Wrentham. It should be noted that while the Wrentham licences were for Presbyterians, those for Beccles were for Congregationalists.

The next memorandum, **321 (340)**, is a memorandum of application for no less than ten licences—six of them in Suffolk county, and four in Norfolk. The four in Norfolk were for a teacher (Mr. John Money), and three houses as meeting-places for Congregationalists or Independents in Wymondham; and the six in Suffolk were, two for Independents in Gillingham, or Gislingham (Edward Clough the teacher, and the house of John Snelocke); and the rest for houses in Kissingland, Lowestoft (called 'Lastoft'), and Beccles.

With regard to the two fresh houses 'desired' in Beccles (on the back of the paper) it is interesting to note that the owner of the second, Mr. Edmund Artis, was signatory both of the petition [**321 (74)**] and of the certificate [**321 (74 I)**]; and that one of the two men who were late occupiers of the other house—viz., Mr. Thomas Muns—was a signatory of the petition, only he signs himself Thomas Mones.

The only other memorandum signed by Edward Swift is **321 (360)**, a receipt dated June 13, for six of the ten licences applied for in **321 (340)**—viz., all four licences for Wymondham (Norfolk), and one house each in Kissingland and Lowestoft (Suffolk).

The Wymondham licences were all issued June 10, 1672 [**E (162)**], so that Edward Swift secured them only three days after they were ready; and it was the same for the two Suffolk licences.

It is odd that the two for Gillingham (or Gislingham) were not acknowledged (as taken away) by him at the same time, although it is most probable that they were, as they are entered [**E** (**163**)] as issued the same day (*i.e.*, June 10). It is perhaps stranger still that the two houses in Beccles, owned by respectable and substantial citizens like Plumstead and Artis, are refused. No licences appear to have been granted for them.

As to the energetic and efficient agent in all these cases, Edward Swift, I find mention of two other Swifts by Calamy. Henry Swift was ejected from Penistone, Yorks (Cal. III. 443). There was also a Mr. Richard Swift, who was ejected from Edgware, Middlesex (Cal. II. 445-46), and afterwards lived in a useful retirement in Hendon; and a Thomas Swift, who had his house licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place in Brentford (on the Thames) [**E.** (**283**)], in the same county.

Now, of Richard Swift (the ejected minister), Calamy says that he was the son of Augustin Swift, a Norwich attorney. Have we not here a clue to Edward Swift's active interest in Wymondham (and the other eastern counties Nonconformists)? Were Edward and Thomas brothers of the ejected Richard, who all three imbibed their Nonconformity from a Puritan father in Norwich?

36. MR. VERNON.

Four papers apparently were 'put in' by Mr. Vernon.

(1) The first was **320** (**111**). It reads:

> 'Daniel Ball of Stoke Newington in y^{e} County of Middlesex minister of y^{e} presbyterian persuasion & for his dwelling house & y^{e} house of M^{rs} Stock widow in y^{e} parish of Newington afores^{d}.'

It is unsigned, but in the margin Francis Benson has written the words: 'Given by M^{r} Vernon. 17 Ap: 72.'

The substance of this application was transferred to the long official list of 'Persons & Places desired to be licensed,' drawn up by Francis Benson, and dated '18 Apr. 1672' [**320** (**125**)].

The licences desired are drawn out and issued promptly, for their entries on **E.** (**31**) and **E.** (**32**) are dated the day following, '19 Apr. 72.' Only the minister's name appears as 'Daniel Bull' instead of 'Ball,' and in **E.** (**31**) the owner of the second house is given as 'M^{r} Stock,' instead of 'M^{rs} Stock widow'; and this seems likely to be the more correct form, as it appears in Calamy (II. 458-460) in that form. Calamy tells us he succeeded Dr. Manton at Stoke Newington, when the Doctor resigned to go to St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

The licence for the meeting-place [on **E.** (**32**)] is made out for 'the howse'—not 'howses'—of Daniel Bull and Mrs. Stock, as though it were jointly held by the minister and the widow. The licences were not fetched away by Mr. Vernon, but by Joshua Churchill (ejected minister), of Dorchester [**320** (**242**)] twelve days later—viz., May 1, when he went to fetch his own.

(2) The second memorandum was **320** (**171**), which again is an application; for

> ‘Richard Moore of Wetherock hill in Worcester sheire for a roome in his owne house to A presbiterian’

The note is added at the foot by Mr. Benson, as in the previous case he had added it in the margin—‘Given by Mr Vernon. 22 Apr.’

(3) The [third **320** (**172**)] repeats the application for Mr. Moore's licences in a slightly altered form:

> ‘Richard Moore of Wetherock-hill in the County of Worcester a Licence to preach in his house

with an addition which was quite unnecessary:

> ‘As allso a generall licence to preach in lawful places A presbiterian.’

Unnecessary because every licence to preach in any specified place contained this concluding paragraph:

> ‘With further license and permission to him the said . . . to teach in any other place licensed and allowed by Us according to Our said Declaration.’

To this is added a request for two licences for Warwickshire:

> ‘Tow’ licences are likewise desired for
>
> > ‘Mr Robert Foams dwelling in Tanworth in Warwicksheire, A Presbiterian’

Again the licences issued vary the name, and no doubt the variation is a correction. Mr. Vernon's ‘Daniel Ball’ was a mistake for ‘Daniel Bull,’ and here his ‘Robert Foams’ is a mistake for ‘Robert Adams.’ And the licence-entries show another strange vagary. They are entered on the last line of **E.** (**71**) and the first line of **E.** (**72**), but they are both for ‘The howse of Robert Adams,’ instead of one being a licence for Robert Adams himself. The former, too, gives ‘Tanmouth’ as the place instead of ‘Tanworth’—though both, I imagine, are errors for ‘Tamworth.’

The application was neither annotated nor signed, but the handwriting ‘bewrayeth’ the applicant. It certainly is the same as that of **320** (**111**) and **320** (**171**). Nor is it dated, so that we cannot tell whether the response was prompt or not; but both licences are entered under the same date, May 2—*i.e.*, the day after Mr. Churchill had fetched away Mr. Bull's.

(4) The fourth paper [**321** (**17**)] is a memorandum made out in quite a different hand, and probably by the applicant himself. It also is annotated, like the first two, by Mr. Benson. ‘Mr Vernon. 7 May 72.’

Again it is an application:—for Robert Blunt of Alnwick. Its form is unusual, if not unique:

> ‘Mr Robert Blunt desires A licence in the Tolbooth of Alnwick if itt may be granted, if nott for his owne house there, he was formerlie Ministr Att Kirkhoull’

The application is very promptly attended to, for the licences issued in response to it are entered under date of the very day after—viz., May 8. But his doubtful mention of the Tolbooth is justified by the refusal of a licence for it. The licences issued are only for his person and his house at Alnwick. Both are entered on **E. (92)**.

All the implications of these licences confirm the statements of Calamy about Mr. Robert Blunt (III. 75). He tells us Blunt was educated at Cambridge (Trinity College), and thence went to London, where he preached occasionally, but subsequently settled in Kirk-Harle (Northumberland). There he continued till he was ejected in 1662. For a year he retired to a farm, but after that went to live with his wife's mother, preaching in her house. Calamy adds that he was prosecuted in the courts of the Archdeacon of Durham, and for non-appearance was excommunicated. Though writs came out against him every term, however, he continued preaching, and in 1672 he got a licence to preach.

Now his application presented by Mr. Vernon directly confirms Calamy's statement as to the place whence he was ejected—'Kirkhoull,' or Kirkhowell, is of course the same as Kirk-Harle. That was of course in 1662. Ten years later he applies for licences in Alnwick, which is, as Calamy describes it, 'much farther north,' in the same county; so that we should fairly infer that it was from Alnwick that he had got his wife, and that it was in his mother-in-law's house in Alnwick that he went to live, and in which he preached so persistently. But of that I obtained the most authentic proof in the Visitation Act books, which I examined in 1907, and from which I made the following extracts: In a court held in the Deanery of Balmbrough (*i.e.*, Bamburgh) on October 4, 1665, I found a list of twenty presented 'for nonconformists,' and the first four names are 'M^{rum} Blunt, Elizabetham Brandling, Franciscam Brandling et Matthew Blunt'

Can we doubt that 'M^{rum} Blunt' is our 'ejected' Robert Blunt? And what is more likely than that 'Elizabeth Brandling' was his wife's mother? 'Francisca* Brandling' is her sister or niece? and Matthew Blunt, Robert's near kinsman, perhaps a brother?

Varied as to locality, then, were Mr. Vernon's clients: residents in Stoke Newington, the suburb of London, where Sir John and Lady Hartop and ex-General Fleetwood and his wife were living in retirement; in Warwickshire and Worcestershire, in the Midlands; and as far north as Alnwick in Northumberland. The only suggestion I can make as to 'M^{r} Vernon' is that he was the strong Baptist ex-officer of Oliver's army, who was called sometimes Captain Vernon, and at others Quartermaster-General Vernon, who had served faithfully in Cromwell's short, sharp campaign in Ireland, who was a Fifth Monarchist like John Rogers, but had opposed him on the question of the toleration of any in a Fifth Monarchist church who would tolerate the baptism of infants. He would return to London about 1652 or 1653, and in 1663-1665 is often reported as ministering, with Glass and Strange and Captains Skinner and Danvers, to Fifth Monarchist Conventicles in the City and in Southwark, and might well enough have sobered down so far as to act as agents for these Noncomformists in the year of 'grace' 1672.

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* There was a family of Vernons settled in the district of Hanbury, Worcestershire. In a State Paper (dated 'Worcester, y^{e} 27th of y^{e} 3^{d} month 59') [S. P. Dom. I. 203, 22] in a list of 'persecutors in Commission,' the second is 'Richard Vernon 'of Hanbury.' The Lists were sent up by Friends, who met in Worcester to give information as to the attitude of J.P.'s towards the Quakers, and to suggest men fit to serve 'with justice.'

37. WILLIAM WEBB.

William Webb comes before us simply as having signed memorandum **321** (**329**), which is for Peter Nailer, of the Presbyterian persuasion, to preach at 'the house of Boniface Cooper in Pomfrett' or Pontefract, in Yorks. It reads:

> 'Peter Nailer of y^e presbyteryan Pswasion For y^e house of Bonyface Coopers in Ponfrett In y^e County of York
>
> 'W^M WEBB'

Peter Naylor (Cal. II. 367) was a native of Lancashire; had been educated at Cambridge (St. John's College); had been ejected from Houghton, Lancashire, had afterwards preached much in Penistone, but had retired to the neighbourhood of Pontefract, and had preached a good deal at Alverthorpe (near Wakefield). What William Webb's connection was with either Peter Naylor, with Boniface Cooper of Pontefract, with Pontefract as a town, or with York as a county, I have not been able to discover.

The application is undated, but both licences were issued June 10, 1672

E. (162).

> 'The howse of Boniface Coopers in Ponfreet, Yorke. Pr. Meeting Place 10 June
>
> 'Licence to Peter Nailer to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Boniface Coopers in Ponfreet, Yorke. 10 June'

With regard to Peter Naylor, though he was Lancashire born, it would seem that he was not only 'drawn to' the West Riding as a spiritual refuge, but that most probably he had natural 'kith and kin' in that district. At any rate, in the Episcopal Visitation of this district in 1674, I find 'William Naylor, James Naylor, and Joseph Naylor' all presented from East Ardsley, which was close to Alvethorpe, where he preached so much.

Of Boniface Cooper's sturdy Nonconformity the same records (York Visitation Act Book) give vivid proof, for in 1674 he was presented—with John Cooper, senior—'for not going to Church, nor receiving the 'Sacrament,' and also 'for not baptising his Child.'

As to 'William Webb,' Evelyn speaks of Webb, a dealer in pictures of the London Exchange, under date February 15, 1649; and in 1661, October 19, of a Mr. Webb, an architect, whom he describes as 'Inigo Jones's man.'

Our William Webb might be either of these, or NEITHER.

38. ANTHONY WITHERS.

Anthony Withers leaves an application for Lincolnshire, for a Mr. Edward Brown to preach at a widow's house in Horbling, in the southern part of the county between Fokingham and Donington. It is **321 (336)**.

> 'ffor M^r^ Edward Brown a presbyterian
> M^rs^ Elizabeth Tollers House to teach there
> at Horblin in Lincolneshire
>
> 'ANTHO: WITHER'

It is, of course, for Edward Browne, a Presbyterian minister to preach in Mrs. Toller's house at Horbling, Lincs.

The request was granted, for we find the entry of both as issued June 10, 1672, the house on **E. (158)**;[*] the teacher on **E. (159)**.[†] It is not easy to identify the preacher, for two Mr. Browns were ejected from Lincolnshire livings, and two Edward Browns are licensed in Lincolnshire. The two ejected are noted by Calamy 'Mr. Brown' from Coltsworth (II. 414) [*i.e.*, 'Colsterworth' west of Corby], and 'M^r^ Edward Brown' from Stamford (II. 430). The two licensed are this Edward Brown, Presbyterian, who preaches at Horbling; and another Edward Brown, Baptist, who is licensed for Bassingham, and Carlton en le Moorland.

Of the one ejected from Coltsworth (II. 414) Calamy apparently knows nothing, and I therefore conclude him to be the Baptist Edward Browne, whose sphere of activity was away on the north-west border of the county. Of the other ejected from Stamford (II. 430), he says: 'He was a great and good man; generally beloved and honoured both in town and country, for his integrity, his great zeal, and remarkable moderation.' That—specially the last clause—looks more like a Presbyterian than a Baptist. So that when he adds 'He laboured 'many years in the word and doctrine in his house,' it seems more likely that his sphere was in the south, and therefore nearer Stamford, at Horbling.

Still, the reference to his own house would point rather to the Baptist brother. His house at Bassingham is licensed August 10 [**E. (223)**].

The Presbyterian is not mentioned; he preaches in the house of a hospitable widow (Elizabeth Toller). These two licences were issued just two months earlier (June 10) [**E. (159)** and **E. (158)**].

Of Anthony Wither I have been unable to find any trace.

39. TIMOTHY WOOD.

Only one memorandum bears Timothy Wood's name, and that a receipt, calendared **321 (204)**. There is a 'Timothy Wood' noticed by Calamy (III. 446-447), who was ejected from Sandal Magna, in Yorkshire

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[*] 'Like for Eliz: Toller's howse in Hoblin, Lincolne. 10 June.'

[†] 'Licence to Edw: Brown to be a Pr. Teacher in Eliz: Toller's howse, in Hoblin, Lincolne. 10 June.'

(near to Wakefield, south of it). He speaks of his abilities most highly: 'A universal scholar, of a ready wit, a good elocution, and prodigious 'abilities; a diligent student, of tenacious memory, an excellent 'preacher, and of a peaceable spirit.' After his ejectment he lived for some time in Sandal, but 'afterwards removed to Leicestershire, where 'he often preached in public churches.' From **E. (253)** we find that he was licensed for the town of Leicester, September 30, 1672, to preach in his own house in that town. For some time, therefore, he was living in Leicester itself, though Calamy says that he died at Belgrave, near Leicester, in 1680.

From this memorandum we seem warranted in inferring that several months before he thought of obtaining a licence for himself he went up to London and obtained licences for two Nonconformist laymen in Herefordshire, the one in Tidston Delamere and the other in Hereford City.

For **321** (**204**) reads :

'May: 18th: 72.
'Recd then 2 Licences one for Mr Tho: Seabornes house in Hereford
another for Mr. Primeroses house in Tidston in Herefordsh:
'p̱ me TIMOTHY WOOD.'

How this Yorkshire minister, who finally settled in Leicester, became interested in Hereford, and these two Nonconformist laymen there, does not appear; but it is so unlikely that there should have been two Timothy Woods—contemporary Puritans—that I have ventured to take for granted that they are the same.

Here concludes our 'Miscellaneous' List of Licence-Agents. There remain to be noticed two not included in any previous list, because each is unique, unapproached by any already mentioned; the one in the fascination of his career, and both in the extent of their activity in this licence-agency.

I refer to JOHN HICKES and JAMES INNES, JUNIOR.

First, then, we turn to

JOHN HICKES.

The hero of this story was a man of great physical energy, mental force, spiritual magnetism, and daring promptitude of action. Born in the North Riding of Yorkshire, he received a University training in Ireland, started his ministerial life in the neighbourhood of his home, though the greater part of it was spent in the South and the 'West Countree': was for some time in London; had two considerable pastorates after leaving it—one in Portsmouth, Hants, and the other in Keynsham, Somerset; became a rebel by joining the rising under the Duke of Monmouth, and died a rebel's death, being executed at Glastonbury, while yet in the fulness of his powers, at the age of only fifty-two.

Compressed into the space of little more than half a century, we have in John Hickes's career a singular and most fascinating combination of all the elements of interest, alike political and religious, special to a period so critical in the history of our Kingdom as was the latter half of the seventeenth century.

He came of a good Yorkshire family, which for generations had been connected with Ness, in the parish of Stonegrave, on the southern border of the North Riding, at the western end of the Vale of Pickering, and south-east of the Hambledon Hills. His father, William Hickes, was born there; but soon after his marriage he had migrated into Swale Dale to be nearer to his wife's kindred and friends. The home of Elizabeth Kay was in Topcliffe, on the River Swale, a little above the point where Cold Beck flows into it, some five miles after it has passed the busy town of Thirsk; and William Hickes took her to 'set up house' in the parish of Kirby Wiske about half-way on the road running almost due north from her old home to Northallerton. Kirby Wiske is so named to distinguish it from other Kirbys in the county, because it is situate on the River Wiske not far above its junction with the Swale. They did not settle in the little town itself, but in the adjacent hamlet of Newsam, or Newsham, at a farm called Moorhouse. Here, in 1633, was born their son and heir, 'John Hickes,' whose chequered fortunes it is our task to follow. He was sent to school at Thirsk, and there he did so well, that his father decided to send him to the great Protestant University at Dublin, entering him at Trinity when a youth of no more than eighteen, probably in the year that witnessed Cromwell's 'Crowning Mercy' at Worcester and the Union of England with the sister countries of Scotland and Ireland.

His youth was thus spent in the stirring times of the Great Civil War. The year he was born, Charles quarrelled with his Parliament, and Archbishop Laud began his great Ritualistic Campaign. Young Hickes's mind was beginning to open as a boy of seven, when the Long Parliament began its momentous career in 1640; and he was a schoolboy of nine when Charles took the grave step of declaring war against his own Parliament by raising his standard at Nottingham Castle. It was this year, too, that his younger brother George was born.

Throughout his early schooldays no doubt he breathed a strongly Royalist atmosphere; for did not Charles make York City his first headquarters? and were not the Yorkshire gentry as a whole on the King's side? The after course of events, however—the disastrous failure of the Cavaliers as soon as Cromwell began to take the place of the Earl of Essex, and the marvellous series of victories won by his Ironsides without a single defeat—may well have altered the trend of his thoughts, and fired his enthusiasm for the triumph of the Commonwealth over their faithless King. He was closing his schooldays as a youth of sixteen when the struggle ended in the execution of the Monarch, and he would hardly have left England for Ireland before the cause of Charles II. had become hopeless, and he had left his country as a fugitive for nine years of exile.

When John Hickes crossed the Channel, his younger brother was nine, soon to be passed on from the school at Thirsk with its semi-Puritanized atmosphere for that at Northallerton, where the Royalist spirit was maintained almost at fever-point all through the period of 'the Great Usurpation.' So that while John was being trained at Trinity as a good Puritan Republican, George was being nursed into restive Royalism. John must have done exceptionally well at Trinity, for after graduating B.A., 1655 (as we learn from Todd's 'Dublin Graduates'), he secured a Fellowship in Trinity.

It seems probable that he remained about a year in Ireland after taking his fellowship. That I gather from an interesting allusion in his Last Speech—delivered on the scaffold at Glastonbury—as reduced to writing, and afterwards published. One item of the charges brought against him was that he had been an accomplice of the notorious Colonel Blood in plots against the King (Charles II.), but he is eager to disavow this in the solemn assertion: 'As I am a dying man, and upon 'the brinck of a stupendious eternity . . . I do declare . . . that I 'never saw or conversed with Thomas Bloud from the year 1656 till 'after he had stolen the Crown.' Now Thomas Blood, who was an Irishman by birth, and at this period of his adventurous career was high in Parliamentary favour, was settled in Ireland—had acquired considerable estates, and was a J.P. in the neighbourhood of Dublin. So that I think it very probable that the young Presbyterian minister in the making had formed the acquaintance of the dashing military J.P. during or just after his collegiate career; and the last that John Hickes saw of his friend Colonel Thomas Blood, J.P., was just before he (John Hickes) left Ireland to enter the ministry of the Church of England.

According to all the recognized authorities, his first appointment was to the Rectory of Stoke Damerell in 1659 (Cal. I. 368-370), leaving a gap of three years between his acquisition of the Trinity Fellowship in Dublin and his entry upon the Christian ministry. The late Rev. Bryan Dale, one of the greatest authorities of Yorkshire Nonconformity, some years ago drew my attention to a paragraph in Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy,' which in a most interesting and welcome way fills up this gap, and gives us a glimpse of the opening years of his ministry.

This book, as is well known, was written as a counterblast to Calamy's 'Nonconformists' Memorial,' and enumerates the Episcopalian clergy who suffered ejectment and sequestration at the hands of the Puritan Parliament from the year 1640 onwards through the period of the Commonwealth. The names of the clergy who were sequestered are in Part II., given in alphabetical order, and where the clergyman's name who was sequestered was unknown the name of the place whence there was a sequestration is given instead. And so we have following the name W. Styles, in Yorkshire, the place-name 'Stangrave' (or Stonegrave), 'in the East Riding of Yorkshire' (it is really in the North Riding), with this brief paragraph (Part II., p. 374):

> '—— ——' Blank Blank. [Walker has not learned the name of this martyr-rector of Stonegrave.] . . . 'His Living was Usurped by one M^r^ *Hickes* a great *Enthusiast;* in whose stead, the *worthy Person* who gives this account, remembers to have once seen a Man in Grey Clothes preaching in the Pulpit.'

I cannot question that this Mr. Hickes, a 'great enthusiast,' is our John Hickes; and thus incidentally we learn from the Martyrologist of the Conformist Anglicans a most interesting fact about our Nonconformist hero.

Walker cannot tell us the name of the parson whom he supplanted—into whose living he was 'intruded' by Parliamentary authority, but he does tell us that Hickes was settled there. And so we have the pleasant picture of young John Hickes, in the full flush of his University successes—still more noted for his Puritan fervour, 'a Great 'Enthusiast'—for his first living presented to the Parish where his father was born and reared, where his grandparents might be still living, and doubtless many of his kindred were still residing. If the vivid memory of the 'worthy person' who furnished Walker with this account [and Walker sent to every parish in the Kingdom a schedule of questions to be answered by any one whom the clergyman of it could induce to rake up any memories of that 'dark period' 1640-1659] refers to 'M^r^ 'Hickes' (and not to some one who casually supplied for him), we have in addition this most interesting touch: that in those early days the young Puritan, fresh from Dublin, was so strongly anti-Ritualistic that he sometimes dispensed with the canonical black suit and gown, and actually preached in 'Grey Clothes.'

John Hickes did not stay at Stonegrave long. At most, three years later—probably it was not more than two—he was presented, in 1659, to the rich living of Stoke Damerel, in Devonshire, on its extreme south-western boundary—which stands on rising ground north-east of Devonport, looking down on the waters of Plymouth Sound. But the following year, 1660, he had to leave his new-found work. For on the Restoration of Charles II., and the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church, clergy who had been sequestered by Parliament were restored to their livings, and those appointed by Parliamentary authority were ejected. Moreover, this living was in the gift of the Crown, and Charles naturally gave it to an ardent Royalist. By unusual favour, however, John Hickes was transferred, under Episcopal sanction, to the perpetual curacy of Saltash, only about four miles from Stoke, on the Cornwall side of the Tamar—on the high road to Launceston, close to where Brunel's great bridge now spans the estuary of the river.

It was probably in this second stage of his ministerial career that he married—that is, either during his brief pastorate at Stoke, or just after his settlement at Saltash. His wife came of a good stock, and the consent of her relatives to the match shows their confidence in the young minister who had come from Yorkshire with all the *éclat* of his collegiate honours at Dublin—he may still have retained his Fellowship in Trinity while at Stonegrave. She was the daughter of Mr. John Howe, 'a minister of the gospel' (as her stone at Plymouth testifies), who had been settled as rector of Loughborough in Leicestershire by Archbishop Laud, but was afterwards turned out by him for siding with the Puritans, and driven to Ireland; though he had returned to England in the time of the Civil War and settled at Winwick, in Lancashire. She was sister, too, of the far more celebrated John Howe—the great

Presbyterian divine, and author of 'The Living Temple.' From 1654-1662 her brother was either in whole or in part in charge of the 'perpetual curacy of Great Torrington, Devon.'* John Hickes would probably form the acquaintance of John Howe's sister while on a visit to her brother in the West (whether before John Howe's marriage with George Hughes's daughter or after I cannot tell). Her Christian name was Abigail. She proved a real helpmate and a brave companion to John Hickes in his after troubles, as long as she lived to share them.

He soon established himself in the affections of his people at Saltash. He was a thorough Puritan of the zealous Evangelical type—that's what Walker means by calling him 'a *great Enthusiast*'; and when two years later the Act of Uniformity was published, he felt he could not heartily 'conforme.' He could not declare his unfeigned 'assent 'and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer' with a quiet conscience; and so refused, and became one of the noble Two Thousand who were ejected.

Calamy authenticates a little story which shows what manner of man he was in these days of his ripening manhood (he was then not quite thirty). Before St. Bartholomew's Day had come, on which he had finally to make his choice, a neighbour was talking the matter over with him, and asked 'What he would do if he did not conform, 'having a family likely to be growing?' But his answer was brave and prompt, showing alike his unswerving loyalty to conscience and the simplicity of his faith in God: 'Should I have as many children as that 'hen has chickens,' said he (pointing to one that had a good number of them), 'I should not question but God would provide for them all.'

From the way Calamy proceeds to state 'He removed to Kings-'bridge,' the reader would naturally conclude that he left Saltash immediately after his ejectment. We have documentary proof in the Episcopal Returns, however, that he did not do so for three or four years at least. Indeed, from the same source, we are justified in picturing the ejected minister of Saltash as attracting to the place quite a little band of brothers in adversity, exactly as he did afterwards when he went to live in Kingsbridge, Devon. Our authority is the Return made in 1665 by Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter. First is his brief Summary [**R. 308**]:

> 'Saltash. 58. M^r^ Tomes. 59. M^r^ Tyack. 60. M^r^ Hicks. 61. M^r^ Wyne. 62. M^r^ Leadstone. 63. M^r^ Tavers. All Notoriously disaffected to K. & Ch:'

And second, in the fuller Return sent in by Bishop Ward for the Archdeaconry of Cornwall ('Archītus Cornub'), and under the 'Deanery of East' (**R. 410***b*) 'Non-Conformists':

> 'There are resideing in y^e^ Towne of Saltash Six Non-Conformist Ministers viz M^r^ Tomes; M^r^ Tiack; M^r^ Hickes; M^r^ Wine; M^r^ Leadstone, and M^r^ Travers; who are reported to be notoriously disaffected to y^e^ Governm^t^ of y^e^ Church established in y^e^ Kingdome of England.'

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* His chaplaincy to Oliver Cromwell, and afterwards to Richard, detained him much in London; but he had stipulated (on his acceptance of the post) that he should have at least three months with his beloved people at Torrington.

This little colony of six Nonconformist ministers must have very much strengthened one another's faith and upheld one another's hands in these times of persecution. 'Mr Tomes' is doubtless 'Mr William 'Tombs' of Calamy (I. 371), who had been ejected from St. Stephen's, a parish contiguous to that of Saltash on the south-west.

The second name is of one in whom the historian of Nonconformity cannot have equal satisfaction. The Summary gives it as 'Tyash,' but the full report is much nearer the mark, calling him 'Mr Tiack'—his real name being 'Mr Nicholas Tyack (or 'Teage').' Calamy does mention him, but only in the Black (?) List of those who suffered ejectment in 1662, but who 'afterwards conformed (I. 376).' We do not learn from him whence he was ejected. One thing we do learn from this Return, and that is that for three years at least he chose to suffer, as silenced and ejected, rather than profess 'his unfeigned assent and consent to every 'thing contained in the Prayer Book, and be re-ordained.' One other thing is suggested, that on the break-up of this little Nonconformist Colony through the passing of the Oxford Act this year, his faith failed him when not supported by the enheartening company of such an one as John Hickes, its centre and leader. The fourth is called 'Mr Wyne' in the Summary, and 'Mr Wine' in the Full Report, but in this instance the Summary is the more correct. This was doubtless 'Robert 'Wyne,' who was ejected from Tamerton in Devon (Cal. II. 77), of whom Calamy can tell us nothing but that he published two sermons in a volume he called 'Elysii Campi.' Tamerton, though in a different county, is quite near to Saltash, almost opposite to it the other side the Estuary of the Tamar.

The fifth, too, was a comparatively near neighbour: 'Leadstone' he is rather unceremoniously called in the 'Summary,' and 'Mr Leedstone' in the Full Report. Dr. Calamy, however, writes of him (I. 355-56) as 'John Lydston, M.A.,'* a Devonian by birth, who married a Devon lady, but was presented to the Vicarage of St. Mellion in Cornwall, some five miles north by west of Saltash, whence he was ejected 1662. At the time of this Return, however, he had not long been living at Saltash, for his successor, Mr. Grainger, found him to be a man of such great moderation that he was content to let the glebe to him for some years, and even permitted him to live in the vicarage-house, and boarded with him.' The 'some years' could, however, be only two or three, as we see he was 'resideing in ye Towne of Saltash' in 1665, thus confirming Dr. Calamy's statement, 'From hence he 'removed to Saltash, where he preached to a small number as the times 'permitted.'

The last of the list came from a greater distance. The Summary calls him 'Mr Tavers'; but the Full Report more accurately 'Mr Travers.' Calamy notices him (I. 349) as 'Mr. Thomas Travers.' He was evidently a scholar, for he was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. He was first settled in Plymouth—not so far away from Saltash, being lecturer of St. Andrew's, and assistant to Mr. George Hughes. Thence he was called to St. Columb Major, quite the other side of Cornwall, as compared with Saltash. In retiring to Saltash, after his ejectment, however, he was coming to a place quite accessible to his earlier friends in Plymouth.

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* That is Calamy's final rendering of his name (1727). In 1702 he had called him 'Lidston'; and in 1713, 'Levisson.'

The third in the list was no doubt the attracting centre to these five exiled brethren. In neither list is his Christian name given. In both he is simply 'Mr Hicks'—though the Full Report is more correct in spelling it 'Hickes.' Unfortunately, too, there were two Hickes's living in the county—both of them ejected from their livings.

They were no relatives: Gasper* (or Gaspar) Hickes, who was ejected from Landrake (Cal. I. 352-53), was a Berkshire man, the son of a minister, while our John Hickes was a Yorkshireman, the son of a yeoman.

From Calamy, however, we know that after his ejectment, Gaspar continued to live at Landrake till after 1670 at least. So that the 'Mr Hickes' living at Saltash was, without question, our John Hickes who was ejected from the living there.

It was round John Hickes, then, that these five 'exiles' gathered—four from Cornwall and one from Devon—gathered to strengthen one another's faith. 'Strong' they evidently were; uncowed by the persecution they had to suffer alike from the Act of Uniformity and the first Conventicle Act which had been passed only the previous year. For the Summary, dealing rather freely with the comment of the Full Report, puts it: 'All notoriously disaffected to K(ing) & Church'—whereas the Full Report animadverts only on their attitude to the latter, 'who are reported'—these are its words—'to be notoriously disaffected to ye 'Government of ye Church established in ye Kingdome of England.'

Disaffected they certainly were, and with good cause, as they could not, after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, with good conscience remain in it; but if we may judge of the rest by John Hickes, in political matters they were loyal enough—as Presbyterians being not at all averse to monarchy, as most Independents were.

The year which saw this Episcopal Return, and also the devastation of London by the Great Plague, saw too, on October 31, 1665, the passing by a coward Parliament of the Five Mile Act; and Saltash being a Borough sending two burgesses to Parliament, this little company was driven out and scattered abroad.† So that we cannot doubt that it was at this time (the early part of 1666) that John Hickes retired across the border to the county—Devon—in which he had commenced his ministerial life; only much farther east—viz., to the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge, at the head of that estuary-like, almost land-locked, five-branched arm of the sea, which passes by Bolt Head, northwards between Salcombe and Portlemouth, Charleton and West Alvington, till it washes the lower part of Kingsbridge. There he exercised his ministerial gifts in private informal ways, preaching in his own and neighbours' houses, and doing what good he could, in the villages and townships round, as far west as South Milton, as far east as Stokenham and Ford, and as far south as Salcombe. He was not allowed to do this without molestation and persecution. Indeed, Calamy says: 'For many years together he met with a great deal of 'trouble and was harassed by the Bishop's Court. So that he was 'forced to hide himself.'

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* 'Jasper' is the more orthodox spelling; and so Calamy consistently calls him. I suppose Palmer adopted 'Gasper' as the form of his own signature—Calamy adding in 1727: 'He wrote his name Gasper Hickes.'

† John Hickes, in any case, could not have remained, as Saltash was the sphere of ministry whence the Act of Uniformity ejected him.

Calamy gives no particulars; and the Consistory Court Records alone can furnish them. Still one incidental effect of the Five Mile Act which drove John Hickes thither, was to drive several other Nonconformist ministers into the neighbourhood from the nearer towns of Dartmouth, Dittisham, and South Brent; and so to form in Kingsbridge a delightful circle of Nonconformist clergy, who did much to strengthen each other's hands and spread the principles of Evangelical Puritanism. It was thus John Hickes a second time became the centre of a Nonconformist colony as he had been in Saltash. There was James Burdwood, ejected from Dartmouth, who settled in Bigbury (in a house called 'Hexdown'); Christopher Jellinger, who removed thither from South Brent; and Edmund Tucker (or Tooker), who, when ejected from Dittisham (near Dartmouth), had come to live in West Alvington.

Unfortunately, Anthony Sparrow, Seth Ward's successor in the See of Exeter, sent in a very defective Return in 1669. It deals only with the eastern portion of Devon, of which Exeter is the central port. Ashburton (**R. 185***b*) is the nearest place named in it to the Kingsbridge district; so that the whole of the southernmost part of the county is unreported. We thus miss what might have cast an interesting light on this part of Hickes's career.

This happy state of things was rudely broken in upon in 1670, by the publication of the Second Conventicle Act, which proved a far more effective instrument of persecution than the first. By its separate treatment of hearers, teachers, and keepers of Conventicles, all classes of Nonconformists were reached with far surer precision and with greater ease; by its provision for levying the fines for those too poor to pay on those present at the Conventicle who had ampler means, the irresponsible poor were encouraged to attend the Conventicles, in the hope of 'squeezing' larger sums from the wealthier adherents of these Nonconformist communities; and in the clause which assigned one third of all the money raised by fines to those who acted as spies or informers in proportion to their 'diligence and industry' in this wretched work, there was a direct incentive to any 'men of the baser sort' to give themselves to the discovery of 'conventicles' and the arrest of the conventiclers.

The seed thus prodigally sown soon sprang up in the Kingsbridge district in a little gang of indefatigable workers in an enterprise which furnished such ample opportunities of gratifying private grudges and replenishing depleted purses.

Squire George Reynell, of Malson, in the neighbouring parish (eastward), of Sherford, a Justice of the Peace, was its organizing head; John Bear, then a constable, was its active leader (who was aiming at the honourable office of 'Justice,' and gained it before twelve months of this foul work was out; and its rank and file were his younger brother George, Thomas Ford, John Lucas (carpenter), Walter Campion (blacksmith of Dadbrook), Campion Arnel, and a man of the name of Leach. These names, and the further facts I narrate, I have culled from a remarkable pamphlet which John Hickes published anonymously in the following year. So relentless and unprincipled was the action of these men, so hasty and violent their arrests, so arbitrary and unjust the penalties they enforced in fines, distraints, and forced sales, that his spirit was roused to publish the facts, and, regardless of any possible consequences to himself by their publication, to get them known by the public at large, and, if possible, to bring them to the ears of the Court and the King.

Calamy refers to it in these words (I. 369): 'In the year 1671 he 'published a pamphlet entitled "A sad Narrative of the Oppression of '"many Honest People in Devon, and other Parts, by Informers and '"Justices, out of their pretended Zeal to put the Act against Con- '"venticles in Execution."' There is a copy of the Pamphlet preserved in the Congregational Library in the Memorial Hall; and its title reads 'A True and Faithful Narrative of the Unjust and Illegal 'Sufferings and oppressions of many Christians (Injuriously and 'Injudiciously call'd Fanaticks) . . . under and by several of His 'Majesties Justices of the Peace, and others who are no Officers, but 'Informers, in the County of Devon since the Tenth of May 1670, 'from a pretended Zeal to put the Law against Conventicles in 'Execution,' and 'printed in the Year 1671.' Calamy says of it 'In it 'he named the informers, justices and others who were guilty of illegal 'proceedings, and particularly Judge Rainsford,' and he adds, 'Though 'his name was not to the Book, he (John Hickes) was soon discovered 'to be the author.'*

The pamphlet is written with much verve and spirit. There is a great sense of humour in it, as well as a burning sense of the injustice done. The facts he adduces, put as briefly as I can, are as follows:

On Sunday, May 29 (nineteen days only after the Second Conventicle Act came into force),† John Hickes's house was visited about 11 a.m. by Squire Reynell, J.P., with his brother Arthur. Finding the front door locked, and being unable to break it open, Arthur Reynell went round to the back door, which was open; entered and went back to the front door, expecting to find the key in it. Finding it not, with oaths and curses, he demanded the key, and opened the door to his brother and the J.P.'s attendant, who searched the house only to find that their bird had flown. Vilifying him to his wife before the people who had gathered in the house in most opprobrious language, they proceeded to take the names of those present (that was the form prescribed by the Act, and sufficient evidence on which to issue warrants for their fines);

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* The brief title given by Calamy may be either a condensation of the fuller one above transcribed, or it may have been a transcript of the title (printed differently) of the copy which he possessed or examined.

† The King gave his 'Royal Assent' to it on April 11.

but so unsteady were their hands that they could not write them clearly. 'What was Production or Causation of this Paralytical Distemper,' John Hickes interpolates by way of caustic comment, 'I leave the Intelligent 'and Impartial Reader to Judge.' The following day they levied £20 upon him for Preaching, though they had no proof that he had done so, and though he was not in the house when they entered; and sent the bailiffs to distrain his goods for the money. They further levied 40s. on a townsman, Roger Bastard, who was not in the house on that Sunday, because he refused to open the doors to the bailiffs when they called for the fine; 20s. on a certain Thomas Cole, adding 15s. on his refusal to pay, and actually distraining thirty sheep to raise the 35s; and 40s. on Christopher Collings, which was enforced with treble costs at the Quarter Sessions; when, in accordance with the terms of the Conventicle Act, he had appealed to the Quarter Sessions against the injustice of the 'Justice of the Peace.'

The following Sunday, June 5: The attack on these pious people was resumed, this time in more formidable fashion with a troop of fourteen soldiers on horseback and on foot, on a house not in Kingsbridge, but near Surley Butts, in the Parish of West Alvington (probably Christopher Jellinger's.) They were led by Constable John Bear, accompanied by his brother George and the two brothers Ford, Thomas and Nicholas.

On their way thither George Bear had seized and beaten a youth because he could give them no information as to where the Conventicle was to be held; and, though they found no preacher, and no gathering for worship, the brothers Bear seriously frightened three women whom they met at the house with their blasphemous oaths and curses, and with their brutal threats of violence. Squire Bastard of Garston, however, had these two men convicted and punished according to law for their foul language and coarse swearing.

Again a week later (Sunday, June 12), without any warrant from a J.P. or other magistrate, John Bear brought another armed band—John Lucas among them—to capture another Conventicle in John Hickes's house. To secure their prey they broke through the front door of his next neighbour, ran through the house, leapt the hedge of the garden into John Hickes's garden, and rushed to the back door of his house, with pistol in hand threatening to shoot any who came out.

Then two of the company within—Nicholas Huxome and John Leech—sprang upon John Lucas, threw him to the ground, and disarmed him. A most unseemly scuffle ensued, as the Bears and Thomas Ford attempted to arrest the company, threatening some of the women in the company.

The next day John Lucas accused several of assaulting him, and amongst them one William Gillard, who had not touched him, vilifying Mr. Hele and Mr. Bastard, both Justices of the Peace, for favouring the Fanaticks, 'because they would not oppress their neighbours.'

After two more fruitless Sunday raids on June 19 and June 26, on Sunday, July 3, they organized an earlier hunt to entrap a meeting, which they had heard was to be held, on Lincombe Hill Head, in the open air. There were twenty or thirty in the troop led by Squire Reynel. On their way they caught a young man, whom they suspected of being privy to the meeting, and beat him mercilessly because he could not tell them where Mr. Hickes was. The meeting dispersed, on the intimation of scouts, before the troop arrived upon the scene, and though they searched the adjoining farm-house and outbuildings, John Hickes eluded their search by hiding in a quantity of fodder in a loft. Though they failed to discover him, they yet levied £20 on divers persons for preaching, though no definite evidence could be obtained.

Shortly after this John Bear secured his ambition and was made a J.P. As Bear was his special enemy, John Hickes now thought it wiser to leave the neighbourhood, and for eighteen weeks he successfully eluded his enemies—from September 11, 1670, to February of 1671. 'Justice' Bear's first conviction was for another Conventicle on Lincombe Hill Head on July 26, in connection with which he levied £24 10s. on six persons, but some escaped by successfully proving an *alibi*.

On September 20 this same gang invaded the house of Mr. Burdwood at Batson, just north of Salcombe, but found no Conventicle: only four neighbours with him singing Psalms.

Yet 'Justice Bear' made it a 'Conventicle' by reckoning a servant who entered the house with the Informer, on a visit to the household, the fifth person over sixteen years, which the Act required, and fined James Burdwood £20 for himself as a Teacher, £20 more for his house as a 'meeting-place,' and 5s. each for the other four.

Another most unjust conviction was of Mr. Tooker, whom he fined £30 for a Conventicle on the base witness of Lucas, Arnold, and Leech, though he was only praying with three ladies who had called to condole with his wife on the loss of their son who had been drowned on the high seas, Bear making up the number of five, by the addition of a servant who came to fetch the ladies home, and Mr. Bevil Bastard who had come up afterwards to see what these informers were doing. They literally stripped Tooker's house of all its furniture to raise the money. What was even worse, in April of the following year, this infamous Bear, on the testimony of a false witness, fined a farmer in Leigh for a 'Conventicle,' though at the time there was no one within but the family, engaged in family prayer.

Such was the state of things brought about by this Second Conventicle Act. The life of no Nonconformist was safe from molestation: they were watched by spies, and they were daily in peril of arrest, fine, and imprisonment.

It was this state of things which came to invest with the sanctity of a sanctuary, a little islet or rock, called the Salt Stone in the neighbourhood. This most interesting spot is quite submerged at high tide, its presence being indicated to the mariner by an iron standard surmounted by a globe of iron hoops; but at low water the bared rock is more than one hundred feet in length, and over fifty feet in breadth. It lies in the middle of that part of the Estuary called Wide Gates, and has the happy distinction of being extra-parochial, it having been a question from time immemorial to whom it really belongs, seeing that it lies almost equidistant from the parishes of Charleton, Southpool, and Marlborough. When bared by the receding tide, the almost level surface of this rock could accommodate a large number of persons; and, as it was 'parochially' no-man's land, the J.P.'s and other parochial authorities had no jurisdiction there. Many a time, therefore, when the tide served, the Nonconformists of the district, gathering thither from all directions, would put off in boats from both sides of the Estuary, land on the rock, and form a noble congregation, to hear the preaching of such men as John Flavell of Totnes, John Hickes of Kingsbridge, James Burdwood, and Christopher Jellinger. Safe there from the hand of their persecutors, they would linger in devout assembly till the rising tide drove them to take to their boats, and disperse to their scattered homes. No Nonconformist tourist ought to pass that islet without at least a silent tribute to the brave, pure, steadfast men and women who often in those days of persecution fled thither for temporary asylum to worship God after their own conscience, and by the guiding of His Spirit.

In January of 1671, John Lucas died, the man who, in the scuffle in John Hickes's house on June 12 of the previous year, had been forcibly disarmed when, with the Bears, he was threatening the people gathered there with drawn pistol. It was a case of natural death of an ordinary sickness or disease, as afterwards testified by a doctor on a post-mortem.

Yet this base fellow, Justice Bear, trumped up a case against John Hickes, actually charging him with his murder, because he alleged Lucas's illness was the result of the violence he had received in the riot that Sunday morning in his house. John Hickes was in hiding at the time, and three weeks later they scoured the countryside to lay their hands upon him. Starting on Saturday evening, they searched Kingsbridge till late that night. With dawn on Sunday, they searched West Alvington, then passed on to South Milton, thence returned through South Huish to Salcombe, sweeping the villages as they went, searching altogether thirty houses in this unsabbatic man-hunt, yet all to no purpose. The case came on for trial at the next Quarter Sessions at Exeter—I imagine in his absence; and though the weight of testimony was all in his favour, by the verdict of thirteen against twelve of the Grand Jury, a True Bill was found against John Hickes for the murder of John Lucas, and he was summoned to the Bar. By remaining in hiding, however, he avoided actual arrest.

It must have been at this time, when trial for murder was thus hanging over his head, that he determined in the strength of his innocency to print his narrative, so that it might reach the eyes of Royalty and vindicate his cause and that of his persecuted brethren. In this he succeeded ; and it became the occasion, or, perhaps we ought to say, gave him the opportunity, of his going to London and pleading his cause in person before the King.

In the Last Speech (from which I have already quoted a reference to his acquaintance with 'Colonel' Blood), he says of this pamphlet and what came out of it: ''Tis true I, being most injuriously and 'wrongfully involved in greate troubles of another nature'—of course he means these persecutions under the Second Conventicle Act—'of which 'I have given an account to the world in a printed narrative and which 'is notoriously known in the country where I then lived by some 'which were grand enemies to me for my preaching, I was perswaded 'to apply myself to Mr Bloud, to procure by his intercession His late 'Majesties grace and favour.' This pamphlet had been circulated in London, as well as in the 'West Countree,' and had come to the notice of the King and his ministers [at that time the Cabal—one of whom, Buckingham, had taken Blood into his confidence, and was using him as his 'agent'].

It had scarcely produced upon them the effect he had desired. They resented the aspersions cast upon the Justices of the Peace as officers of the King; and, as Calamy tell us, 'two messengers were sent 'down to apprehend him, and bring him up to Court.' Their difficulty, of course, was to find him. Providence so ordered it that he came across them, without their having any idea who he was. He was travelling along the London road on some errand which sent him in the Kingsbridge direction, when—these are Calamy's words :—

'It happened that upon the road Mr Hickes fell into the company of these very messengers, not having at first the least suspicion of them. He travelled the greater part of a morning, and at last dined with them (at an inn), when they talked with great freedom against one Mr Hickes as a bad man, and a great enemy of the government. He bore all their scurrilous language till dinner was over; and then, going to the stable to his horse (of which he was always very careful) he there gave them to understand that he was the person they had so much vilified: and, to teach them better how to govern their tongue, he took his cane, and corrected them, till they begged his pardon. Upon which he immediately took his horse and rode to London.'

What a striking proof this, of the promptitude and sagacity as well as of the physical energy of this remarkable man! The portrait, which illustrates Calamy's notice of him—'from a curious and valuable old Draw'ing in the possession of Mr Simco'*—though only a half-length, and in clerical attire, shows him with just such a physique as would be needed for such an adventure. Tall, broad-shouldered, with wonderful vivacity in the eye, as well as strength in the set of the lips and jaw, he was clearly no pietist weakling, but what the moderns would call a 'muscular 'Christian.' Indeed, another incident which he narrates himself in his 'True Account' gives us just the same impression of him. He is retailing part of the testimony offered in court against him, to prove the dastardly charge of the murder of John Lucas, and mentions the actual facts which had been distorted into such startling testimony. The testimony was given by one Campion, a veterinary surgeon, and was as follows (p. 4):

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* John Simco was a London dealer in prints, who published a catalogue in 1799. His address was 2, Warwick Street, Golden Square, and he called himself 'A Lover 'and Preserver of Antiquities.'—(A. G.)

'He averred that Mr. H., near the time that the Act against Conventicles was in force, threatened that if any man came to Disturb him in keeping them, he would knock him down, shewing him a Club, as he termed it, near as thick as the wrist of his arm; to whom, Campion said, he replyed "You may miss your blow, and if I close with you, I "may prove as nimble as you" (or words to that purpose) and further said he "was not afraid of him"—to whom Mr H. replied after this manner, "Say'st thou so?" and pulling out of his Pocket a Stelletto, or long Dagger-Knife, turned the point of it towards him, and told him "there was that which should pick his teeth."'

But the simple facts, as John Hickes himself narrates them, only show the man of powerful physique and muscular activity, whose personal presence would easily daunt and cow the evil designs of a weakly wicked man. He 'calls the Searcher of Hearts to Witness, and 'on the word of a minister "verbo sacerdotis" asserts the plain truth,' as follows:

'About the midst of December 1669' (which was some five months before the Second Conventicle Act became law), 'I had a Horse dangerously wounded, and employed Campion to cure him, who came to my Horse to dress him; and one evening, before he went away, I asked him if he would Drink, which Campion accepted of. I then put it to his choice, whether he would drink Beer or Sider (Cyder). Campion replied, "He could drink Beer at home, and he knew I had "good Cider, therefore he would rather chuse that," which when he had drunk, he commended it. At that time I had a staff in my Hand, which Campion took notice of; and said "it was a good one." To whom I replied "I had rather have such a Staff than a small Rapier such "as was now in use." Then said Campion: "But what if one should "give you a prick?" To which I replied "Possibly I might put by "one thrust, and if I did that, I could prevent the second if I got "one blow at my adversary who would Assault me." Campion speaking of his skill in Fencing, and what Feats he could do with a Sword, I told him (and that was the conclusion of the Discourse) that if a man should assault me, I would be in such a Posture with my Knife in my left hand (taking it out of my Pocket) and my Staff in my Right; and if I put by a Thrust, I should quickly pick his Teeth. This knife,' John Hickes admitted, 'is indeed made after the form of a Dagger, with a little cross-bar, to prevent its running through the Sheath: but both Haft and Blade are but a quarter of a yard long. And when I first had it, they were frequently and commonly us'd for cutting meat, and for this purpose many sober persons use them yet.'

John Hickes was evidently a man of great physical courage, and no mean master of the art of self-defence. His daring promptitude, too, is shewn by the celerity with which he changed his plans, and, without waiting to inform his wife—much less, to consult with her—dashed up on his good horse to London.*

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* It is with this period of John Hickes's life that Miss Cranch deals in her striking book 'Troublous Times,' one of the ablest and most interesting of the volumes published in 1862 to celebrate the ejection of the two thousand clergy who would not conform.

Arriving in London in the early summer of 1671, he made inquiries in all directions as to the best means of gaining access to the King. Some one told him of Colonel Blood, and how, since his daring exploit in the Tower, he had won the favour of the King; and had been taken into the employ of Buckingham, one of the King's favourite Councillors. Thomas Blood, it will be remembered, John Hickes had known well in his old Dublin days, fifteen years before; and he now decided to make use of his old friendship to win him to his purpose of gaining him an audience so that he might lay the facts before the King. He succeeded in his plan. 'By means of an acquaintance,' Calamy writes, 'who was then in court, he got introduced to the King's presence.' Calamy does not mention who he was. Perhaps he did not know, or if he did, he maybe did not care to link his hero's name with that of such an 'impudent bold fellow' (as Evelyn calls him) as Colonel Blood.

Calamy gives us the substance of his interview: 'The King first 'told him he had abused his ministers, and the justices of the peace,' of course alluding to the allegations he had made against some of them in 'The True and Faithful Narrative.' 'He replied,' Calamy proceeds to tells us:

'"Oppression (may it please your Majesty) makes a wise man mad. "The justices, beyond all law, have very much wronged your Majesty's "loyal subjects, the Nonconformists in the West." He instanced several particulars, and spoke with such presence of mind and ingenuity that the King heard him with patience, seemed to be affected, and promised that they should have no cause of complaint in the future.'

Evidently this man had as little fear of 'King' as of 'apparitor'; and had that supreme gift of sincerity and open-mindedness, which gave him the true eloquence which interests and holds his auditory, whether prince or peasant, monarch or humblest subject.

In his 'Last Speech,' John Hickes in substance confirms this statement about him, but adds most interesting details. After referring to Colonel Blood's introduction, he proceeds: 'Accordingly he brought 'me into his Royal presence. Whilest I was in it, his Majestie exprest 'himself with great clemency and mercy towards me, without expressing 'one word of what I am charged with'—*i.e.*, without making a syllable of allusion to the allegation 'that he was engaged with Captain Bloud 'in rescuing Captain Mason when he was sent down from London to 'Yorke to be tryed for high treason; that he was the man who kill'd 'the Barber of that Citty, who travelled with them'; and that 'he was 'with him when he stole the crown'; and he goes on to say: 'After 'Mr. Bloud came from his Majesty, (he continuing a little longer with 'him than I did) he told me he had granted me my pardon, which I 'did most thankfully accept, knowing it would free me from all 'penalties and troubles I was obnoxious to, which were occasioned by 'my Nonconformity'—so entirely successful was this bold dash for freedom, and this daring attempt to secure liberty and relief for others. Unfortunately, however, he then made a false step. In his delight at the prosperous issue of Blood's mediation, he rather incautiously seems to have placed his whole case in Blood's hands. 'I then,' he goes on to say in his 'Last Speech,' 'engaging him to take out my pardon, 'he told me he would put me into one with several others that had 'ingaged with him in several treasonable designs and actions.' This purpose or promise we know he too faithfully fulfilled, unfortunately, in just such a form as would superficially seem to justify the charges trumped up against him when arrested at Moyles Court after his successful flight from Sedgmoor—John Hickes being coupled not with Colonel Blood the father, but with his son and others charged with sedition of various kinds.

The pardon was not actually issued till the beginning of the following year. The Record of it is preserved in S. P. Dom. Scr. Dockets, Vol. **25**, (**165**), and reads as follows:

'2° January 1671° [1672 N.S.].

'Blood Pardon.

'A Pardon to Thomas Blood the younger, Robert Perrot, Ralph Alexander, Nicholas Locker, John Barnes, & John Hickes.

'Of all Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Murders, Robberies, Felonies, and Offences whatsoever, by themselves or with any others comitted since the 29th of May 1660. With Restitution of Lands & Goods, and Clauses usuall in ꝑdons of like natures. Subscribed by Mr Attorney Generall

'By Warrt undr the Signe Manuall

'ꝑcured by the Ld Arlington

'SIDNEY BERE.'

It was certainly rather humiliating, and very disastrous that his name should be placed in such company in the nation's records. I have no doubt that Judge Jeffreys, or his minions, turned up this entry, and thereupon framed the charge against him that he was concerned with Blood in his rescue of Captain Mason and in his attempt upon the Tower, as well as in divers others treasonable and murderous plots and designs. One of the first passages in his 'Last Speech' ran in these words:

'Something I must say before I die to purge & clear myself from some false accusations layed to my charge, as that I was engaged with Capt Bloud in rescueing of Capt Mason, when he was sent down from London to Yorke to be tryed for high treason, that I was the man that kild the Barber of that Citty, who travelled with them, and that I was with him when he stole the Crown.'

The form of the pardon is identical with that made out for Colonel Blood himself, but John Hickes had not the honour of being associated with the daring and noted father: he is listed with his eldest son and divers other co-conspirators. Thomas Blood, the Colonel's eldest son, had been associated with his father (as well as others) in the attack upon the Duke of Ormond, and with Robert Perrott in the daring attempt upon the Regalia in the Tower of London; while Alexander Locker (or Lockyer) and Barnes had been associated with the Colonel in his earlier attempt on Dublin Castle, and risings in Scotland and the north of England. It was most unfair and unfortunate that the name of John Hickes should be added in the tail or trail of such malefactors—

John Hickes, whose only fault was his infraction of the Penal laws against Nonconformity, and possibly his corporal castigation of two of the King's messengers. [The date, May 29, 1660, is fixed upon, as practically the beginning of Charles II.'s actual reign in England. For though he was proclaimed three weeks before—viz., on May 8—the 29th was Charles's birthday, and the date of his triumphal entry into London four days after his landing at Dover.]

We cannot wonder at John Hickes reflecting, in his 'Last Speech,' on this episode, 'at which I was troubled fearing it might be imputed to 'me thereby: and, though I did acquiesce therein for the present, yet 'God knows I have often since reflected upon it with regret and dis'satisfaction. If Mr Blood,' he adds, 'did informe the late King for 'this end, to make himself the more considerable (he endeavouring to 'bring in so many of his party as he could to accept their pardon that 'they might be utterly unable of Plotting any further mischief against 'his Person or Government), or any other that was ingaged with him 'in any other treasonable attempts, I appeal to God, in it he hath done 'me an irreparable wrong.'

We must not forget, of course, that the baseless charge of the murder of John Lucas had been so far regarded at the Exeter Assizes as that a True Bill had been found against him in his absence. And it was something for him to take the assurance of the King's Pardon with him, if he returned before 1671 was out; or to take the Patent of his Pardon as actually issued January 2, 1672, if he delayed his return to Kingsbridge till then. In either case, no doubt, proceedings were stayed in Exeter on this charge of murder, as well as for the fines adjudged against him and others under the Conventicle Acts. Indeed, he seems to have brought back to his fellow Nonconformists in South Devon the welcome news that the King had remitted his (the King's) 'third part' of the fines which had already been extorted from the people on account of the preaching of Tooker, Burdwood, Jellinger, and himself.

That I take to be the real significance of Calamy's statement that 'by his Majesty's favour Mr. Hickes got back a third part of what the 'Dissenters in those parts had paid in, on the Conventicle Act.'

Doubtless on his return he would continue his private ministries in the neighbourhood, and his public services, when tide and weather permitted, on the Salstone Rock; and there is as little doubt that what he had to tell of the King's gracious reception of him would bring a breath of hope to his friends that there might be a change of policy in high quarters towards Nonconformists throughout the kingdom.

So that, when in March of the following year, the Declaration of Indulgence was actually published, we are not surprised to find that many then believed, as some have maintained since, that John Hickes's brave vindication of the case and cause of Devon Nonconformists in his interview with the King, had had some real influence in bringing about that benign change. [This Declaration was published March 15, 1672, suspending the execution of all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against all Nonconformists and Recusants; and offering to issue licences to such respectable Nonconformists as applied for them either to teach or preach in any licensed place, or to hold meetings for public worship in their houses or other meeting-places.]

The Devon ministers were amongst the first in the country to take action upon it, and prompter still to express their gratitude to the King for his 'Indulgence.' Within a week of its publication, they had drawn up an Address of Grateful Acknowledgment. It bears date March 22, 1671-72, and is signed by no less than seventy-two ministers of the 'City of Exon and the County of Devon.' The order of their signatures seems to be extremely casual (the closer study of them might reveal some 'rhyme and reason in it'), one or two of the Exeter ministers standing first, and John Hickes's name, being well down the first column, only fourteenth in the list. Indeed, the fuller study of the list shows that they could not have been secured by any personal tour of the places represented. The consent of the signatories must have been secured by a number of messengers and by the post. But even so, John Hickes's energy is sufficiently displayed. When collected, the names were written in by the same hand that drew up the Document.

There can be little doubt that the Address was from his pen, and that it was by his ubiquitous energy and largely by the help of his good nag, that so large a number of signatures was so quickly secured.

This is the way it runs [State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles II., **320** (**2**)]:

'To the King's Most Excellent Ma^{tie}

'The gratefull acknowledgment of several Ministers in the City of Exon and County of Devon, who do not conforme to y^{e} Established Discipline and Lyturgie of y^{e} Church of England.

'May it please y^{r} most EXCELLENT MA^{TIE}

'We your most Loyall & Faithfull subjects, being deeply sensible of that full & clear demonstration you have given of your Royall Favour & abundant clemency toward us by vertue of your late most gracious Declaration of Indulgence Dated March 15th 167½; Do (as we are obliged) make a most humble & thankfull acknowledgment thereof; and being confident of your Ma^{ties} most gracious purposes & resolutions to continue to us this your most Princely INDULGENCE, and that we shall reap the benefit and advantage thereof so long as we deport ourselves as becomes your Loyall subjects, & live peacably under your Ma^{ties} Government. We do hereby promise all due Allegeance & faithfull subjection to your Ma^{ties} person and Government, humbly desiring that we may be approved and places allowed, for the publique exercise of our Ministry, & as our bounden duty is, we shall pray for your Ma^{ties} long and most prosperous Reigne.

'March 22°. 167½.'

In a few days after the last name was appended to it, John Hickes secured the company of Thomas Martin of Plymouth to journey up to London to present it to His Majesty.

This Thomas Martin, whose name appears seventh in the first column, was doubtless well known to John Hickes in his brief ministries both at Stoke Damarell (almost a suburb of Plymouth) and at Saltash, and (if Miss Cranch's suggestion is a true one that John Hickes in those seventeen months of seclusion was in hiding somewhere near Plymouth) had probably been of great service in keeping close the secret of his hiding-place when he was being hunted for high and low by the officers of the Crown.

The exact date of their journey up to the Metropolis we do not know, but we do know that a Royal audience was granted these two representatives from Devon at Whitehall, about a fortnight after the completion of the Document—viz., on Saturday, April 6. We know it on a twofold testimony of Sir Joseph Williamson. (1) The document is endorsed in Sir Joseph's own hand: 'Addresse of Devonshire Nonconforming Teachers. P^{r}sented y^{e} 6 Apr. 1672. by $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{M}^{\text{r}}\text{ Hicks}\\ \text{— Martin}\end{matrix}\right\}$.' And (2) it is so noted in Sir Joseph Williamson's Diary.

Of course, the Nonconformists of London, though they had moved no earlier in the matter, had the advantage of being on the spot, and had secured two audiences of the King nine days before Martin and Hickes could present theirs. Again, we have the testimony of Sir Joseph Williamson's Diary:

> 'Thursday 28^{o} (*i.e.*, of March) Nonconformist Ministers thanked y^{e} King.
>
> 'in y^{e} morning
> 'Dr. Owen*
> 'Griffith†
> 'Palmer‡
> 'Sim§
>
> 'in y^{e} afternoon
> 'Manton||
> 'Bates¶
> 'Jacombe**
> 'Sayman††
> 'both in Lord Arlington's lodgings.'

The Tuesday following this Audience of the London Nonconformist ministers, the first batch of licences, seventy-six in number, was issued from Whitehall, and in this first batch were eleven for Devon ministers. Of these, four were for special meeting-places—viz., those for Theophilus Polwheile at Peter Bere's house, in Tiverton; for Lewis Stuckley, at Nicholas Savery's house, in Exeter; for John

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* Congregationalist, Leathersellers' Hall.

† Congregationalist, Addle Street, Wood Street.

‡ Congregationalist, Broad Street and London Bridge.

§ Presbyterian, Kingston-on-Thames.

|| Presbyterian, Covent Garden.

¶ Presbyterian, the 'silver-tongued,' ejected from St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.

** Presbyterian, ejected from St. Martin's, Ludgate; now living with the Countess of Exeter in Little Britain.

†† Dr. Lazarus Seaman, Presbyterian, Hammersmith.

Flavell, at his own house, in Dartmouth; and for R. Hieron, at the School House, in Honiton; but all the other seven were general licences for any 'allowed' or 'licensed' place.

The first two special licences were both in response to Petitions addressed direct to the King, which are preserved in **320 (18)**, **(19)**; and the fourth has the peculiarity of being for a semi-public building—viz., the School House in Honiton. The fact that all the rest are 'general' suggests that the applicants had not had time to realize the advantages of fixing on a meeting-place to be licensed in addition to their own persons—viz., that it carried with it also the almost unlimited scope of a 'general' licence, seeing that it gave the preacher authority 'to teach in any (other) place licensed and allowed' as well—and that the application was made by some one not in direct touch with them at the time.

The further facts that three of these were for Exeter and one for Honiton, while two of them were for John Hickes of Kingsbridge, and Edmond Tooker of West Alvington, which was almost a suburb of Kingsbridge, all five in the south-eastern part of the county, with which John Hickes was so closely connected, inevitably suggest that for these John Hickes made personal application at Whitehall; while the fact that the other three for places in the western border of the county—viz., William Bartlet's for Bideford, and Jonathan Hanmer's for Barnstaple (both north-west); the third being for Thomas Martin at Plymouth, suggest as inevitably that John Hickes's companion—Thomas Martin—had in person applied for them; while that, again, would imply that he and his friend Martin had arrived in London by Saturday, March 30, or Monday, April 1.

The licences are entered in **E.**: the two secured by Petition on the second page; actually the third and fourth of the four thousand licences entered in this book; John Flavell's on the sixth page; W. Bartlett's, Edmond Tooker's, Thomas Martin's, and John Bartlett's on the seventh; and John Hickes's, with Robert Atkins's, and Robert Hieron's on the eighth; Jonathan Hanmer's being entered on the ninth. John Hickes's reads as follows:

'M^{r} Hickes a Teacher in any licensed Place.

> 'Licence for M^{r} John Hickes to be a Presbyt. Teacher in any licensed Place. 2. Apr. 1672 [is of the county of Devoñ' J. W. Ed.]

It is interesting to note that to every one of the eight which had been secured by personal application (those not granted in response to Petitions addressed to the King) is appended a note in Sir Joseph Williamson's handwriting—'is of y^{e} County of Devon'—a further sign that John Hickes and Thomas Martin had called at Whitehall to make application for them, and (probably) to arrange at the same time when they might come to present the Address of Thanks from the Devon ministers to the King in person.

Sir Joseph Williamson takes note in his Diary of the fact that this was the first day on which licences were issued, but he makes special mention of six of them (three pairs of licences for person and place).

Naturally, too, they are the first six entered in **E.**; the very first pair, which are entered in full, and occupy the whole of the first page, being for London—William Jenkin, for a house or chamber in Horne Alley, Aldersgate; and the other two pair, being those for which Petitions had been sent direct to the King—viz., those for Polwheile of Tiverton, and Lewis Stuckley of Exeter. The entry in Sir Joseph Williamson's Diary reads as follows:

'Tuesday 2:

'M^{r} Jenkins takes out his Licences to preach, the first that was taken out.

'Tiverton } licences to Congreg^{ll} way—sent down.'
Exeter }

William Jenkin's licences were for the Presbyterian worship, and he doubtless called for them personally at Whitehall.

It is of special interest to Congregationalists that the first of the very few which the Whitehall authorities took the trouble (and went to the expense) of sending away, to these two distant towns upon the River Exe, were for 'the Congregationall way'; the one at Tiverton and the other for the Cathedral City, where the 'person licensed' had 'gathered a Church' while preacher in the Cathedral itself. Most probably the rest of those Devon licences were fetched away from Whitehall by these two (Hickes and Martin), who had personally applied for them.

It was not till the Saturday following—viz., April 6, that John Hickes and Thomas Martin secured their audience with the King. Probably it was, as before, partly, at any rate, through the influence of Colonel Blood.

Sir Joseph's notice of it, in his Diary, is in these terms:

'Ap. 6:

'Nonconformists of Devonshire made an Address to y^{e} King in writing by Martin and Hicks.'

One is a little surprised to find Martin's name put first, as Hickes was already known at Whitehall; but we must remember that the town he represented—'Plymouth'—was of much greater importance than Kingsbridge.* Though Martin's name stands first, however, there is little doubt that John Hickes would be the chief spokesman.

This was his second interview with 'His sacred Majesty,' and he would come to it with the buoyancy and elation of one who had won a great victory for the cause he had espoused ten months or so before.

These are the terms in which Calamy refers to the episode: 'Soon 'after this' (*i.e.*, after his first interview with the King) 'the Dissenters 'had some favour shown to them.' By this strangely worded, strangely vague phraseology, Calamy must be alluding to the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence. 'And Mr Hickes came up with an Address 'from a considerable number of gentlemen and others in the West' [as a matter of fact, we have seen that they were all Nonconformist ministers], 'and he presented it upon his knee.' [Calamy does not seem to have been aware that Thomas Martin, of Plymouth, was associated with him.] 'The King received it very graciously and asked him "If "he had not been as good as his word?"' [And it is at this point Calamy adds (almost as though it was a consequence of this second interview instead, as we know it to have been, of the first): 'An Indulgence was granted with liberty to build meeting-houses, and by his 'majesty's favour, Mr Hickes got back a third part of what the Dissenters in those parts had paid on the Conventicle Act.']

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* It is curious to reflect that at this very time Plymouth was being fortified; but the guns turned not seawards, but on the town, to cover the intended landing of the French troops of Lewis to aid Charles in his nefarious scheme of reducing England once more to the yoke of Rome!

John Hickes seems to have spent the next eight or nine months in London. That is the inference I am inclined to draw from the fact that towards the end of December, 1672, he applied for a licence for a house in Hatton Garden.

One of the first things he did in this prolonged stay in the Metropolis was to apply for licences for himself and his friends, Edward (Edmond) Tooker of West Alvington (just west of Kingsbridge), and Thomas Martin of Plymouth. This he did on a memorandum, evidently in his bold, clear handwriting, although it is unsigned, containing the names of over thirty of his Devonshire brethren as well, catalogued as **320 (48)**, and honoured by an endorsement in Sir Joseph Williamson's own handwriting: 'Presbyterian—for Mr Hicks.' [Most of these licence-documents were handed over for folding and endorsement to Mr. Francis Benson, his chief clerk; only the most interesting or important being endorsed by Sir Joseph himself.] It was by no means the very first. If the memoranda are rightly numbered as to chronological order, he had already put in six other application-memoranda—**320, (20), (21), (39), (40), (40A)**, and **(40B)**—the last of which (**40B**) bears his signature, all for others (and by no means all of them for Devonshire applicants). So that he had begun work for others before he thought of making application for himself.

Another application had been 'put in' for the same trio (himself, and both Tooker and Martin) much earlier—viz., on **320 (23)**; and I am not able to 'suggest,' as with so many unsigned memoranda, that it is in his handwriting.

This second application, the first which I unhesitatingly accept as in his handwriting, was very promptly attended to, for the licences are all issued five days after Martin and he had had their audience with the King (and had presented to him the Address signed by seventy-two of the Devonshire ministers)—*i.e.*, on Thursday, April 11.

John Hickes's licence for his house in Kingsbridge was entered as the first of this second batch, and stands on page 9, reading as follows:

'Mr Hickes howse Kingsbridge Presb.	'Mr John Hickes' Howse in Kingsbridge licensed for a Place of Meeting of the Presbyterian way. 11. Apr. 1672.'

Two pages after, we find the 'special' licence for himself [**E.** (**11**)]:

'Hickes
Teacher
Presb.

> 'Like to John Hickes to be a Pr. Teacher at his howse in Kingsbridge. 11. Apr. 1672.'

Considering (as any superficial reader, new to these documents, would be compelled to do) only those memoranda which he signed we might gather the following general conclusions:

At first, as was natural, it was mainly for those in his own County of Devon that he applied, with counties adjoining it—viz., Somerset and Cornwall; but that he afterwards acted for those in the Southern Counties generally—viz., Dorset, Hants, Sussex, Surrey and Kent; for London with its 'suburban' counties of Middlesex and Herts; then for those farther away in Berks and Derby, in the Midlands; for some in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk in the Eastern Counties; and for others, even away up in the North, in Lancashire and Yorkshire (remembering that the former of these was his wife's, and the latter his own native county); and one or two even in Northumberland.

A little closer attention to the documents, however, has made it possible with confidence to include in our examination many which are unsigned, because his handwriting is so characteristic and recognizable.

An analysis of the memoranda in his handwriting shows the subjoined results:

I. Applications total up to 515.

Those for (1) Northern Counties being 29: 4 for Northumberland, 9 for Yorkshire, and 16 for Lancashire.

(2) North-Midland, 2: 1 for the County of Derby, and 1 for Shropshire.

(3) South-Midland, 8: 4 for Hereford, 2 for Warwick, and 2 for Gloucester.

(4) Eastern Counties, 28: 7 for Norfolk, 10 for Suffolk, 7 for Herts, and 4 for Essex.

(5) South-Eastern, 95: 11 for Kent, 7 for Middlesex, 14 for London, 11 for Surrey, 5 for Sussex, 24 for Berks, and 23 for Hants.

(6) South-Western, 353: 31 for Wilts, 4 for Dorset, 18 for Somerset, 282 for Devon, and 18 for Cornwall.

The counties for which he did *not* put in any claim are the following:

(1) Durham and Cumberland in the Northern group.

(2) Cheshire, Notts, Lincs, Staffs, Leicester and Rutland in the North Midlands.

(3) Worcester, Northants, Oxford and Bucks in the South Midlands.

(4) Hunts, Cambridge, and Beds in the Eastern Counties.

But notably and naturally, every county south of the Thames engaged his services, though the South-Western group to a greater extent than the South-Eastern; and Devon, of course, had far more attention than all the other counties put together, the number being 353, as compared with 31 for Wilts, 18 each for Somerset and Cornwall, and only 4 for Dorset.

Of the South-Eastern group, it is noticeable he makes as many as 24 applications in Berks (more actually than for either Somerset or Cornwall); and in the Northern Counties, the 9 applications he made for far-distant Yorkshire, are accounted for by his early connections with it—his birth at Newsham, and his first settlement in Stoneham.

II. His Receipts were not nearly so numerous. They ran up only to 86:

(1) In the Northern group they were 8 : 2 for Yorkshire, and 6 for Lancashire.

(2) In the North-Midland group they were but 2: both for Derbyshire.

(3) In the South-Midland group there were *none*.

(4) In the Eastern Counties they were 11 : 7 for Norfolk, and 4 for Suffolk.

(5) In the South-Eastern group they were 19: 3 for Kent, 1 for Middlesex, 4 for London, 2 for Surrey, 2 for Sussex, 3 for Berks, and 4 for Hants.

(6) In the South-Western group only 45 : 1 only for Wilts, 2 for Somerset, 37 for Devon, and 5 for Cornwall.

[He seems to have lacked the persistence and patience to go again and again to Whitehall to secure and carry off the licences he had applied for.]

Even for Devon he took away only 37, though he had made no less than 282 applications for that county. And when we carefully scrutinize the individual cases, we find that it is only a tithe of the whole that he sees through. In only 30 out of the 298 cases he took up, does he persevere until he is able to take them away. Half a dozen he carries away for the licensees, which others had applied for.

No less than 130 applications does he make without crowning his efforts with success, though in 16 instances he applied twice; in 2 he applied three times; and in 3 he applied four times, and yet allowed himself to be baulked, and left it to some one else to reap the fruit of the seed he had sown.

Those that are actually signed by him are, of course, much less numerous, and I append the following notes made on them before I had (by further examination of the originals) added others clearly in his handwriting, though not bearing his name. Of the 21 memoranda, signed by John Hickes, 9 are undated; but the first of them we know must have been written as early as April 9 or 10, as they were applications for licences which were entered as issued on the 11th. The 12 which are dated range from April 17 to May 11 :

(1) There are 2 applications put in April 17 : 1 for Somerset, the other for Devon—both meeting-places.

(2) Then, six days later, April 23, he puts in a batch of applications : 10 for Devon, 1 for Cornwall, 1 for Somerset, and 1 for Yorkshire.

(3) On May 1, 3 applications: for Somerset, for Hants, and for Berks.

(4) The next day, May 2, he takes away 14 licences (the first batch he receives): 4 for Devon, and others for Kent, Middlesex, London, Essex, and Lancashire.

(5) Three days after, May 5, he takes away 4: 2 for Surrey and 2 for Sussex.

(6) The following day, May 6, he puts in 17 applications: 8 of them for Devon, 2 for Cornwall, 3 for Wilts, 3 for Berks, and 1 for London.

(7) On May 8, he applies for 6: 3 for Devon, and 1 each for Cornwall, London, and York.

(8) The same day, or the next, he applies for 1 more in Devon and 3 in Somerset.

(9) May 9, he applies for 1 Suffolk licence, and (?) 1 for Devon.

(10) The next day, May 10, of his 6 applications none are for Devon—1 is for Gloucester, 3 are for the Isle of Wight, 1 for Yorks, and 1 for Northumberland; and on another slip we have his receipt for 31 licences: 8 for Devon and 2 for Cornwall, which he had applied for on the 6th; 1 for Wilts, 1 for Hants, 12 for the Eastern Counties (1 Essex, 4 Suffolk, 7 Norfolk), 3 for London, 1 for Surrey, and 2 for Yorks.

(11) May 11, he applies for 1 in Hants and 1 in Suffolk.

(12) Some time after (i.) he applies for 2 in Devon, with 1 for Berks and 1 for York.

(ii.) He applies for 2 in Wilts, 1 for Hants, and 1 for Berks.

(iii.) He repeats his application for Wilts, Hants, and Berks, adding 1 for London.

(iv.) A third time he applies for Berks.

(v.) He applies for 1 more each for Sussex, Surrey, and London.

On behalf of Devon then we find him active on these separate dates: April 9, 17, 18, and 23; and May 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11 or 12; the licences for Kingsbridge being applied for first, granted April 11; and those in the neighbourhood a month later, applying for them May 6, and securing them on the 10th.

Though this kind of work must have occupied a good deal of his time—indeed, the dates show that up to May 11 he was engaged on it nearly every day—and during this stay of special service in London, he probably was strengthening old London friendships and making new ones, he is still exercised for the prosperity of the cause in Kingsbridge. In the midst of a number of entries in **E.**, in which several bear date September 30 (though many more, like his own, remain undated), there is one which raises the question whether, on his return to Kingsbridge the previous year, he had not, on the strength of the King's favour showed to him, set about building a chapel in the town for the many who valued the ministry of himself, Mr. Tooker, Mr. Jellinger, and Mr. Burdwood. It reads:

> **E.** **(261)**—'A new built meeting house belonging to John Hicks 'in the Towne of Kingsbridg in the Countÿ Devon'

The fact, too, that there were three other good brethren perfectly capable of carrying on the ministry there, even if he saw it his duty to remain in London, would satisfy him that he was quite right in having the chapel built; and we gather (from Calamy) that the first pastor of a Congregational or Presbyterian Church in Kingsbridge was his friend Edmund Tooker, or Tucker (Cal. II. 22 and 23), who was succeeded by John Cox.

What he had done with his wife and family during these weeks we are left to conjecture. If he left them at Kingsbridge at first, it is at least possible that in November or December he may have fetched them up to London when he saw how he was welcomed by his brethren, and what a sphere of usefulness had opened up to him in connection with this business of obtaining and despatching licences for the provinces. At any rate, about that time he had secured a dwelling-house in Hatton Garden, a turning north out of Holborn close to the bridge, which at that time spanned the Fleet River, just above the point at which it had recently been widened (*i.e.*, since the Great Fire of 1666), to receive the dignified name of the New Canal for the rest of its course, as it flowed south into the Thames; and towards the end of the year 1672, he had applied for a licence for it as a Presbyterian meeting-house.

The licence was made out, and is entered **E.** (**281**); the entry reading:

'The house of John Hicks of Hatton Garden London Pr.'

The entry is undated; and therefore it is doubtful whether it was ever signed or issued. It was the last entry on page 281, half-way down which there is a break, and the date inserted in the left-hand margin 'Dec. 23th' (*sic*); so that it was probably made out a little before Christmas, 1672.

The sands of this 'Indulgence' were fast running out. Scarcely more than two months later, Charles, who had summoned Parliament to recruit his already exhausted Treasury for the prosecution of the war with Holland, was met, as Green puts it, 'with a mood of angry distrust,' and was compelled to withdraw the Indulgence. The country had awaked to the real nature of Charles's designs; and even those who sympathized with the Nonconformists, felt that it was a matter of greater moment to frustrate the designs of the King, than to indulge that sympathy when the King's method of 'Indulgence' involved what was furthering them.

'The Commons resolved "that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical '"cannot be suspended but by consent of Parliament," and refused supplies 'till the Declaration be recalled.' *

Charles, therefore, adopting the truly Stuart policy of 'following the line of least resistance,' yielded to the inevitable, and withdrew the Indulgence.

This fact, so momentous in the history of Nonconformists, is told very laconically and drily in Sir Joseph Williamson's Diary, under date of March 7. The weather—he had noted—had been very bitter on the two previous days:

'5. Wedy. "Snow. very cold"
'6. Thursday. "v. cold. frost"'

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* Green's 'Short History of the English People,' p. 627.

and on the critical day itself, the entry is

> '7. Friday. E. (wind) cold.'
> 'Ye Great Seale of ye Declaration of Liberty of Conscience broken at Whitehall by his Maties commd. J. W'

The unique touches attaching to this entry mark Sir Joseph's sense of the gravity of the event: his calling the Declaration of Indulgence 'the Declaration of Liberty of Conscience' and his signing the entry with his initials, a thing to be observed nowhere else in the MS.

The 'bitter weather,' too, forms only too fit a setting to an event, which, like a sudden snap of pitiless frost, 'nipped' and shrivelled the tender bud of the opening hopes of the Nonconformists. With the breaking of the Great Seal, the Persecuting Acts resumed their former force. Clergy and churchwardens, country Justices, constables and informers, returned with fresh zeal to their cowardly and hateful work; and many of those who, for a few months at least, had enjoyed the sweets of liberty, were to feel the keenness of the persecutors' malice more bitterly than they did before. The Records of the Consistory Courts make that pretty plain. Still, there is no doubt that in many districts, Nonconformist Churches, which in this brief period of sunshine had formed in strength, and built themselves permanent meeting-houses, were left unmolested; and many of those 'which remain unto this day' had their real beginning in this halcyon time.

Our information with regard to John Hickes's career, after the spring of 1673, is only fragmentary. Still, its several stages are pretty clear, and each has its special interest.

Calamy says: 'He had a congregation afterwards at Portsmouth, 'and continued there till he was driven away by a fresh persecution.' The author of Hickes's Life in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' says 'it was some time prior to May 1675.' He does not give his reason for the statement. It was doubtless the inscription on the stone in Portsmouth Parish Church to the memory of his wife. The stone forms part of the pavement of the north aisle of the Chancel of St. Thomas à Becket Church. It is marvellously preserved, though on the north-eastern corner the name of her husband is rather worn, and its position at the foot of one of the pews so darkens it as to make it a little difficult to read it. The inscription—as far as it tells the story of her birth and death—is carved not across it (from side to side), but all around its outer edge, beginning at its western end. It reads:

> 'Here lyeth ye body of Abigail Hicks ye Daughter of Mr John How & wife of Mr John Hicks, both Minrs of ye Gospell whoe was born December ye 5th 1632 & deceased May ye 13th 1675'

The Parish Register also supplies the exact date of her burial '1675. 'May 15. Buried Abigail wife of John Hicks' (extracted by me, Aug. 26: 1908).

Within this marginal inscription is this further epitaph, inscribed in the ordinary way across the stone, but occupying only about half its length :

'Here Grandchild Daughter*
Sister† Neice‡ and Wife§
of several Preachers lies
her preaching life
summd them up all
& by example taught
the vertues which
their Rules to Vew had brought
her pure meek cheerfull spirit
made it plaine
Shee was not to God's tribe
allyde in vaine.'

On page 606 is a transcript of the inscription and epitaph of the stone in the north aisle of the chancel. It will be noted that the inscription is in verse. To the left a genealogical scheme.

This bereavement occurred little more than two years after the withdrawal of the Indulgence had rendered unnecessary his further stay in London on the matter of the 'Licences.'

We cannot speak with any certainty as to the date of the 'breaking up' of his Kingsbridge home. He may have done it in the autumn of 1672, as I have already suggested, removing his wife and family to Hatton Garden, London, where we know he had a house, securing a licence for it in December of that year, or his family may have stayed on in Kingsbridge throughout his activities in London as Licence-Agent for his brethren, he giving up his Hatton Garden house on the withdrawal of the Indulgence, and returning to them in Kingsbridge in the spring of 1673. In that case it would be probably soon after his return to the west—either towards the close of 1673, or some time in 1674—that he finally removed from Kingsbridge and settled in Portsmouth.

East (extracts from Portsmouth Town Records) assigns his ministry in Portsmouth to the years 1676 to 1682. If he is correct, then John Hickes lived there in quiet retirement for some two years.

The death of his wife must have been a sore blow to him. A spirit so 'pure, meek, and cheerful' must have been a great stay to him through all the changes and sufferings of their married life, specially in her continuous care of the children‖ when he had to leave her. She must

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* She was daughter of Mr. Howe, the Rector of Loughborough, who was settled there by Laud, though afterwards driven out for his Puritanism, and was later minister of Winwick. This 'Mr. Howe' was John How or Howe, more strictly curate to John Browne, Rector of Loughborough. His father was William Howe, vicar of Tattershall, Lincs.; so that Abigail was 'Grandchild' of a preacher as well as daughter.

† She was sister of John Howe, his son (of Great Torrington, etc.). She was sister-in-law of Dr. George Hickes, her husband's younger brother.

‡ She was niece of George Hughes, of Plymouth, whose daughter married her brother.

§ She was wife of John Hickes, of Saltash, Kingsbridge, etc.

‖ Of these there were three—two sons and one daughter. The second son, William, was not staunch to the Nonconformity of his father, but became the 'Conformable' Rector of Broughton Giffard in Wilts.

KINDRED AND CONNECTIONS BY MARRIAGE OF JOHN HICKES'S FIRST WIFE (ABIGAIL HOWE).

— MARTIN.
- REV. THO. MARTIN (Plymouth).
  - REV. SAMUEL MARTIN, obt. 1692.
- (Martin). ∞ REV. GEORGE HUGHES (Plymouth), nat. 1605, ob. 1667.
  - REV. OBADIAH HUGHES, ob. January 24, 1704.
  - KATHERINE (HUGHES). ∞ REV. JOHN HOWE (Living Temple), nat. May 17, 1630; ob. April 2, 1705.

WILLIAM HOWE, Vicar of Tattershall, Lincs.
- REV. JOHN HOWE (Loughborough).
  - REV. JOHN HOWE (Living Temple), nat. May 17, 1630; ob. April 2, 1705.
  - ABIGAIL (HOWE), nat. Dec. 5, 1632; ob. May 13, 1675. ∞ REV. JOHN HICKES, nat. 1633, ob. 1685.

WILLIAM HICKES, Esq. (Stonegrave and Newsham).
- REV. JOHN HICKES, nat. 1633, ob. 1685.
- DR. GEORGE HICKES.

HERE LYETH Y^E BODY OF ABIGAIL HICKS Y^E DAUGHTER OF M^R JOHN HOW & WIFE OF M^R JOHN HICKS BOTH MIN^{RS} OF YE GOSPEL WHOE WAS BORN DECEMBER Y^E 5TH 1632 & DECEASED MAY Y^E 13TH 1675

HERE GRANDCHILD DAUGHTER
SISTER NEICE AND WIFE
OF SEVERAL PREACHERS LIES
HER PREACHING LIFE
SUMMD THEM UP ALL
& BY EXAMPLE TAUGHT
THE VERTUES WHICH
THEIR RULES TO VEW HAD BROUGHT
HER PURE MEEK CHEERFULL SPIRIT
MADE IT PLAINE
SHEE WAS NOT TO GODS TRIBE
ALLYDE IN VAINE

have been as brave as she was 'meek and pure,' for she had several times to protect his secrecy when the 'hounds of the law' came to search the house high and low for her husband, and for weeks and months together when he was 'in hiding' elsewhere, or on his adventurous journeys to London, or doing his generous work there for his provincial brethren, she was their sole protector save Him Whom she trusted with such 'cheerful' faith.

If his biographer in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' is to be trusted, he did not long remain a widower.

In the year following his first wife's death, he married again. His second wife was a Portsmouth lady, Elizabeth Moody, whose father, John Moody, was a maltster, and whose brother was John Moody, Master Gunner of the Garrison. In the Parish Register of St. Thomas à Becket, Portsmouth, there are entries of the marriages of two 'John Moody's' at the interval of only three years. (i.) The first is in 1655:

> 'By Mr Maior [*i.e.*, the Mayor of Portsmouth]
> John Moody & Elizabeth Arnold.
> [? widdower] John Hunt,
> Nicholas Turner wit(nesses) 10 July 1655'

(ii.) The second is in 1658:

> 'By Mr Comfort (one of the Aldermen)
> John Moody & Janne Vildew (Wildew)
> Henry Jenner, Thomas Dolling wit. 12 Dec. 1658'

And (iii.) yet a third is registered in 1671:

> 'John Moody widdower & Elizabeth Trant widow by lic.
> '4 Apr. 1671'

Most probably the first and second were cousins. It will be the first who was father to John Hickes's second wife. He very naturally gives his wife's Christian name to his daughter (Elizabeth), who would be just twenty-one at the time of her marriage. The third would probably be a third marriage of Elizabeth's father.

There is a difficulty in connection with her brother, the Master Gunner of the Garrison. The only allusion to him is to the marriage of

> 'Mr John Mody mayster gunner & Mrs Edith Compton widow
> 15 July 1664'

As this is only nine years after the marriage of John Moody with Elizabeth Arnold, he could be only half-brother of their daughter Elizabeth; and it would be John Moody's second marriage, the first having taken place as early as 1641 or 1642. Why, then, was not John Moody, senior, called 'widower' in the Register?

It was not long after his second marriage that John Hickes got into serious trouble for resuming an active ministry. It was only in 1676 that the King had made a public Declaration that the licences issued in 1672 were revoked and had no further validity. So that the persecution under the Penal Statutes, which had begun again in 1673, with the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence, but had been spasmodic (owing to the doubt whether the licences already granted were still valid, or had lapsed with the withdrawal of the Indulgence), was now resumed with greater vigour and bitterness than ever. The Town Records show clearly that the Portsmouth authorities were stirred to vigorous action in the autumn of 1677.

On Sunday, October 21, Richard Drinkwater, of Portsmouth, yeoman, was fined £20, as found preaching and teaching about 11 in the forenoon 'at a certain house belonging to William Cozens the elder'; William Cozens himself was fined £20; and all those above sixteen years of age who were present were fined five shillings each.

What was worse—a second service held the same day, 'about 3 o'clock in the afternoon' in the same place, was treated as a second offence—under the Conventicle Act of 1670, and Richard Drinkwater was fined £40; William Cozens being fined a second £20; and Robert Collier, who was also preaching at that afternoon service, but had taken no part in the morning service, was convicted and fined £20.

Another thing happened of more immediate interest to us. On the previous Sunday, October 14, John Hickes was convicted and fined £20 for 'preaching & teaching' in the morning 'about eleven o'clock' at a Conventicle in the house of Robert Reynolds, a baker, under the sign of the Golden Ball. Three sets of three memoranda officially recording the facts, anent the three Conventicles held on the two successive Sundays, are preserved in Vol. 9 of the 'Sessions & Elections of the Burrough of Portsmouth.'

I reproduce here those referring to John Hickes and Robert Reynolds, as reprinted in East's 'Extracts from the Records of the Borough of Portsmouth.'

'Memorand: that uppon sunday y^e^ ffowerteenth day of October instant 1677. John Hickes* of Portesmouth aforesaid, gent: was upon the view of us Henry Beverley Esq^re^ Mayor, Samuell Williams, and St. John Steventon gent: Justices of the peace of the said Burrough convicted for preaching and teaching in a Sedicious Conventicle or meeting held within y^e^ said Burrough at a certaine place there comonly called y^e^ Gold-ball being y^e^ house of Robert Reynolds of Portesmouth aforesaid baker in y^e^ p^r^sence of Thomas Hunt, Anthony Stratton Robert Hall James Arnold John Chapman, Robert Gyles and many others y^e^ above named ꝑsons being above y^e^ Age of sixteene yeares and being y^e^ number of five ꝑsons and more over and besides those of y^e^ household of y^e^ said Robert Reynolds and being all subjects of this Realme who were there assembled and met together under p^r^tence of Exercise of Religion in other manner then according to y^e^ Liturgy and practice of the Church of England and contrary to y^e^ late Act of Parliament in that case made and p^r^vided Instituted an Act to p^r^vent and suppresse sidiciens made in the two and twentieth yeare of his

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* 'John Hickes, a Presbyterian minister, of Trinity College, Dublin, who officiated as minister, from 1676 to 1682, at a Nonconformist Chapel in Portsmouth. The Chapel was situated at the angle formed by the junction of Barrack Street (formerly Peacock Street) and Penny Street, on the spot now occupied by the south-west portion of the brewery of Messrs. Pike, Spicer and Co.' (East's 'Extracts from Records of the Burrough of Portsmouth, etc.,' p. 179).

Ma^{ties} Raigne that nowe is wherefore we y^{e} said Justices doe impose upon y^{e} said John Hickes y^{e} sume of Twenty pounds as a fyne for y^{e} said offence to be leavied on his goods and Chattles according to y^{e} said Act In Witnes whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seales according to y^{e} direcc̃on of y^{e} said Act y^{e} day and yeare first above written Ano Rñi Car. scdĩ nunc. Angl. &c xxix^{no}'

'*Burrough of Portsmouth.*

'Memorand̄ that uppon Sunday y^{e} ffowerteenth day October instant 1677 John Hickes of Portesmouth aforesaid gent: was found by us Henry Beverley Esq^{r} Mayo^{r} Samuell Williams & St. John Steventon gent. Justices of the peace of y^{e} said Burrough preaching and teaching in a Sedicious Conventicle or meeting held at a certaine place com(m)only called the Golden-Ball being the house of Robert Reynolds of Portesmouth aforesaid Baker there being Assembled and met together above y^{e} number of five ꝑsons over & besides those of the same household every one of them being above the Age of sixteene yeares and subjects of this Realme who were there Assembled and met(t) together under p^{r}tence of Exercise of Religion in other manner then according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England And contrary to the late Act of Parliament in that case made and ꝑvided Intituled an Act to p^{r}vent & suppresse sedicious Conventicles made in the two and Twentieth yeare of his Ma^{ties} Raigne that now is, Soe that the said Robert Reynolds being on his one confession to us y^{e} Lawfull owner & ꝑprietor of the said house wherein y^{e} said Conventicle or meeting was held is Convict before us for that he wittingly & willingly suffered the said Conventicle & unlawfull Assembly to be held in his said house contrary to y^{e} said Act of Parliament: wherefore we the said Justices doe impose upon y^{e} said Robert Reynolds y^{e} sum(m)e of Twenty pounds as a (f)fyne for y^{e} said offence to be leavied on his goods & chattels according to y^{e} said Act

'In Witnes whereof we have hereunto set o^{r} Hands & seales according to y^{e} direcc̃on of the said Act y^{e} day & yeare first above written Año $^{o}/_{c}$ Rni Rg Car sedi nunc Angl &c xxix^{no}

'H. Beverley Mayor
'Sa. Williams
'St J. Steventon'

[The seals on the left-hand margin]

[Endorsement]

'Wee the within named Henry Beverley Esq^{re}. Mayor Samuell Williams and S^{t} John Steventon gent. Justices of the peace of the said Burrough doe according to the

direc͠con of the within named Act Intituled an Act
to p^{r}vent sedicious Conventicles Certifye the within
menconed Recorde and Convic͠con unto his Ma^{ties} Sessions
of the peace held in and for the said Burrough
the Eighteenth day of October in the nine & Twentieth yeare
of his Ma^{ties} Reigne and from that day adjourned to the
Sixth day of November next followeing as Witnes
o^{r} Hands the fower and Twentieth day of October Anno
Dmn 1677
'H. Beverley Mayor
'Sa. Williams
'St. J. Steventon.'

These documents bring very vividly to our minds the relentless severity with which the Penal Statutes wrought out their penalties The Act of Uniformity so completely 'unfrocked' and unchurched John Hickes, that though he had been a faithful minister of the Church of England for five years at least, in the eye of the law he is only a layman; though his comparatively comfortable circumstances (owing largely to the wealth of his wife's relatives) compel them to honour him with the epithet 'gent.' The fine both for himself and his hospitable friend Reynolds was a heavy one: £20 of those days being equivalent to £60 or £70 of our currency at least.

It will be noted that they are honoured in this reopening of the persecution on Portsmouth, by the personal attentions of the Mayor of Portsmouth (H. Beverley), and two J.P.'s (Samuel Williams and St. J. Steventon).

The £40 fines, if recovered, would be divisible into thirds: one for the King, one for the poor, and one for themselves. Did they surrender their third for the poor of Portsmouth?

It can scarcely escape remark that the action which was taken on the following Sunday against Drinkwater, Cousins and Collier, was taken not by the Mayor and two J.P.'s, but by two informers, 'Thomas Heming and Thomas Nixon,' and they had the baseness to press for the afternoon meeting as a 'second offence,' so that the fines in which they had a personal interest mounted up to £122: £60 for Richard Drinkwater, and £20 for John Collier, as the preachers; £40 for William Cozens the elder; and £2 at the least for the auditors. So that for their base work for one Sunday, they would be able to claim £40 13s. 4d., or £20 6s. 8d. each (probably equivalent to £75 of our money!). No wonder malicious and sordid spirits were moved to activity in this vile work!

The facts thus revealed, combined with the references in 'Original 'Records,' etc., and local information, combine to give us fairly clear light on the Early Nonconformity of Portsmouth.

The Robert Reynolds, at whose house John Hickes was preaching, had secured a licence for it six years before as a Presbyterian meeting-house, in which Benjamin Burgess was to be the licensed preacher.

Benjamin Burgess (Cal. II. 276) had been ejected from the vicarage in Portsmouth ten years before, and he was not slow to avail himself of the benefits of Charles II.'s Indulgence. Indeed, before four weeks had elapsed after its publication, he had secured licences for himself and his friend, Robert Reynolds, in Portsmouth; and for a lady, Widow Hawkes, who was willing to open her house in Gosport also for his ministrations.

He obtained them not (like most folks) from Lord Arlington, but from the other Secretary of State, Sir John Trevor; and they are all entered in Sir John's Entry Book, No. 27, which registers all the ecclesiastical appointments in the Royal Gift [**B. (30)**].

They are dated April 9, the same day on which Newbury Town Hall was licensed for Benjamin Woodbridge (one of the very few instances in which a licence was granted for a Public Hall); and these two groups of entries are followed on the very same page by a 'Corroboration of William Wade, M.A., to the Rectory of Broadwater 'in Sussex.'

The Portsmouth and Gosport entries read as follows:

'Benjamin Burges had his Ma^{ties} Licence to be a Teacher of Presbyterians in the house of Robert Reynolds in Portsmouth in Com̃. Southampton, and at Gospt in y^{e} same County in the House of . . . Haukesford Widow, with further licence &c at suprá. Orders were passed of the same date for allowing 2 places above mencõned.'

In 1669 Benjamin Burgess had been reported as the chief of the 'Heads & Teachers' at a Conventicle, consisting of 'some hundreds of 'all sorts' of Presbyterians, 'Tradesmen in Portsmouth, seamen & 'workmen in His Ma^{ties} yard wth their wives & Children,' 'kept in a 'Malthouse, at Gosport in the parish of Alverstocke' [**R. 262*b***].

It is probable that the malthouse belonged to . . . Hawkesford (or Hawkes), who had died between 1669 and 1672, and at the howse of whose 'widow' Burgess was licensed to preach. The records cited from the Town Archives suggest that the Conventicle started in Robert Reynolds's house by Daniel Burgess, was continued intermittently after the withdrawal of the declaration. On the advent of John Hickes and his settlement in Portsmouth, did Burgess restrict himself to Gosport, and to the meeting which had gathered so long in the malthouse there, handing over the 'cause' in Portsmouth to John Hickes? If so, the Conventicle reported in 1677 would probably be only one of the regular meetings of the Church under John Hickes's pastoral care. This is evidently the opinion of Mr. Robert East, who (as we see in the note at foot of page 601) unhesitatingly gives his ministry as extending from 1676 to 1682.

This view is certainly borne out by the fact (*auctore* Gates in his 'Illustrated History of Portsmouth, Chronology of the Seventeenth 'Century') that on August 2, 1676, John Hickes baptized John Knight—the first Nonconformist baptism solemnized in Portsmouth.

Robert Reynolds's house, or other private dwellings, were the only buildings used as 'Meeting-places' for this Presbyterian Church and congregation for the next fifteen years, if it be true, as Gates alleges in his Chronology, that 'the first Nonconformist Chapel was built at 'Portsmouth in 1691.' So that the ministries of John Hickes (up to 1682-83) and his immediate successor, Thomas Clark (who had been ejected from Godshill (Cal. II. 266, 267) in 1662), 1682-83 to 1690, cannot be connected with any identifiable site other than the 'Golden Ball.'

It was through the energy of Clark's successor, Francis Williams (whose ministry extended from 1690-1703), that the first Chapel was built, known as the 'Old Meeting-house.' This (as we know from the Rent Roll of the Corporation of Portsmouth) was erected on a plot of ground at the mutual corner (the northern one) of Peacock Lane (now Barrack Street) and Penny Street, owned on leasehold by Andrew Beacham (now part of a brewery). [The lease was granted him September 20, 1674, for ninety-nine years.] It was held by 'trustees 'chosen and appointed by the majority of the congregation of those 'who in and about Portsmouth worship God after the manner of the 'Reformed or Calvinian Churches beyond the seas.'

Here the Presbyterians worshipped for the next twenty-seven years, till 1703, under Williams and his successors, Simon Browne and John Norman. During John Norman's ministry the Chapel in Penny Street was pulled down, and a new and more commodious one built in High Street, which continues in an enlarged and improved form to the present day. This was in 1718-19. Its object was stated in the Trust Deed in the very broadest and most catholic terms: 'for the worship 'of Almighty God.'

It is a very interesting fact that this site was chosen and devoted to its lofty and broad-minded purpose through the generosity of a descendant of the second wife of John Hickes.

By her he had two children: a son James, who continued to reside in Portsmouth; and a daughter, whom Mrs. Hickes named Elizabeth, after herself and her mother. On Mrs. Hickes's death this daughter inherited a malthouse which her grandmother had inherited from her husband, and which stood in High Street on this spot. She had married a Captain Luke Spicer, of the Royal Navy, and he sold the malthouse to the Chapel Trustees, who erected the Chapel on the site.

Mr. Norman was followed by a Thomas Wren, D.D., who was minister till 1787; and he, in turn, was succeeded by Russell Scott, 1788-1834. It was under Scott that the Chapel first became definitely Unitarian; but from 1818-19 to the present time it has been known as the Unitarian Chapel.

Successive ministries here must have been of a robust and practically educative character, for no less than forty members of this congregation have been elevated to the Mayoralty of Portsmouth.

To these Portsmouth days belongs an episode in John Hickes's career preserved by Calamy, which must have stirred strange memories of those critical years 1671 and 1672:

'The King and Duke of York came thither while he was there. 'The governor, the principal officers, and many of the inhabitants of the 'town, went to Portsdown to meet him, and Mr. Hickes was one of the 'company. As soon as the King saw him, he took particular notice of 'him.' A proof this of the singular fascination to John Hickes of 'the 'merry monarch's' personality. Though Nonconformists had had proofs 'galore' of the fickleness of his character and the treacherous quality of his policy, Hickes cannot resist the fascination, and goes to Portsdown to meet him. And an equally strong proof, too, does it furnish of the striking figure and commanding character of John Hickes—that from so brilliant a throng of local notabilities—this Nonconformist minister from another county should have been singled out for special notice by the King.

The date of the incident Calamy does not give. Thrice before his advent to Portsmouth in 1673-74 had Charles come down to Portsmouth. First in 1662, to be married in St. Thomas à Becket Parish Church to the Infanta of Portugal; a second time in 1664, with his brother, the Duke of York, to view Prince Rupert's Squadron; and a third time, alone, in 1672, to see the ships of his newly-made ally, the King of France. But I have not yet been able to assign the exact date of this fourth visit.

In 1681, according to Hickes's biographer in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (though, according to East, it was a year later, 1682), he removed from Portsmouth to Keynsham in Somerset, on the Avon just above Bristol. Nonconformity was active there, for in 1672 John Bush, who had been ejected from Langport in 1662 (Cal. III. 195, 196), and had been energetic in evangelizing that part of Somerset since—in 1669 being reported as preaching in Martock (**R. 149**), Kingsbury (**R. 144**), and Fifehead (**R. 144***b*)—secured licences to preach in Keynsham [**E. (176)**] in the house of a Robert Bagnall, as well as two licences for his old sphere at Langport [**E. (189)** and **E. (247)**], the licences for Keynsham being secured through James Innes, junior [**321 (364)**].

It was while here that, four years later, his warm, impulsive nature engaged him in an enterprise that brought his remarkable career to an untimely and tragic end.

As we have seen, he seems to have clung to his faith in Charles II. in face of facts which, to most religious men, had proved a rude awakening. But on the accession of his brother, James II., he was filled with repugnance and alarm that the Throne should be occupied by an avowed Papist; and when in June of the same year the Duke of Monmouth appeared in the west as a claimant to the crown, and as the champion of Protestant liberty, John Hickes felt it his duty to cast in his lot with this desperate cause.

Monmouth landed (with a few other exiles) at Lyme Regis, in Dorset, on June 11, 1685, and exactly a week later (June 18) had established his headquarters at Taunton. There he was proclaimed 'King Monmouth,' and began to issue Royal Edicts. After a few days at Taunton, he had marched north to Bridgwater, where he had a most enthusiastic reception; and thence had marched east to Glastonbury, which he reached on June 22, and then through Wells to Shepton Mallet.

John Hickes had persuaded himself of the Duke's legitimacy, and so viewed him as the rightful heir to the English Throne, and shared the confidence widely felt in him as a sincere and earnest Protestant. He was not the man, as we have seen before, to think and speak only. He was always ready to act on his convictions, and his intrepid courage was such that he never calculated consequences.

When Monmouth had come so far as Shepton Mallet to meet the Royalist troops John Hickes took the decisive step of leaving his quiet ministerial and pastoral life at Keynsham and joined Monmouth's army there. [Whether as a common soldier or as a chaplain to the troops we are not told, though if it were *in form* only as the former, he would inevitably be *in fact* the latter also.]

In his 'Last Speech' he denies the charges that he had been among the first to join the Duke, and had acted with Ferguson in the pressure put upon him to assume the title of King. His words are: 'And 'whereas it was reported of me that at Taunton I perswaded the late 'Duke of Monmouth to assume the title of King, I do as solemnly 'declare that I saw not the said Duke, nor had converse with him till 'he came to Shepton Mallett, which was 13 days after he landed, '*i.e.*, the 24th of June, and several days after he had been at Taunton.* 'It is also false,' he adds, 'that I rode to and fro' in the west to perswade 'men to go into his army, and rebell against his present Majesty, for I 'was in the East country' [that is, at Keynsham, the extreme north-east border of the county] 'when the Duke landed, and from thence I 'went directly when he was at Shepton Mallet, not one man 'accompanying me from thence thither.' It cannot escape notice, moreover, that in the course of his uncertain and constantly shifting plans, the Duke—in his first design to attack Bristol from the north in view of its impregnability from the south—proceeded by the circuitous route which leads to the east bank of the Avon over the Keynsham Bridge. John Hickes would accompany them in their march thither, and there is little doubt that his intimate knowledge of the locality would be placed freely at the Duke's service, both in guiding the movements of the troops thither and in the reparation of the bridge. On that journey he would attend them in their march to Pensford, where they halted on the night of the day he joined them—the night of the outbreak of fire in Bristol—and the next morning he would be with the troops as they marched into Keynsham itself and rested there till the evening.

What a strange experience, that, for him! To come to the scene of his pastoral work as a 'man of war'! And an even stranger spectacle must it have appeared to his flock, to see their pastor in 'soldier's uniform?' with an army under the flag of active rebellion, in the streets of the town where, for four years, he had exercised his ministry as for 'the Prince of Peace'!

Keynsham was the furthest point Monmouth's army reached in its northward march. The Life Guards, under Oglethorpe, dashed into Keynsham from Bristol, and Monmouth retired precipitately during the night; summoned Bath on his way back—to no purpose; and hastened on to Philip's Norton, south of Bath, on the 26th of June. There an

* Yes: six days, because he reached Taunton on the 18th.

unsuccessful skirmish with the Royal Troops almost persuaded him to give up his project altogether and return to Holland. Well had it been both for him, and for John Hickes, as well as for the thousands who had flocked to his standard, had he done so! It was not to be.

He finally decided to march back to Bridgwater, followed closely by the King's army; and the battle of Sedgmoor, on Sunday, July 5th, shattered Monmouth's forces, and ended in their dispersal and flight.

Monmouth's fate is well known, John Hickes's not so well. He escaped from the battle-field, and fleeing east all day and night across Wilts, he managed to gain safe hiding—in company with Richard Nelthorpe (a lawyer who had been outlawed for taking part in the Riches plot) at Moyles Court, Ellingham, near Ringwood on the Avon, in the south-west corner of Hants. This was the beautiful residence of ‘Lady’ Alice Lisle. She was the widow of John Lisle [who had sat in the Long Parliament, and in the High Court of Justice, had been a Commissioner of the Great Seal in the days of the Commonwealth, and had been created a Lord by Oliver Cromwell (Macaulay, Vol. I. 302)]. She had clearly retained her strong sympathies with the Puritan Nonconformists, for in 1669 she was reported as having Presbyterian Conventicles in her house at Moyles Court, Ellingham (**R. 263***b*); and in 1672 she had applied for a licence for her mansion to be a Presbyterian meeting-place, though it is doubtful whether the licence was ever signed or issued. It is entered **E. (273)** as follows: ‘The ‘house of y^{e} wiđđ: Lisle of Moyles Court in Hampsħ. Pr’ as well as for another at Bagshot Park, co. Surrey, **E. (265)**. When appealed to by some common friend of the two refugees, to give them shelter, she had not the heart to drive them away. ‘She had protected and relieved ‘many Cavaliers in their distress,’ and ‘the same womanly kindness ‘which had led her to befriend the Royalists in their time of trouble, ‘would not suffer her to refuse a meal and a hiding-place to the wretched ‘men who now entreated her to protect them. She took them into her ‘house, set meat and drink before them, and shewed them where they ‘might take a rest.’

But Barton, a friend of Monmouth, had turned ‘informer’; and had set the authorities on their track. ‘The next morning,’ Macaulay tells us, ‘her dwelling was surrounded with soldiers.’ Strict search was made for the fugitives. This was not the first time John Hickes had been looked for ‘in hiding.’ Several times had he been hunted down like a hare or a hart before the hunters; in Kingsbridge, and in the country-side around, as well as on that memorable occasion at Lincombe Hill Head, when his pursuers entered the very loft where he lay concealed, and touched him with the point of their weapons, though they knew it not. Hitherto he had always escaped: but ‘soldiers’ of the regular army were not to be put off, as were bailiffs and apparitors, informers and raw militiamen, and these soldiers discovered him at last ‘con‘cealed in the malthouse,’ while his companion Nelthorpe was discovered ‘in a chimney.’

Hickes was taken back to Taunton, where he lay for some time in Taunton gaol before he was tried. His long suspense, too, must have been keenly embittered by the news, if it was permitted to reach him, of the judicial murder of his kindly hostess Lady Lisle. Her case was the very first of the 'Bloody Assize.' Judge Jeffreys came first to Winchester, and the case of Alice Lisle was the first and only case he dealt with in Hampshire. Though the two refugees, for harbouring whom she was charged with the capital crime of High Treason, had not yet been tried, were simply under arrest on the charge that they were involved in the Rebellion, and so were not yet shown to be 'rebels,' the jury was brow-beaten by the brutal threats of Jeffreys to condemn her. His sentence was that she should be dragged on a hurdle to the market-place and burnt alive at the stake there that very afternoon. The horror and indignation of all present were aroused by the infamous injustice and cruelty of the sentence; but though Bishop and clergy, local nobility and gentry (who held her in the highest esteem), united in earnest intercession for a mitigation of the sentence, all that Jeffreys would concede was a commutation of it from burning at the stake to execution by beheading. Poor John Hickes, therefore, had this sickening sorrow added to his personal peril, of knowing that, for harbouring him and showing him the merest human and womanly kindness, Lady Alice Lisle, in the silver hairs of widowhood, was executed on the scaffold in the market-place of Winchester. After that he could have no doubt as to what his own fate would be.

Many efforts were made to rescue him, and no doubt the King would remember—in his favour—how he had been a *persona grata* to his brother, specially noticing him in the crowd which had gathered at Portsdown several years before to offer them welcome on their joint visit to Portsmouth. James was too cold-blooded to be moved by any such merely sentimental considerations as that. Nor could any mercy be secured for him by his nearest of kin. His brother George, of whom we had a glimpse as passing on to Oxford University, when he, John, left Stonegrave for Stoke Damerell, was now in a position of influence as Dean of Worcester, but he could do nothing for him, and he was condemned to be executed at Glastonbury (Oct. 6, 1685).

From gaol he wrote several very pathetic letters to his wife (his second wife, it will be remembered) and his nephew. There are three letters to his wife and one to his nephew preserved *in extenso* in that very interesting little volume (published in 1689), entitled 'A New 'Martyrology,' or 'The Bloody Assize,' which gives the last words in speech and writing of all those who were executed on the sentence of the notorious Jeffreys in that fatal circuit in the West, after the collapse of Monmouth's Rebellion. In the first letter to his wife, dated (Wednesday) September 23, he speaks of his children by Abigail Howe, as well as of her own. 'I hope my Daughters . . . will be as dutiful 'to you, and be as much concerned for your comfort and welfare as if 'you had travelled (*sic*) with them and brought them into the world. 'God bless them, and my dear little ones together.'

In the second and third, he (naturally enough) speaks of hers only: 'You and my Babes' is an expression occurring in the second; and in the third, dated October 3, 1685 (a Saturday), only three days before his execution, he gives his love to 'my dear Babes,' and begs his wife to 'preserve the two Bibles for my dear James and Betty.'* He had been married to his second wife only nine years, so that James would be only eight, and Betty less.

It is from the letter, written two days later to his 'dear nephew,' on Monday, October 5, the day before his execution, that we have first-hand information of his fruitless appeal to his younger brother, Dr. George Hickes, to intercede for him with the King. He says: 'I 'wrote—last Saturday was a seven-night—to my brother George'—which would be the 26th of September, three days after the first letter, which is preserved—'but whether he is at London or Worcester I know 'not.† I wrote to him to desire him to petition the King . . . but 'my Nonconformity cuts me.' We know, what John Hickes could only guess, that his brother 'exerted himself in vain for his deliverance, 'offering £100 to Lord Shannon to procure a pardon for him by the 'King's personal favour' (W. D. Murray in the D. N. B.); and the law was allowed to have its ruthless way.

I have said that his fate must have been the harder to bear because of the sickening sorrow of knowing that for harbouring him Lady Lisle suffered execution. His companion on that fateful night in Moyle's Court, Richard Nelthorpe, in his 'Last Speech,' made very special reference to her: 'I die in Charity with all the world,' he said, 'and most 'humbly beg pardon of all that I have in the least any way injur'd. 'And in a special manner humbly ask pardon of the Lady Lisle's 'Family and Relations, for that, by being succoured there one night with 'Mr *Hicks*, I brought that worthy Lady to suffer Death.' But John Hickes, in his 'Last speech,' speaks only generally, and makes no separate and special reference to her: 'I am grievously afflicted,' these are his words, 'that I should prove the occasion of the great sufferings 'of so many Persons and Families. But this has fallen under the Just 'and wise ordering of Divine Providence—as David's going to 'Abimelech, when he proved the occasion of the Death of all the 'Persons, Men, Women, and children in the City.' Still, we should bear in mind that in the case of John Hickes, his ministerial position at Keynsham, and his personal connections with many in the county must have filled him with spiritual anxieties which could not distract nor absorb Nelthorpe's mind. The 'Last Speech' is preserved entire in the 'New Martyrology,' as well as published separately; and the candid reader cannot but be struck with its personal dignity, its reverent fearlessness of death, and its spiritual earnestness. It constitutes alike a noble *apologia pro vitâ suâ*, and a most impressive appeal to all whom he could reach by his address. Hence, though the career we have traced was quenched in blood, that last scene upon the scaffold at Glastonbury is not without its lineaments of strength and grace. With his last breath he seizes the opportunity of exercising that 'ministry of 'reconciliation,' which he had received at his Master's hands more than a quarter of a century before; which had done so much to advance the Master's cause, and promote the Nonconformist movement, in Yorks, in Cornwall, in Devon, in Hants, and in Somerset; and which he had discharged with such high courage, such persistent fidelity, through 'troublous times,' with much suffering and loss, never swerving from duty nor from faithful witness to the Gospel, but ever deporting himself with the fearless manliness of Christ's freeman before informer, judge, and King.

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* Betty is the Elizabeth who married Captain Luke Spicer of the Royal Navy: James settled in Portsmouth.

† At this time he was both Vicar of All-Hallows, Barking, and Dean of Worcester.

JAMES INNES, JUNIOR AND JAMES INNES, SENIOR ('MR ENNIS').

James Innes (or Inness), junior, was by far the most effective of the Licence-Agents, the only one approaching him in the point of efficiency being John Hickes. About the man himself, we know nothing except what these licence-documents reveal; but about his father we know a good deal. What we know, moreover, is most interesting, and shows how the father's fortunes and career had providentially fitted the son for this special task.

James Innes, the elder, was one of the Two Thousand, and is noted by Calamy in I. 349. 'He was a Scottish gentleman,' Calamy says, 'of good family; and had great interest with the Duke of Lauder- 'dale, and with K. Carles himself.'

What Calamy fails to tell us has been largely supplied from other sources.*

James was the sixth and youngest son of Alexander Innes of Cotts and Leuchars, by his wife and first cousin, Marjory Gordon, of Gicht. (The eldest was John, the second Alexander, the fourth George, and the fifth Robert.) The date of his birth does not appear; but it must have been in the early years of the reign of James I., as his brother Robert (next to him in age) in 1626 had already served some time in the French Guard.

John in his early years had done the same, and Alexander, the second son, was in the service of Strafford in Ireland, and resided long in Clerkenwell, London. The whole family seem to have followed arms as their calling, and served as soldiers of fortune on the Continent (in Holland, France, and Portugal) or in England and Ireland.

Our ex-Presbyterian minister appears to have been no exception to this family rule. The first we hear of him is in 1641 (just before the outbreak of the Civil War). He writes a letter (printed by C. Innes) to his eldest brother, John. He thanks his brother for money sent him, though 'it waisse to layttill'; and adds: 'I am 'myselffe this day for Holland and next I houpe in God to goe for 'Portigell quilk I howp will contribuit for my fortune.' [We need not be surprised at the oddity of his spelling, for C. Innes's verdict is 'James is the worst scribe of all the brothers. His spelling is quite

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* The information has been culled mainly from D. Forbes's 'Familie of Innes to 1698.' Edited by C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1864), and furnished me by Rev. A. Gordon.

'peculiar']. He dates the letter merely: 'The first of Apray in haste;' but the contents of the letter makes it pretty clear that the year was 1641, and that he writes from London. At the beginning of the following year, Alexander, the second son, writes home (from Newcastle) and says that his brother James is 'weel'; but whether in England, Holland, or Portugal, he does not tell us. When Charles unfurled the Royal Standard at Nottingham later in that year (1642), James Innes seems to have joined the Royal colours. He was unfortunate, for he was taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces at Windsor in 1643. He secured his liberty, however, by changing sides, and within a year we hear of him as serving in the Midlands in the Parliamentary army, under the command of Sir Samuel Luke. It is surely our hero, as 'Captain Ennis,' 'who commanded new levies who set out from Newport Pagnell, 'surprised and captured a party of Royalists near Bicester.' It must be he, too, who (now raised to the rank of Major) in 1645 was part of the garrison of Leicester when besieged by Prince Rupert. Major Ennis was placed in charge of that portion of the fortifications called the Newarke, on the south side of the town, near an old stone wall, against which Prince Rupert had directed the King's artillery to be planted. In this wall a large breach had been made, but it was repaired and defended by Ennis, who twice drove back the enemy with great loss. For three hours after the rest of the town was taken Ennis and his Newport men maintained their position, and obtained good terms of capitulation, when they were surrounded and had at last to surrender. What lends special interest to this episode is that it is more than possible that among the Newport levies who served under James Innes was John Bunyan.* While serving on the Parliamentary side he (in part) wrote two pamphlets. In 1644 he is one of four signatories to a broadsheet about Commissary Behr; and in 1645, with Sir Robert Pye, he writes 'A more exact relation of the siege of Leicester,' as also 'An Examination of a printed Pamphlet on the same subject,' which was criticized by Sir P. Temple the same year. Once more, however, he gains his liberty by joining the ranks of the victors. The Royalists, recognizing his ability and bravery, give him high rank in their army. In 1646 he is Lieutenant-Colonel Innes, as is testified by an extant letter addressed to him under that title. His second term of service with the Royalists lasted only two or three years. He was in the campaign in the North when the allied army of the Scots and English were confronted by the forces of Oliver and suffered such a crushing defeat at Preston; and once more it is his fortune to be amongst the prisoners. Reporting his victory to Parliament in a letter to Speaker Lenthall dated August 20, 1648, Oliver makes special mention of James Innes. 'We took also'—these are his words—'Lieutenant-Colonel 'Innes, sometimes in your service.' With the collapse of the Royalist cause, his soldiering career seems to have closed. With the good sense of a canny Scot, he accepted the situation; and naturally endorsing the Presbyterian ascendancy, began to turn his attention to the ministry of the Word in place of that of the sword.

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* *Vide* Dr. Brown's 'Bunyan,' pp. 50-52.

It must have been about 1649 or 1650 that he was given the Rectory of St. Breock, on the Estuary of the Camel (south-east of Padstow), on the northern coast of Cornwall. From Dr. Walker ('Sufferings of the Clergy,' Part II. 24) we learn that it had been vacated by the sequestration of Dr. William Peterson, who had held this Rectory in addition to that of Dipford in Devon, and the Deanery of Exeter. Dr. Walker speaks bitterly of his cruel treatment, and of the extreme poverty into which his sequestration had plunged him; but he gives a story about him which is much to the credit of Oliver Cromwell. 'Seeing him one day pass in the Streets of London (and possibly knowing 'him to be a *Distressed Cavalier*, by the Meanness of his Habit), said: '" *There goes a Church of England Man, who, I warrant you, has Courage* '" *enough to die for his Religion.*" And that very day a Gentleman, 'wholly unknown to him, traced him to his Lodgings, invited him the 'next day to a *Dinner*, and withal gave him a Purse of Money. He 'was also several times after supplied with Money from an unknown 'Hand, tho' he guessed it to be *Cromwell's*.' Dr. Walker adds: 'As 'for his immediate Successors in his Livings at the time of his 'Sequestrations, I know this only: That one *Walplace* was substituted 'in his room at *Dipford;* and one *Innes* at *St. Breock*.'

This Rectory James Innes did not retain beyond 1660, for Dr. Walker tells us he surrendered it to Dr. Peterson again on the Restoration.

John Hickes and James Innes were therefore ministers in the same county, but not at the same time. John Hickes was removed from Stoke Damerell when James Innes had to surrender St. Breock. So that James Innes had probably left Cornwall when John Hickes moved into it; and came up to London to live in retirement from active service of any kind, most probably settling in Westminster, under the shadow of Charles's Court, from the very first. His adventurous career as a soldier, including two brief terms of service in his father's army, would predispose the King to look on him with favour.

With the formation of the 'Cabal' Ministry, moreover (on the fall of Clarendon), Lauderdale came into power in 1667-68; and thereafter 'interest with Lauderdale' would procure James Innes admission to the Court, and we learn from Calamy that he soon found favour there, so that the King 'sometimes admitted him to uncommon freedoms; so 'that had he not disrelished the terms of conformity, he might have had 'a fair prospect of considerable promotion.' We happen to know, too, that in 1672 he was living in Westminster, in a house very near both to the Palace and the Government offices. Probably, therefore, that was his residence from the time of his leaving Cornwall.

Its exact position is given us, with most welcome detail, in a note prefixed to a memorandum of application for two licences, numbered **320 (34)**:

> 'These For y^e^ Reverend Mr. Ennis,
> at his House w^th^ in Ax Yarde in Kings Street,
> Westminster prt.' (present).

Ax Yard was a turning west of King Street, a little south of

Downing Street, almost opposite the Privy Garden, Whitehall, so that he was living between St. James's Park (on the west) and the Whitehall Buildings and Gardens (on the east).

It was a curious position he took in matters religious and ecclesiastical with conscience stiff enough to keep him out of the Church of England, and the brilliant career which his influence at Court might have secured him in it, yet not stiff enough to keep him out of the Court itself with all its profanity and licence. But it explains what else would seem very strange, that while his ministerial friends eagerly seized the opportunity afforded by the Indulgence to re-enter active service in the public ministry of the Word and the care of souls ; while, too, he was interested enough to secure licences for a few personal friends, he never applied for a licence himself, and was content to continue his ministerial inactivity and silence to the end of his days. He did not hide his Nonconformity, but always managed to evade its awkward consequences. Apparently he had succeeded in solving Dr. Binney's problem, 'Is it 'possible to make the best of both worlds ?' In particular, too, he knew how to play off the personal qualities of the King against the general policy which the strong will of Clarendon and the bigotry of the High Church party had forced the King to adopt, as the oft-quoted anecdote preserved by Calamy suffices to show :

'The king, once seeing him walking on a Lord's day morning'—that might easily happen, when he had not long left home, whether he was going past the Privy Garden Citywards, or past St. James's Park to some Westminster meeting-place—'said to him : "You *Innes*, I believe '"you are going to some Conventicle." He replied : "If I am, I humbly '"hope your majesty will not turn informer." At which,' Calamy adds, 'the king appeared not at all displeased.' We have seen elsewhere how, in 1670, he was associated with Dr. Manton and Dr. Jacomb in the personal presentation to the King of an address proposing some form of comprehension ; and Sir Joseph Williamson's notes (preserved in the State Papers) give ample evidence that in the following year he was used as an intermediary between the Court and the Nonconformists for the gathering of information as to the attitude and feeling of the latter with reference to the King's pet project of a Royal Indulgence. For that particular work, too, his personal connections specially fitted him, for he was not only of good Puritan Presbyterian stock himself, but he had married into a strongly Puritan family. His wife was a Miss Vincent, daughter of a Puritan minister, John Vincent, a native of the West Country, who had been so harassed for his Nonconformity that he was driven to change his pastorates so often that, though he had many children, as Calamy quaintly put it, 'not two of them 'were born in the same county' (I. 155). Two of her brothers, moreover, were ministers quite of their father's Puritan type, who suffered ejectment in 1662 rather than submit to the conditions of the Act of Uniformity : Thomas, the elder, who had to leave the rich and influential living of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London (I. 155-157); and Nathaniel, the younger, who was driven from Langley-Marsh, in Bucks (I. 304-308).

Thomas Vincent was therefore living in enforced retirement in the City when James Innes came up to town, though he preached often, did excellent service as an assistant to Mr. Doolittle in his Academy in Islington, and gathered a congregation in the very heart of the City. Thomas Vincent, too, was one of that noble band of Nonconformists who, when Established clergy, in selfish-cowardice, fled the Plague-stricken City in 1665, supplied their lack of service with a heroism and self-forgetfulness beyond all praise.

Nathaniel did not come to London till the end of the following year, 1666 (for he had found shelter and support as chaplain or tutor in private families in Buckinghamshire for those four years after his ejectment); but he, too, from the first, made a mark as signal as his elder brother's in the religious life of London, for though, when he came, the City was a mass of smoking ashes, from which for a second time Church of England clergy fled because now they had no Churches in which to 'do duty,' he was moved with compassion, for the multitudes deprived of all Christian service, and gathered multitudes to listen to his fervent preaching, often in the open air in the midst of the ruins.

Through his brothers-in-law, therefore, as well as through his own personal friends, James Innes was practically in touch with the whole body of Nonconformists in London. Of course, it was with the more moderate party, the Presbyterians, that he was in closest touch. Dr. Manton and Dr. Jacomb were both of that high courtly school of Presbyterians, and with Edmund Calamy he seems to have had relations equally friendly, as Edmund Calamy's letter, preserved as **320 (34)**, makes abundantly clear.

Sir Joseph Williamson's notes for the last few months of 1671, at any rate, make it evident that James Innes was in that small inner ring employed by Lord Arlington, through Joseph Williamson, men like Dr. Nicholas Butler, Joseph Church, and Colonel Thomas Blood, who engineered the Declaration of Indulgence.

The first notice of him is under date September 21. It ought to be said, though, that his identity would be disguised from the superficial reader. 'Inness,' which was the true spelling of his name, as proved by his own signature to the letter preserved in **320 (35)**, was generally spelt as 'Innes,' and its careless pronunciation easily led to its English spelling 'Ennis,' or, as we have it in Sir Joseph Williamson's notes, 'Ennys.' In this first reference he says: 'Ennys is a shrewd 'fellow, corresponds with the Dutch, as he and Blood did. Has 'shuffled away Richard* while Blood was in hold.'

The next reference is under date November 2, 1671: 'Conventicles. '—N.B. Only Ennys' intimate acquaintance' (the reference probably is to his two brothers-in-law) 'are gone in to their meeting-houses. 'Blood's not at all yet.'† Again, a month later, 'Dec. 4. 1671. Dr 'B(utler) & Ch(urch).—That Blood dabbles with Ennys intimately

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* *I.e.*, has arranged with other Nonconformists so that Richard Cromwell should have secret shelter, and so escape arrest, as the Government were anxious to seize and put him in confinement.

† Thomas V.'s was in Bartholomew Lane, Nathaniel's in Southwark (Farthing Alley), and Blood's (Dr. Annesley's) in Spital Square.

'as is reported from good hands. Ennys it was that told D^r^ B. that 'only 2 or 3 of them supported Blood.'

Then, December 13, we have the last and fullest allusions of all: 'Only M^r^ Vincent's meeting is yet open and avowed in the City, and 'that continues still.' This was, of course, his wife's elder brother Thomas, whose meeting was licensed the following year for Bartholomew Lane. What follows shows Innes's influential relations with the London Presbyterians: 'A consultation on foot among the Presby- 'terians—Dons & Ducklings. That Lord St. Albans* puts it on, and 'Ennys is in it.' [Vincent, the elder, was one of the 'Ducklings'; Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, and Dr. Jacomb were 'Dons.'] 'Lead all to 'the King by Ennys, who joins these bodies together; and has weekly 'meetings (as this day three weeks is the Dons).'

'Young Vincent did meet tho' at a new place.' [This is Nathaniel who was working in Southwark.] . . . 'Ennys & he' (the context makes it uncertain whether it means Steward, one of Lauderdale's emissaries from Scotland who was at work in London, or Blood) 'told 'one another, at their reconciliation,' that 'each other's friends had 'warned them to beware of one another. Ennys is a great rogue.'

It is curious that Williamson's last comment on James Innes is so like the first. 'Ennys is a great rogue' is almost an echo of 'Ennys 'is a shrewd fellow'; and both I take to be rather complimentary than otherwise. All it means is that Williamson sees in him that quiet astuteness, which is supposed to distinguish the 'canny' Scot, so intimately is James Innes, senior, concerned in all the negotiations which led ultimately to the Issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, March 15, 1672.

That he was reputed to have great influence comes out incidentally in a sentence in Nehemiah Lyde's 'Life' of his father. Speaking of those who helped him in his efforts to carry out his father's instructions (to secure licences for Hereford Nonconformists), he mentions his indebtedness 'to some sollicitors at Court'; and the first he names is 'the Reverend Mr. *Innys*, a Scotch Nonconformist Minister, well 'acquainted with the King, who mostly sollicited for the Presby- 'terians.'

Yet the part he took actively to work it was very small.

The only signs of it we have in the licence documents are: (1) three notes in **E.**, appended to entries (on page 5), in Sir Joseph Williamson's handwriting; (2) one letter written by him [**320** (**35**)] to Sir Joseph, in which he shows himself personally interested in securing licences for six friends; and (3) a letter [**320** (**24**)] addressed to him by Edmund Calamy, senior, which shows how his son is introduced to this work.

The three notes are appended to the entries of the licences granted to Thomas Doolittle to preach in his meeting-house in Mugwell Street, and to Edmund Calamy as a 'generall teacher.' These three licences are entered as issued April 2, 1672, on **E. (5)**; and the notes appended by Sir Joseph read:

---

* Commonly reported to be married to the Queen-mother; built a new mansion in St. James's in 1663-64; and in 1669 worked strenuously to cement the alliance with France and promote a war with the Dutch.

(1) To the first:

'Desired by Mr Innesse and sent to him. 4. Apr. 1672.'

(2) To the second:

'Desired by Mr Innesse & sent to him.'

(3) To the third:

'Desired by Mr Innesse & sent to him. 4. Apr.'

They show that he applied for them, and suggest that he did so in person.

The letter he wrote to Sir Joseph [**320 (35)**], he got Nathaniel Vincent to take to Whitehall. It was on behalf of the bearer (the younger of his Vincent brothers-in-law) and Mr. Whitaker, a friend of his in Southwark; and in a P.S. or addendum to it, he speaks for Mr. Sourton and Mr. Hieron of Honiton. In this last, however, he writes in a way so inaccurate that it leads to great confusion. The letter from Edmund Calamy to him seems to imply that he has too little confidence in Innes, or too much respect for him, to ask him to secure the licence he wants for Curriers' Hall himself, for he asks him to employ his son to do it. This, indeed, was the way the son was introduced to his great work.

His letter to Sir Joseph is numbered **320 (35)**. It is endorsed:

6 Apr. $\overline{72}$.
'Mr ENNIS.*
'N. VINCENT
'—WHITAKER.'

It is addressed:

'To the right wpfull Sr Joseph Williamson these present.'

'Right wpfull and worthie Sir

'Heartie thanks premis'd for yor civill acceptance of my ltre (letter) and friends† praying the like favour again for the Bearer Mr Nathaniel Vincent another younger brother of my wifes, and one Mr Will: Whiteaker a worthie man, not able to wait upon you himselfe, by reason of his present illnes & indisposition of bodie. They bee both in Southwark, and will give the names of their places themselves. Let me only add (Sir) That yor civilitie to my friends may not only be remembered by themselves wherein they can serve you so as to expresse their ingenuitie & thankfullnes, but shall so much the more abundantly oblidge me to be always

'Yor most reall friend and readie Servt.
'JA: INNESS.'

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* By the way, it may be observed that Sir Joseph's endorsement of a letter so clearly signed 'Ja: Inness' with the name 'Mr. Ennis' is an absolutely authoritative justification of the view taken above as to 'Ennis's identity.'

† These must be his brother-in-law, Thomas Vincent, and Mr. Doolittle.

'There is one M^r^ Sourton of Devon who desires, if it may be, a Licence for a place in Honiton call'd the Chappell of All-hallows (w^ch^ is only in the power of some parochall Trustees, not belonging at all to the Bishops jurisdiction, as I am informed). And another M^r^ Hieon (Hieron) that desires only a personall Licence.

'If there be any difficulties in the case, I presume S^r^ Tho: Clifford can satisfie you, having writen to his honor about it.'*

Now all these licences, except Mr. Sourton's, are entered in **E.**, bearing date April 2.† Surely, then, Sir Joseph Williamson's endorsement, April 6, must be a slip of the pen; otherwise, James Innes senior, takes all this trouble unnecessarily. The thing is already done.

In the case of Mr. Sourton, moreover, James Innes's intervention has very little effect. The 'place' which he pleads for: 'The Chapel 'of All Hallows' is 'not approved,' and no licence is issued for it. Nor is the licence for 'ffrancis Sourton in Honiton to be a presbiterian teacher' issued till September 5, five months after this letter was written—it is entered on **E.** (**236**), together with the three entries which immediately precede it, in a different handwriting from those which precede these four, and from those which follow this fourth:

'ffrancis Sourton in Honiton in Devon. Presb. tea. Sep^t^ 5^th^'

Sourton evidently was disappointed with the rebuff, and a month later got James Innes, the younger, to apply for a licence as a general teacher, only not as of Honiton, but as of Powderham. The application is one of a long list on **320** (**67**) on the last line but one:

'M^r^ Francis Sourton of Pouderham in Devon Presb. a Gen^ll^ teacher.'

No difficulty was made with this. A licence was issued on the 2nd of May, entered on **E.** (**76**):

'Francis Sourton Grāll Pr. of Pounderhã in Devõn 2. May 72.'

and there can be little doubt that it was this licence, the receipt of which James Innes, junior, acknowledges on **320** (**295**), with a whole host more. The line applying to it is as brief as he could make it: 'Sourton teacher.'

The licence for Honiton is evidently a second, the method of securing which we can never learn, as there are no memoranda of application or receipt later than the middle of June.

What comes out very clearly on a comparison of the documents which are preserved, is that James Innes, senior, had made a great blunder in his letter, which James Innes junior sought to remedy: and, between the two, the Whitehall officials made a great hash which threatened to ruin the prospects of Mr. Sourton getting any licence at all. In his letter, the father had asked for 'Mr. Sourton of Devon' (fatally vague that) 'to be licenced to preach in the Chappell of All-hallows in Honiton, and for Mr. Hieron only a personall licence.' He had not sent it, when he got a letter [**320** (**34**)] from Edmund Calamy, expressing his desire to have the Curriers' Hall licensed as his meeting-place; and asking his friend, Innes senior, to employ his son (James Innes, junior) in procuring him a licence for that place. The father sends the son with this letter to Whitehall, who leaves it as a memorandum with Sir Joseph Williamson. And the Whitehall people promptly act upon it, filling in the blanks for the place in licences which had already been signed and dated April 2nd, four days before young Innes appeared at Whitehall with it. Father and son, I fancy, must have been talking over the contents of the letter—before the latter took it—specially over the P.S. about Sourton and Hieron, and the son discovers (how we can only conjecture) that his father has made a muddle about it. Anyway, he uses the back of Calamy's letter to his father as a memorandum-slip, and writes what should have put the Whitehall people right in the matter:

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* His writing has marvellously improved since his eldest brother passed such an unfavourable judgment on it over thirty years ago. The handwriting is clear and neat, and the spelling is normal.

† Nathaniel Vincent's two and William Whitaker's two on **E.** (**6**), and the two for Mr. Hieron ('Hieon,' 'Heron') on **E.** (**8**).

> 'M^r Heron for the Schoole house in Honiton Parish.
> 'M^r Sourton only for a personall License.'

The father had made a double mistake. It was Mr. Sourton (not Mr. Hieron) who wanted a general licence; and it was Mr. Hieron (not Mr. Sourton) who wanted a licence to preach in a particular specified place. The father had made a mistake as to the place, too. It was to be 'the School house'—not the Chapel of All Hallows—which Hieron wanted a licence for as his meeting-place. And these licences were granted, as entered on **E.** (**8**). Only, like those for Nathaniel Vincent and William Whitaker, they are entered as already issued on April 2 (four days before young Innes took these two letters to Whitehall).

Somehow or other, however, the Whitehall people mixed up the father's P.S. to his letter to Sir Joseph, with the son's note on the back of Calamy's letter to the father, and we have in **320** (**270**) an actual licence-form filled in for Francis Sourton of 'ye Presbyterien ꝑswac̃on 'to be a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by Us in the Scholehouse 'at the Towne of Honiton.'

As it is not dated, it was only by the merest conjecture that the Editor of **320** placed it among documents which belong to May 1 or May 2. Whether it were on some enquiry made by young Innes that the mistake was found out, or as the result of a further scrutiny of the case on the part of the Whitehall officials themselves, we have no means of judging. Evidently the mistake was discovered; the document was never submitted to the King and to Lord Arlington for signature; and so, undated and unsigned, it has remained a derelict among the State Papers of the Chief Secretary of State.

Certainly in the father's one attempt there was no signal success. Rather may the egregious muddle over it, and the mysterious failure in which it issued, account, in part at any rate, for his never attempting the like service for anyone again. The interesting thing is that in Edmund Calamy's letter to the father asking him not to trouble himself, but to set his son to work, we have a mediating link between the two—showing how James Innes, junior, was started on his great enterprise. At any rate the father's lack of service in this department is more than made up by his son's extraordinary achievements.

The truth is, as already hinted, James Innes junior's work in this department far outshines that of all other Licence-Agents, save only that of John Hickes; and a comparison of the two shows this, that while James Innes, junior, secured and carried off almost three times as many licences as John Hickes, John Hickes expended a great deal more time and energy over his quarter than James Innes, junior, over his three-fourths.

Here are the figures: James Innes, junior, secured and took away 229 licences, while John Hickes took off only 86. While James Innes, junior, put in only 338 licence-applications, John Hickes put in 515. We must remember that both often made more than one application for a licence befere the application was attended to; for many applying twice; for some thrice; and in a few exceptional cases four times: but that repetition of applications was much more frequent on the part of John Hickes than on that of James Innes, junior.

Innes wasted less time and paper over his applications than did Hickes. His applications were more promptly attended to. And even more striking were the disproportion between the two as to the number of visits paid.

Assuming that each application-memorandum preserved in the Record Office meant a separate visit to Whitehall, we find that Innes paid only seventeen visits to Whitehall over his 338 applications, while Hickes paid forty-five visits over his 515. So that Hickes spent between two and three visits to Innes's one to put in the same number of applications. With respect to the receipts it is self-evident that each transaction was final. There was no need of a second visit when once the licence had been secured and received. [Still, such anomalies do occur. A careful examination of the licence-entries shows that in a certain number of cases—a much larger number, too, than one would suppose possible—a second licence or even a third was made out, signed, and issued. Why, it would be interesting, though not very easy, to ascertain in each case.]

Yet in this matter we find the two men show almost the same average. Hickes hands in five separate papers for the 86 licences he took away, and Innes hands in thirteen for his 229. So that Hickes averages a little more than seventeen on a single paper, and Innes not quite eighteen. Adding the number of their papers together, we find their totals are as five to three, Hickes's 45 application papers and 5 receipts making 50, and Innes's 17 application papers and 13 receipts making 30.

So that while John Hickes was much busier than James Innes junior—John Hickes making twenty more, visits, or handing in twenty more papers than Innes — the disproportion in efficiency (as shown by licences secured) is enormous. John Hickes carried off less than 90, while Innes takes away almost 229.

But now to confine ourselves to Innes's efforts and successes. They were distributed geographically as follows:

I. APPLICATIONS.

These were 388, and for persons and places in 32 out of 40 English counties.

In the (1) Northern Counties, 78: being 14 for Northumberland, 4 for Cumberland, 21 for Yorks, and 39 for Lancashire.

(2) Northern Midlands, 32: being 3 for Cheshire, 8 for Derbyshire, 1 for Nottingham, 2 for Lincoln, 3 for Salop, 4 for Staffordshire, and 11 for Leicestershire.

(3) Southern Midlands, 26: being 6 for Worcestershire, 6 for Warwickshire, 5 for Gloucestershire, 3 for Oxford, and 6 for Bucks.

(4) Eastern Counties, 18 only: being 5 for Herts, 2 for Norfolk, 4 for Suffolk, 2 for Bedfordshire, and 5 for Essex.

(5) South-Eastern, 65: being 5 for Berks, 9 for Middlesex, 14 for London, 17 for Surrey, 4 for Sussex, and 16 for Hants.

(6) South-Western, 169: being 60 for Wilts, 31 for Somerset, 48 for Dorset, 26 for Devon, and 4 for Cornwall.

The only counties for which he presented no applications were:

(1) Durham and Westmorland in the Northern group; (2) Rutland in the Northern Midland; (3) Hereford and Northants in the South-Midland; (4) Hunts and Cambridge in the Eastern Counties; and (5) Kent in the South-Eastern group.

Several things call for attention in this list:

(1) The greatest numbers are put in for the groups farthest distant from London: The South-Western accounting for 169, and the Northern, which claims 78.

(2) The South-Eastern comes next, covering what we call the Home Counties. That is natural. What would be more natural, however, would be for this group to head the list. Yet they only account for 65 of the total 388. London actually numbers 14, or with Middlesex 23, Surrey 17, and Hants 16. Sussex claimed only 4, and Kent did not employ his services to seek licences at all.

(3) Then the group nearest to London by all sorts of ties, the Eastern Counties, claims the smallest number of all, only 18.

(4) In the South-Western group, too, we see that James Innes just supplements John Hickes. Where John Hickes is strongest—in Devon and Cornwall—James Innes is weakest; and John Hickes's strange lack of service for Somerset and Dorset and Wilts is amply made up for in the 31, 48, and 60 of James Innes.

II. RECEIPTS.

Though his application activities are great, however, it is James Innes's receipts that bespeak his efficiency most emphatically.

When we bear in mind the fact that in nearly every instance a

James Innes, jun.	Northumb.	Durham.	Cumberld.	Westmrld.	York.	Lancs.	Cheshire.	Derby.	Notts.	Lincs.	Salop.	Stafford.	Leicester.	Rutland.	Hereford.	Worcester.	Warwick.	Northants.	Gloucs.	Oxfordsh.	Bucks.	Hunts.	Beds.	Cambs.	Herts.	Norfolk.	Suffolk.	Essex.	Berkshire.	Middlesex.	London.	Kent.	Surrey.	Sussex.	Hants.	Wiltshire.	Somerset.	Dorset.	Devon.	Cornwall.	Total.
Applications.																																									
320 (34)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3
320 (45)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
320 (50)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	6	—	10
320 (51)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	5	—	9
320 (67)	4	—	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	2	—	3	3	—	—	—	3	16	3	1	3	1	50
320 (68)	4	—	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	12
320 (69)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	4
320 (70)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	5
320 (71)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	12
320 (156)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	5	23	3	—	—	—	33
320 (158)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	4
320 (227)	—	—	—	—	2	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	18	4	—	36
321 (20)	—	—	—	—	10	8	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	19	5	2	49
321 (21)	2	—	2	—	1	8	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	23
321 (118)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
321 (119)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
321 (364)	4	—	2	—	—	13	3	4	1	—	3	4	6	—	—	6	6	—	4	3	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	3	—	1	—	4	4	8	9	18	8	8	—	126
Totals	14	—	4	—	21	39	3	8	1	2	3	4	11	—	—	6	6	—	5	3	6	—	2	—	5	2	4	5	7	9	14	—	17	4	16	60	31	48	33	4	397
Receipts.																																									
320 (166)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	10	2	—	—	—	16
320 (242)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	5	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
320 (243)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	2	—	—	16
320 (295)	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	17	—	11	3	1	40
321 (66)	—	—	—	—	6	4	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	16	3	1	38
321 (143)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	2	—	—	11
321 (150)	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	4	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
321 (206)	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	3	1	—	—	—	1	1	4	5	—	—	21
321 (207)	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	5
321 (230)	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	2	—	3	3	18
321 (263)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3
321 (297)	—	—	2	—	2	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	7	33
Totals	2	—	2	2	11	23	—	4	—	2	5	—	2	—	—	—	9	—	4	—	—	—	—	5	1	2	9	9	2	9	6	—	—	2	5	40	16	38	9	12	231

receipt means a distinct licence, 229 receipts means, proportionally, as much or even more than his 388 applications; and as compared with John Hickes's 86 receipts over against his 515 applications, tells a striking tale of James Innes's determination to secure tangible results, as compared with John Hickes's enthusiastic efforts to get the attention of the officials at Whitehall; and his comparative carelessness as to who gets the 'Kudos' and the remuneration (?) attaching to the actual 'taking 'away' the licences and sending them to the expectant licensees.

The 229 were distributed over fewer counties than his applications—*i.e.*, only 26 as against 32.

(1) For the Northern Counties, 40: being 2 for Northumberland, 2 for Cumberland, 2 for Westmorland, 11 for Yorkshire, and 23 for Lancashire.

(2) For the Northern Midlands, only 13: being 4 for Derby, 2 for Lincoln, 5 for Shropshire, and 2 for Leicestershire.

(3) For the South-Midlands, the same 13: being 9 for Warwickshire and 4 for Gloucestershire.

(4) For the Eastern Counties, 26: being 5 for Cambridgeshire, 1 for Herts, 2 for Norfolk, 9 for Suffolk, and 9 for Essex.

(5) For the South-Eastern group, 24 only: being 2 for Berks, 9 for Middlesex, 6 for London, 2 for Sussex, and 5 for Hampshire.

(6) For the South-Western group, 113: being 40 for Wilts, 14 for Somerset, 38 for Dorset, 9 for Devon, and 12 for Cornwall.

Of the 40 counties (counting London one as well as Middlesex), 14 get no licences at all (though 6 of them had secured his services as an applicant for licences for them). Durham alone in the Northern group; Cheshire, Notts, Staffs, and Rutland in the North-Midlands; Hereford, Worcester, Northants, Oxon, and Bucks in the South-Midlands; Hunts and Beds in the Eastern Counties; and Kent and Surrey in the South-Eastern group.

The Midlands are the counties that troubled him least, and for which he did the minimum of service. His greatest services were rendered to those extreme groups (the Northern Counties and the 'West Countree'), for which he made the greatest efforts by way of 'application,' for he secured 40 licences for the Northern Counties and 113 for the South-Western group.

In the way of licences actually secured, too, his defect of service, or unpopularity, in the Home Counties is even more striking than his activity in applications. For the whole of the Metropolis he takes away only 6 licences, and for Middlesex only 9 more; while for the Eastern Counties his only considerable service is in securing 9 licences for Suffolk and 9 for Essex.

Omitting any special mention of those counties where the licences he secured were under 10, we may summarize the results as follows:

For three counties he obtained over 10 and under 20—viz., Yorkshire (11), Cornwall (12), and Somerset (14); and for three others he secured over 20 each—Lancashire (23), Dorset (38), and Wilts (40).

In view of such remarkably effective service we are bound to say on the one hand that if, despite the King's openly expressed wish that the licences should be obtained without expense, there was any acknowledged 'honorarium' given him by those who secured his services, even a very modest one for each would in total bring him a very substantial reward for his 'pains'; and on the other, if it was all rendered 'gratis,' he deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance on behalf of the Nonconformists of Charles II.'s reign who, through his efforts, were able to realize the liberty and benefits of his Royal Indulgence.

The details of the number of licences dealt with for each county in each memorandum are shown in the Schedule on p. 629:

CHAPTER V

ADDRESSES OF THANKS AND PETITIONS TO THE KING

We have seen that Dr. Nicholas Butler, 'promoted' both Addresses of Thanks and Petitions, for the double reason: (1) that it would be pleasing to the King to have public attestations of the fact that this 'great relief' was due to his personal grace and Royal favour; and (2) that the publicity thus given to the movement would make it more widely acceptable.

I. Addresses of Thanks.

1. The Addresses of Thanks, or Public Acknowledgments of the Royal Clemency and Favour were very few: only five in all.

(1) **320 (2)**: From the Nonconformist Ministers in Exon. and Devon.
(2) **320 (30)**: From a Licensed Congregation in Dartmouth.
(3) **320 (98)**: From the Nonconformist Ministers in Cornwall.
(4) **320 (160)**: From the Nonconformist Ministers in Wilts.
(5) **321 (77)**: From the Nonconformist Ministers in Dorset.

The second is a special case belonging to the same county as the first—viz., Devon; and is an illustration of the gracious spirit of the 'saintly Flavell.' No doubt it was drawn up by him.

The series form a set. They are 'Acknowledgments' from the Nonconformist Ministers of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall.

Had the ministers of Somerset 'fallen into line,' it would have been a complete representation of the entire group of South-Western Counties which were so permeated with the Puritan spirit.

For some reason, not obvious to a first review, John Hickes seems to have been out of touch with Somerset at this period of his life; although all along its south-western border it was conterminous with his beloved Devon; and although, in Keynsham, it was to prove for some years his last home and his last sphere of ministerial work.

There can be little question that the Addresses from Devon and Cornwall were his composition; and the fact that the names appended to the Acknowledgment from Wilts are in his handwriting points in the same direction.

Indeed, a critical analysis of these three Addresses shows in so many points 'a family likeness,' that though in the body of the Addresses there is the healthy variety which fairly suggests individual originality, the master-mind of the organizer, John Hickes, is pretty clearly imprinted on them all. In some points we find the resemblance between the Wilts Address and the Devon the closer; in others the resemblance is closer between those of Devon and Cornwall.

(1) In the descriptive Title: while the Cornwall Address calls the Addressors 'the Nonconforming Ministers' in the County, the Devon and Wilts Addresses use a much greater 'periphrasis'; Devon speaks of 'several Ministers in the City of Exon & County of Devon, who do 'not conforme to y^e^ Established Discipline & Lyturgie of y^e^ Church 'of England,' and Wilts, of 'severall ministers of the County of Wilts 'both in the behalfe of themselves and others of theyre bretheren 'who do not Conform to the present established discipline of the Church 'of England.'

(2) In the direct Address: all three use the formula 'May it please 'your most Excellent Majesty,' and describe themselves as his Majesty's 'faithfull & loyal' subjects.

(3) In the Preamble, the introductory clause runs: (i.) In the Address from Devon 'being deeply sensible of that full and clear demonstration '. . . of your Royall Favour and abundant Clemency;' (ii.) in that from Wilts: 'being highly apprehensive of your Royall Clemency and 'Signall favour'; and (iii.) in that from Cornwall, 'being duely and 'deeply apprehensive of your Royall Favour and Clemency.'

(4) In the next clause, all three make a humble acknowledgment of it in very slightly varying phraseology: (i.) Devon says we 'do (as 'we are obliged) make a most humble and thankfull acknowledgment 'thereof'; (ii.) Cornwall more simply: 'do render most hearty and 'thankful acknowledgments thereof'; and (iii.) Wilts much more elaborately: 'Doe Judge ourselves oblidged by the most inviolable bond of gratitude to make this thankfull acknowledgment thereof.'

(5) In all three the Acknowledgment leads up to a general petition, which is to prepare his Majesty for further Petitions for individual persons and places: (i.) Devon: 'humbly desiring that we may be 'approved and places allowed for the publique exercise of our Ministry'; (ii.) Cornwall: 'we most humbly desire & petition that wee may reap 'the benefitt of your Favor in affording us Licences to exercise our 'Function & allowing us such places as wee humbly shall propose to 'your Maj^tie^'; and (iii.) Wilts: 'doe humbly desire to bee received and 'Comprehended amongst such as may bee approved, & have places 'allowed for the publique exercise of our ministry.'

[It will be noted that the phraseology of the Declaration is here cited and preserved most carefully: 'persons' are 'approved'; 'places' are 'allowed'. The phrases descriptive of a minister's work are still fluid. In the Devon and Wilts Addresses it is 'Ministry'—'the public exercise of our Ministry'—a term which acknowledges them to be

'Ministers'; but in the Cornwall Address, 'Ministry' is changed to 'function'; whereas in most of the Petitions that were afterwards sent up—a phrase is adopted which is more stereotyped and formal than either—evidently suggested from headquarters, 'Ministerial function.']

(6) All three also wind up with the proper promise 'to pray'—only in a little less stereotyped form than the 'usual' conclusion. (i.) Devon concludes 'and, as our bounden duty is, we shall pray for your Maj^ties 'long & most prosperous Reigne'; (ii.) Wilts most nearly reproduces this: 'and wee shall pray for your majesties most happy and long Con-'tinued Reign'; and (iii.) Cornwall puts it 'and alsoe shall ever pray for 'your Maj^ties constant happinesse in your Person and Government.'

(7) It is in the central clause—in which they pledge themselves—on account of this special Grace and Favour, to special Loyalty, that the greatest variety of thought and expression occurs. [The Devon Address rather boldly expressing confidence that Charles will continue the favour thus given.]

Of these four Addresses only two bear date—viz., those from Devon and Dorset. The Devon Address bears its own date at foot, and that only a week later than the publication of the Declaration—March 22, 1671-72, so that it is distinctly the earliest of them all. The Dorset Petition is endorsed by Francis Benson (Sir Williamson's clerk) 'Thanks 'of the Non Conformists Ministers of Dorsett,' and dated '10 May 72': doubtless the date of its reception by Sir Joseph at Whitehall; and that makes it appear a very belated affair, seeing that several Dorset ministers had secured their licences before the end of April, and quite a large batch were licensed on May 8—two days before the Address reached Whitehall.

The Addresses from Wilts and Cornwall probably were presented in the latter part of April. The position assigned them in **320** and **321** shows that that is the judgment of the Record Office authorities.

We have no information as to when the Address from Devon reached Whitehall, for, though it is endorsed, and endorsed by Sir Joseph Williamson himself and not by his clerk, the endorsement does not note when it was received, only when it was actually delivered to the King. The endorsement reads:

> 'Addresse of Devonshire Nonconforming Teachers [N.B. They are not acknowledged by Sir Joseph to be "Ministers": he gives them only the official title inserted in all Personal licences "Teacher"].
>
> 'Presented y^e 6 Apr. 1672. {by M^r Hicks / — Martin}.'

So that, though with almost incredible promptitude, the document had been drafted and the signature of seventy-two ministers secured by March 22, it was not arranged for personal presentation to the King till over a fortnight later. It could not have been very pleasant for these Devon worthies to see the London ministers received in person and their Addresses given (one in the morning and the other in the afternoon) nearly a week after their Address was ready, and to find they had to wait another ten days before their turn came. So it was, however. John Hickes and Thomas Martin were then the representatives honoured to present it. In the old Commonwealth days these two had been close neighbours—John Hickes at Stoke Damerell and Thomas Martin at Plymouth. And though at the Restoration John Hickes lost Stoke Damerell, he was presented to Saltash as a compensation (with the Royal connivance and consent) where he was quite accessible to his friend at Plymouth, as Saltash was only just the other side of the Tamar Estuary, though now in another county. From Saltash he was ejected in 1662, but he continued to reside there—the nucleus of a little Nonconformist brotherhood, as we learn from the Episcopal Returns—till 1665. Then the Five Mile Act broke up the little community, and he recrossed the Tamar into Devon, and settled down in Kingsbridge, soon becoming the magnetic centre of another Nonconformist community. The second Conventicle Act of 1670 was a severe blow to them, and the persecution they suffered from unscrupulous informers and bigoted justices of the peace drew from John Hickes his noted 'Narrative,' which reached London and attracted the notice of Whitehall officials and the King. The story of how he made a dash to London, evading the officers who had come to arrest them, and was accorded a personal interview with the King through that remarkable man, Thomas Blood, is quite a romance, told in detail elsewhere. Its result was as striking as the interview. He took away with him a free pardon for himself and his friends, a substantial sum of money—viz., the King's 'third part' of the fines which had been extorted from the Nonconformists of the neighbourhood, and a hint by no means obscure that they would soon be receiving the relief of a larger liberty. That came in the Declaration of Indulgence, and we do not wonder that John Hickes, of Kingsbridge, and Thomas Martin, of Plymouth, should be entrusted by the Devon 'Noncons' with the task of personally delivering to the King in London the public and formal Acknowledgment of the Royal Favour and Clemency. We cannot doubt that the document was practically the composition of John Hickes, and that the seventy-two signatures appended to it were secured by his extraordinary energy. We have as little doubt that this second audience with the King was arranged through the influence of that same remarkable man, Thomas Blood. Probably the fortnight's delay in its presentation was connected as much with the difficulties attending Martin's journey from Plymouth and Hickes's from Kingsbridge to London, as with any obstacles put in their way by Court officials.*

John Hickes's personal connection with Cornwall makes it natural for him to 'get up' the Address from Cornwall ministers (as he had 'got up' that from Devon), and the similarities noted between them make it clear that his was the 'master-mind' in the composition of this also. What led to his 'engineering' of the Address from Wilts—separated as it was from Devon by the two counties of Somerset and Dorset—I cannot suggest, though local archives and local traditions might give a natural and satisfactory explanation; but 'internal evidence' (as given above) makes it pretty evident that the Wilts Address was also practically his.

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* This paragraph, perforce, is largely a condensed repetition of what is told more at large in the article on John Hickes.

The document from Dorset [**321 (77)**] is so unlike the other three that I see no reason for attributing it to John Hickes. Its characteristics are an excess of servile loyalty and an almost Jacobite devotion to this Stuart Prince. Was it George Hammond, the Presbyterian of Dorchester, who drew it up? He took the Oath of Allegiance required by the Five Mile Act of 1665. That we know from the Episcopal Returns [**R. 316**]. Or was it Joshua Churchill, the Congregationalist of the same town? We know that he was in London at least a fortnight about this time negotiating licences for himself and others (for Dorchester and Fordington). His first application (which was in person at Whitehall), was before April 17; and the visit he made to take away the licences was on May Day. It might well be that on this visit he had the suggestion made to him by John Hickes or some other of his Nonconformist friends in Town; and that on his return to Dorchester in the early days of May he may have had conferences with his brethren in Dorchester, George Hammond and Benjamin Way, which issued in the Address of Thanks; and, having secured the thirty-eight names appended to it, he was able to send it up to Sir Joseph Williamson by May 10 (the date with which Mr. Benson has endorsed it).

The personal affection of the Address—which becomes almost adulation—reminds us almost of the trinity of Petitions from Bristol, Batheaston, and Bathford and Cirencester, which we are to notice immediately. 'Most Gracious Soveraigne' is its almost gushing commencement. 'Wee . . . doe from our Souls bless God who hath put 'such a thing as this into the King's hearte to extend soe greate favour 'to us,' is its effusive preamble; and it continues in the same almost hysterical strain: 'And prostrate ourselves att your Ma^ties^ feet, with 'the humble and heartie acknowledgm^t^,' &c. . . . devoting ourselves (under yo^r^ Ma^ties^ Royall protection), to 'the preaching of the Gospell of 'peace and Salvation,' and it concludes with the impassioned promise to 'continue to pray for yo^r^ Royall person familie, Councill and govern-'ment, as Dutie obligeth us Your loyall Subjects and Ministers of 'the Gospell.' Whoever composed it must have known how such flattery would delight the easy-tempered King.

The signatures affixed to these Addresses yield to careful scrutiny some interesting facts.

I. The Devon Address [**320 (2)**]:

1. Of the seventy-two signatories to the Devon Address, as many as eighteen were at the time resident in Exeter—*i.e.*, one-quarter of the whole; well justifying the terms of the opening paragraph:

> 'The gratefull acknowledgment of several Ministers in the City of
> 'Exon and County of Devon.'

2. Seven of those who signed the Address—though then residing in

Devon—were ejected from other counties: two of those 'in Exon'—Alexander Robinson, ejected from Purlock, in Somerset, and Samuel Tapper, ejected from St. Merran, in Cornwall.

Of the other five (i) three were ejected in Somerset—viz., Josias Wyat from Puddimore, Henry Berry from Dulverton, and John Wakeley from Lawrence Lydeard; and (ii) two in Dorset—John Moore from Holnest, and William Sampson from Bradpole.

3. Two of those who signed this Address also signed the Dorset Address—viz., John Hodder and John Eaton. John Hodder's case is a very special one. He was ejected from Hawkchurch, in Dorset; but had retired to Thornecombe, which, from a first glance at the map, would be taken to be in Dorset, too. But Thornecombe is really in Devon, detached. So that as a Dorset minister he was more than entitled to sign the Dorset Address; but as a resident in Devon, he was naturally asked by John Hickes to sign the Devon one.

4. Of the Devon 'ejected' there were twelve who did not sign the Address, but availed themselves of the Indulgence, and were licensed.

The twelve ejected ministers in Devon who did not sign the Address [**320 (2)**], but were licensed, were:

(1) Richard Farrand ('Farrant'), ejected from Musbury (Cal. II. 53), and O.R., p. 1145.

(2) Francis Sourton ('Soreton'), ejected from Honiton (Cal. II. 41), p. 1147.

(3) Ralph Spragg ('Sprake'), ejected somewhere in Devon (Cal. II. 98-99), pp. 1147 and 1177.

(4) Edward Par ('Parr'), ejected from Rew (Cal. II. 68), p. 1149.

(5) John Gidley, ejected from some place uncertain (Cal. II. 109), p. 1158.

(6) Robert Carel ('Caryl' or 'Carle'), ejected from Uploman (Cal. II. 96), p. 1158.

(7) Richard Binmore, ejected from Woodleigh-on-Avon (Cal. II. 97), p. 1160.

(8) James Burdwood, ejected from Dartmouth (Cal. II. 14-16), p. 1168.

(9) Michael Taylor, ejected from Pyworthy (Cal. II. 67), p. 1170.

(10) Daniel Morton, ejected from Ashbury (Cal. II. 2, 3), p. 1174.

(11) Thomas Maynard, ejected from North Tawton (Cal. II. 77, 78), p. 1174.

(12) Thomas Powell, ejected from St. Sidwell's, Exeter (Cal. II. 35), p. 1180.

5. The total number of stalwarts in Devon—*i.e.*, those who were ejected and did not afterwards conform—was 138; so that only one-half of these applied for licences.

II. The Cornwall Address [**320 (98)**]:

1. All the signatures are autographs, though in the case of the Devon and Wilts Addresses the signatories' names are all in the same hand (in that of Wilts certainly John Hickes's); while the Address is in John Hickes's. Having drawn it up, he must therefore have taken or sent it

down to Cornwall, and sent it round by messenger, or have ridden round with it himself.

2. All of the signatories appear in Calamy's list except one—viz., Thomas Triggs. But it is a question whether Calamy has not mistaken the Christian name, and the exact form of the surname of the ejected from 'Rednock'* [wherever that may be], for he has under that Place-name the name 'M^r William Triggs. An Excellent Scholar.'

3. One of the ejected whose name is not included in the signatories of the Address was licensed under the Indulgence [**E.** (**43**) and **E.** (**44**)]—viz., Solomon Caswell ('Carswill') (Cal. I. 350), who was ejected from St. German's (O. R., p. 1187) But one cannot restrain the speculative inquiry: Are we to see in Calamy's Solomon Carswill the 'Solomon Carfield' who signs the Address?

III. The Wilts Address [**320** (**160**)]:

Only one of the ejected who were licensed under the Indulgence did not sign the Address—viz., Henry Dent (Cal. III. 371, 372), who was ejected from Ramsbury (O. R., p. 1059)

IV. Of the Dorset ministers four reckoned by Calamy among the ejected did not sign, but were licensed—William King [from a place unknown (Cal. II. 175; O. R., p. 1131)], Humphrey Phillips [from Sherborne (Cal. II. 153-156; O. R., p. 1134)], John Pinney [from Broad Windsor (Cal. II. 119, 120; O. R., p. 1136)], and Francis Bampfield [from Sherborne (Cal. II. 149-153; O. R., p. 1132)].

II. Petitions.

The Petitions are thirty-two in number. And three of them have a Preamble so elaborate and fulsome that they might be called 'Acknowledgments' quite as justly as Petitions. These are:

(1) **320** (**139**), from Bath, Somerset.
(2) **320** (**140**), from Bristol, Gloucester.
(3) **320** (**141**), from Cirencester, Gloucester.

On the other hand, a fourth [**320** (**81**)] is a numerously signed Application rather than a proper Petition. It is from the Baptists of Dover, headed by their minister, Richard Hobbs. Its introductory clause makes it a curious 'cross' between a Certificate and an Application:

> 'These are to certifie That as a testimony of o^r thankfull acceptance &c . . . wee do humbly desire &c'

These thirty-two Petitions naturally fall into three geographical groups:

I. The Northern, a group of twelve—

1. From Yorkshire, one.
2. From Lancashire, nine.
3. From Warwick, two.

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* Rev. Alex. Gordon suggests that it must be 'Redruth,' a Rectory W. of Truro

II. The Eastern, a group of five: two from Suffolk, and one each from London, Kent, and Hants.

III. The South-Western, a group of fifteen: two from Gloucester, no less than seven from Somerset, three from Dorset, and three from Devon.

The particulars are as follows:

I. Northern group. This is composed of—

1. One from Yorkshire—West Riding.

(1) **320** (**82**), from Morley.

2. Nine from Lancashire (the largest contingent from any one county).

(2) **320** (**238**), from Tockholes, in the north-west.
(3) **321** (**22**), from Oldham, in the south-east.
(4) **321** (**78**), from Blackeley
(5) **320** (**83 I.**), from Manchester Town
(6) **320** (**155**), from Birch, Manchester
(7) **320** (**239**), from the Hundreds of Blackburn and Salford
(8) **320** (**198 I.**), from Eccles
All in the Manchester district.
(9) **320** (**240**), from Little Hilton
(10) **320** (**198 II.**), from Winwick
in the south-west.

3. Two from Warwickshire.

(11) **321** (**172**), from Coventry [with the certificate **320** (**305**)].
(12) **320** (**237**), from Birmingham, on the borders of Warwick and Staffs.

II. The Eastern group.

This is so scattered as scarcely to form a local group. It is really the remnant of the Petitions, when the definitely Northern group, and as definitely South-Western group, are detached from the list. It is composed of—

1. Two from Suffolk.

(13) **320** (**204**), from Wrentham.
(14) **321** (**74**), from Beccles.

2. One from London.

(15) **320** (**200**), from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

3. One from Kent.

(15*a*) **320** (**81**), the elaborately signed application from Dover.

4. One from Hants (its North-central border).

(16) **321** (**321**), from Kingsclere.

III. The South-Western group :

In this, four out of the six counties are represented. But nothing comes from either Wilts or Cornwall.

1. From Gloucester come two out of the three Petitions we have already referred to as containing so full and fulsome a Preamble that they are as much Addresses as Petitions.

(17) **320** (**140**), from Bristol.
(18) **320** (**141**), from Cirencester.

2. From Somerset there are no less than seven.

(19) **321** (**253**), from Batheaston and Bathford.
(20) **321** (**198**), from Pensford.
(21) **321** (**3**), from Lotterford, North Cheriton.
(22) **321** (**208 I.**), from Yeovil.
(23) **321** (**368**), from Merriott.
(24) **320** (**194**), from Stoke Mary.
(25) **321** (**2**), from Taunton St. Mary Magdalen.

3. From Dorset there are three.

(26) **321** (**1**), from Over Compton.
(27) **321** (**30**), from Bradford Abbas.
(28) **321** (**197B.**), from Dorchester.

4. From Devon there are three.

(29) **320** (**103**), from South Moulton.
(30) **320** (**18**), from Tiverton.
(31) **320** (**19**), from Exeter.

Note.—In the order in which the documents are arranged in **320** and **321** see page 640.

As a result of the careful comparison of these Petitions, we find that they are compounded of divers elements :

1. Necessarily, one element is the customary, if not legal, element which always determined their general form and arrangement. Such were the preface and the conclusion. The preface, including the Address, and the preliminary description of the Petition.

2. Then there was the Preamble, directly and more or less fully referring to and quoting from 'The Declaration of Indulgence' as its *fons et origo*.

Of this, the greater part (in many instances) consisted in phrases or whole clauses cited from 'The Declaration.' This, of course, on the principle that 'imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.'

Petitions.	Thanks.	Thanks and Petitions.	Petitions.	Thanks.
320 :	320 :	320 :	321 :	321 :
(18) Tiverton, Devon (19) Exeter, Devon (18) Dover Baptists, Kent (83) Morley, Yorks (83 I.) Manchester, Lancs (103) South Molton, Devon (139) City of Bath, Somerset (140) City of Bristol, Gloucester (141) Cirencester, Gloucester (155) Birch Hall, Manchester, Lancs (194) Stoke Mary, Somerset (198 I.) Eccles, Lancs (198 II.) Winwick, Lancs (200) St. Martin - in - Fields, London (204) Wrentham, Suffolk (237) Birmingham, Warwick (238) Tockholes (minister's house), Lancs (239) Blackburn and Salford, Lancs (240) Little Hilton, Lancs	(2) Acknowledgments, Exon and Devon (30) Congregationalists in Dartmouth (98) Acknowledgments, Cornwall Nonconformist ministers (160) Acknowledgments, Wilts	(81) Dover Baptists (139) Bath, Somerset (140) Bristol, Gloucester (141) Cirencester, Gloucester	(1) Over Compton, Dorset (2) Taunton St. Mary, Somerset (3) Lotterford, North Cheriton, Somerset (22) Oldham, Lancs, and (23) (30) Bradford Abbas, Dorset (74) Beccles Town Hall, Suffolk, and (74 I.) (78) Blackeley, Lancs (172) Coventry [Dr. Bryan, certif. 320 (305)], Warwick (197B) Dorchester, Dorset (198) Pensford, Somerset (208 I.) Yeovil, Somerset (238) Congregational ministers in County of Gloucester (scarcely a petition) (253) Batheaston and Bathford, Somerset (321) Kingscleare, Hants (368) Merriott, Somerset	(77) Acknowledgments, Nonconformist Ministers, Dorset

But certain portions were evidently inspired from Whitehall, either by Sir Joseph Williamson or Dr. Nicholas Butler—much more probably by the latter.

And in very varying proportions, in different cases, there was a spontaneous or original element, the product of the eloquence or fervour of the petitioning minister.

3. The central body of the Petition was, of course, the practical statement of what was desired by the Petitioner—viz., licences both for a Place and a Teacher. This perforce varied in detail with the particulars special to each instance, but its form also varied slightly with the personnel of the petitioners.

I. The phrases quoted from the Declaration of Indulgence, more or less fully, were the following :

1. From the Preamble to the Declaration : 'for the better en-'couragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings.'

The Petition from Dorchester echoes this in the beginning of their concluding paragraph : 'Soe shall your Petitioners more chearfully 'follow theyr callings' [**321** (**197 B**)].

2. From its second and third clauses, which set forth most distinctly the King's purpose ; first negatively, and then positively—quite naturally there are the fullest citations.

(1) From the second : 'We declare our will and pleasure to be that 'the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters 'ecclesiastical against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists or recusants 'be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended.'

(2) From the third clause : 'We shall from time to time allow a 'sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this 'our Kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of 'England to meet and assemble in order to their public worship and 'devotion.'

This last (from the third clause) is quoted verbatim in the Petition from Oldham, and in Gabriel Sangar's from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London.

The 'suspension of Penal Laws, &c.,' is cited in the Petitions from Blackeley (Lancs), from Manchester (*re* Birch Hall), from Coventry (Dr. John Bryan), from Wrentham and Beccles (Suffolk), from Cirencester (Gloucester), from both Tiverton and Exeter in Devon.

But two phrases in the third clause—'such as do not conform to the 'Church of England,' and 'to meet and assemble in in order to their 'Public Worship and Devotion'—are repeated in almost every Petition from the North and East, though most oddly they are avoided by all those from the South-West, except Dorchester, Tiverton, and Exeter.

3. From the fourth clause of the Declaration : 'Our express will 'and pleasure is that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any 'place until such place be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation 'be approved by Us,' is cited also in the Petitions from Wrentham and Beccles, but in so awkward and garbled a form as to make bad grammar and obscure sense.

4. The minatory (fifth clause) is also alluded to, but in such an altered connection that only the last phrase is cited verbatim. The clause reads: 'If, after this our Clemency and Indulgence, any of our 'subjects shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and shall preach seditiously, 'or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline, or government of the 'established church, or shall meet in places not allowed by Us we do 'hereby give them warning, etc.'

In echo of this, the Petitioners variously resolve, 'by the grace of 'God' [so Manchester, Eccles, Little Hilton], or 'by the assistance of 'God' [Winwick] 'to use the Liberty' with that 'moderation and 'peaceableness' [Manchester and District] 'peaceableness' [Eccles], or (more fully) 'Moderation, Prudence, Fidelity and Peaceableness' [Coventry, Batheaston, and Bathford], 'that your Majesty' may not have cause to repent the favour afforded to us [Manchester, Eccles, Little Hilton, Winwick, and Birmingham, in the North]; or 'promise 'not to use, permit or extend this your Majesty's Royal favour & 'Indulgence for the exercise or preaching any Doctrine tending to 'sedition, or to the derogation of the government of the Established 'Church of England.' (So Coventry, Wrentham, Beccles, and Tiverton.)

So much for the citations from the Declaration of Indulgence.

II. The hints or directions 'sent down' from Whitehall, by Williamson or Butler, are clearly to be seen in the following:

The acknowledgment of the King's grace and favour shown by his Declaration. This, in more or less direct form, constitutes the opening paragraph of the Preamble in every Petition.

(1) The King's 'grace and favour' is 'your Majesty's Royall grace 'and favour' in those from Tockholes and Bradford Abbas; 'your 'Majesty's grace and favour' in the Oldham and Over Compton Petitions; 'your Majesty's gracious Declaration of the 15th of March '(or March y^{e} 15th) last past,' in the Petition from Eccles; the same repeated with the addition 'wherein your Ma^{ties} Indulgence to us is soe 'fully manifested,' in that from Birmingham; 'Clemency & Indulgence' in that from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London; 'your Majesty's 'gracious Indulgence' in the Petition for Birch Hall, Manchester; 'your Majesty's Royal Indulgence' in that from Blackburn and Salford; and 'your Majesty's Gracious Indulgence Expressed in your Majesty's 'Declaration' in the Little Hilton Petition; 'your Majesty's late gracious 'Declaration' in the petitions from Coventry, Wrentham, Beccles, and Tiverton; 'his Majesty's gracious Declaration' in that from Dover; and 'your Majesty's Royall clemency and goodness' in that from Kingsclere.

It becomes 'unparalled grace expressed in your late declaration of 'Indulgence' in the Petition from Bristol; 'your most gratious 'Declaration for y^{e} indulgeinge yo^{r} non-conformeing subjects' in that from Cirencester; 'your most gracious Declaration of Indulgence' in those from Batheaston and Bathford, and Dorchester; and 'your 'Majesty's abundant grace and favour in your Princely Clemency and 'Indulgence' in the Petition from Stoke Mary, and Taunton.

2. The emotion of 'thankfulness' is likewise expressed with the utmost variety. 'With thankfulness' (Tockholes); 'with all thankfulness' (Eccles and Little Hilton); 'with all humble gratefulness' (Oldham); 'with all humilitie & thankfulness' (Birch Hall); 'with all humble thankfulness' (Winwick and Birmingham); 'most thankfully' (Blackburn and Salford); 'with all dutifulness and humility' (Coventry, Beccles, Tiverton); 'with all due thankfulnesse & Humility' (Wrentham); 'humbly and thankfully' (Stoke Mary and Taunton); and with 'all thankfulness & humility' (Lotterford, Yeovil and Over Compton).

3. The expression 'to exercise his Ministerial function,' too, is so constantly repeated that it must have been suggested by Whitehall. It occurs in all the Petitions from the North (with the exception of those from Morley, Tockholes, and Manchester [for Birch Hall]); and in those from Birmingham, Lotterford, Yeovil, and Over Compton.

4. The circuitous phrase, turning the abrupt 'not to abuse the 'Clemency & favour' of the Declaration, into 'so to use this Liberty as 'not to cause His Majesty &c.,' was almost certainly Dr. Nicholas Butler's suggestion, as it occurs (with variations) in the Petitions from Eccles and Winwick, which he refers to as the direct fruit of his 'sending down'; and also figures in those from Manchester and Little Hilton (in that same general district).

III. The most prosaic and business-like of these Petitions, dropping all formality or approach to subserviency are—

1. The Letter-Petition [**320** (**81**)] from the Baptists of Dover.

2. The Petition for the Chapel at Morley, West Riding, Yorks [**320** (**82**)], which was rejected as 'not approved.'

3. The application from Pensford [**321** (**198**)].

4. That from Merriott [**321** (**368**)]: both of which in literary form scarcely rise to the dignity of Petitions.

IV. Three Petitions go beyond the text of the Declaration, though not beyond the facts, in speaking of it as 'published by the 'advice of your Majesty's most honorable Privy Council.' These are the Petitions from Wrentham [**320** (**204**)], from Beccles [**321** (**74**)], and from Tiverton [**320** (**18**)]. We have seen that many historians have exaggerated this fact, into the contention that the initiative was with the Privy Council [mainly with the five Members of the Cabal]. But I have mentioned elsewhere, as a strong argument against that view, that in the actual Declaration there is no mention of the Privy Council; the King thereby virtually claiming all the credit or discredit of the course he is taking, and assuming the whole responsibility for it.

V. In two or three groups of Petitions, similarity of expression on topics special to them bespeak a common origin, betraying the working of one mind which dominates the group.

We have already noticed the group of Lancashire Petitions—to which perhaps ought to be added the Petition from Birmingham, which are rightly 'fathered' on Dr. Nicholas Butler, in the official circle at Whitehall. But they resemble each other rather from the absence of anything original and personal. The groups we now notice are centered on what is original and personal.

1. Lotterford [**321 (3)**] (in the parish of North Cheriton) and Yeovil [**321 (208 I.)**], which are neighbouring Churches on the south-eastern border of Somerset, both use a phrase—descriptive of the Declaration—which is very happy and quite special to them. They call it 'the Declaration for the Liberty of Tender Consciences.' Both communities are Congregational. The minister of Lotterford was George Pearse (or Pearce), and the minister of Yeovil was Henry Butler. Calamy knows scarcely anything of the former; but what he tells us of the latter (III. 225, 226) makes us feel that Henry Butler must have been the author of that happy phrase.

He was a native of Kent; but his conscience was so 'tender' he could not contemplate entering the ministry in England; and when thirty years of age he emigrated to New England, there to enjoy the 'Liberty' he could not have in the old country. There he entered the College at Cambridge, Mass., and graduated at Harvard in 1651. When Oliver was firmly established he returned to England, but settled in the south-west rather than the south-east, ministering first at Dorchester, and then for several years at Yeovil, whence he was ejected in 1662. He bravely remained in the town, and though suffering much persecution, lived to see and avail himself of the brief 'Liberty for his 'tender conscience' which was given by Charles's Indulgence.

2. Stoke Mary and Taunton St. Magdalen (close neighbours and near bred) send up Petitions which contain Acknowledgments full and verbally identical; and both use the phrase not found in any other Petition, 'your Princely Clemency and Indulgence.' These were both Presbyterian, and their ministers were able men: Emanuel Hartford in Stoke St. Mary, and George Newton in Taunton (St. Magdalen's). I have no evidence suggesting the probable author of the Petitions. Hartford was the more cultivated man, but Newton was the more energetic.

3. But the most remarkable group of all, is one of three from the mutual borders of Gloucester and Somerset—viz., Bristol and Cirencester in Gloucester, and Batheaston and Bathford in Somerset. [Of course, the part of Bristol south of the Avon is also in Somerset; but the place petitioned for in **320 (140)** is distinctly north of it.]

The Preambles of all three far exceed any other in floridity (not to call it turgidity) of style, and add phrase to phrase, in such extravagant exaltation of Charles's character, and depreciation of themselves, that it becomes the most unworthy sycophancy in men who profess to be supremely anxious for the Crown Rights of Jesus Christ, and for purity of life and strength of character in all who claim the name of Christian.

(1) They cannot be satisfied with the legal form of address, 'To 'the King's most Excellent Majesty' (that is fulsome enough); but Bristol, and Batheaston with Bathford, must call the King 'our Dread 'Sovereign,' and add his full title: 'Charles the Second by y^{e} grace of God 'King of Great Britain [Bristol must even amplify that into 'England & Scotland'], France, and Ireland.' In this Cirencester joins Bristol and Bath.

(2) In the Preamble, they all three declare that they 'with many

'others doe sing for Joy of heart in every corner of the Land' [Cirencester amplifying it to 'our hearts leap and our souls sing']. They are compelled to 'rise up' (Bristol), 'as men raysed out of the grave . . . 'stand up' (Cirencester), and 'call your Majesty blessed' (Bristol and Cirencester); or 'doe hereby fall downe att your Majestys most royall 'feete, and doe make the most humble tender of our hearty thankes on 'our bended knees for your Majesty's most unparalleled grace' (Batheaston and Bathford).

Cirencester, further, must 'pad out' the official description of places and teachers into 'public places allowed for the worship of the great 'God,' and 'teachers that may be helpful to us in our devotion, and 'finally our eternal salvation'; and goes on to thank the King 'for 'taking us under the wings of your royal protection in our peaceable 'behaviour towards your sacred Majesty's person and government,' telling him 'you have laid such a sense of your royal condescension and 'indulgence upon us that we cannot but now, always and in all places 'acknowledge and celebrate the most worthy deeds done to us your poor 'subjects'; and calling the Declaration of Indulgence 'this famous act 'of grace towards us, farre exceeding the noblest acts of all your predecessors, an Act worthy only of the grandeur of your Majesty's Royal 'Spirit.' What grovelling insincerity!

While Batheaston and Bathford call it: 'such an Act of Royal 'favour as your predecessors of famous memory have never condes'cended unto for the quieting and healing of the discomposures of mind 'in their subjects, and as we hope and are resolved shall ever oblige us 'to our utmost endeavours for the preservation of your Majesty's 'person and government in greatest prosperity and peace.'

(4) The only other Petition that touches these in extravagance is that from Exeter. It says of the Declaration of Indulgence: It 'hath 'abundantly refreshed our weary spirits, hath given us inducement to 'blesse God in your Majesty's behalf. And hath laid on us the deepest 'obligations to serve your Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes,' adding: 'Wee cannot but looke on your Majesty as the breath of our 'Nostrils as a Repairer of our breaches, and a Restorer of Paths to 'dwell in.'

[This readiness 'to serve H.M. with Lives and Fortunes,' is also professed in the Coventry Petition and in that from Wrentham.]

A fourth Petition runs these three very close in the sense of personal indebtedness to the King expressed in its Preamble—I mean that from Kingsclere, Hants. The Kingsclere petitioners are not satisfied with a general acknowledgment—'Your Petitioners doe with all thank'fullnes acknowledge your Majesty's Royall Clemency and goodnes'—but are constrained thus to elaborate their eulogy: 'and the many 'benefits they have received thereby since your Majestys restauration to 'your Royall throne and government. And in particular they want 'words to expresse their most grateful sense of that tender care of the 'consciences of your subjects which your Majesty as the father of your 'people hath been pleased to express in your late gracious declaration of 'Indulgence, for which they hold themselves obliged to all duty to your

'Majesty, to hearty and constant prayer for your prosperity on earth, 'and your eternall happiness in the Kingdom of Heaven.'

The contrast between all this pious talk, and the irreligious and immoral character of the Prince to whom it is addressed, is almost comical, were it not painful, as necessarily insincere and utterly unreal. Much of it, of course, must be credited to the lawyers, who (in most cases) actually drafted or 'settled' the petitions.

It is not an easy or grateful task to determine who was responsible for all this servility. Kingsclere was so far from any of the other three that Richard Averie, the minister of the Presbyterian congregation, must 'bear the burden' of his own share of it. He was a Berkshire minister [Kingsclere was not far south of the mutual border of Berks and Hants], though Calamy cannot tell us where his living was (Cal. I. 296). When ejected he retired to Hampshire, and became chaplain to Mrs. Richard Cromwell [Richard was for years in hiding from the Stuart agents, who hated and feared him 'for his 'father's sake.'] In 1669 he is reported (**R. 263**) as Teacher at a Conventicle at Hursley, of 'Supposed Presbyterians,' '49 in number' (of 'which 24 are parishioners, the rest strangers'). 'Att the house of 'Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, wife to Richard Cromwell the late Usurper.' The Bishop adds of him, 'who being demanded by what Authority 'he held that unlawfull Assembly, Answered that he was Authorized 'thereto by Jesus Christ, and That his Lady would beare them out in 'all their meetings.'

What a lamentable 'falling off' from that bold answer is all the cringing adulation of 'the Merry Monarch' in his Petition!

Was his translation north to 'Kingsclere' at all responsible for it?

Of the three congregations in Gloucester and Somerset the minister of Cirencester was James Greenwood, of Bristol was John Weekes, and of Batheaston and Bathford was Edward Hancock. It is not easy to say which of these three Preambles is most turgid and servile.

On the whole, in virtue of his greater prolixity, we may perhaps award the palm to James Greenwood. It is a relief to find that Calamy knows nothing of him, so that he does not belong as far as we know to the noble band of 'ejected nonconformist ministers.' John Weekes and Edward Hancock did. Both were closely associated with Bristol.

John Weekes, of whose education and early history Calamy seems to know nothing, was ejected from Newton Buckland in Dorset (Cal. II. 120-122).

He retired from Newton Buckland (which is in that part of Dorset which is flanked by Wilts and Somerset) to Bristol, which bestrides the Avon, and so belongs to two counties—the larger portion north of the river to Gloucester, the smaller to Somerset. Calamy is mainly occupied with Weekes's marvellously popular and effective ministry there, where his congregation was 1,500 in numbers; and with his sufferings under the Penal Statutes, partly under the leadership of a very rich, vulgar vintner, twice mayor of the city, Oliffe by name, and partly by the direct instigation and personal activity of the Bishop himself, seconded by a member of the Common Council, as bitter against all Dissenters, John Hellier (or Hellyar) by name. From the Episcopal Returns we have abundant testimony to the fact that his ministry was not confined to Bristol, but extended into the adjoining counties of Somerset and Wilts. In Somerset he is reported (**R. 148**) as preaching as far south-east as North Cheriton, quite in the region 'over against' Buckland Newton, the original sphere of his ministry ; at North Cadbury (**R. 149**) ; and at Dunkerton, in the neighbourhood of Bath (**R. 148***b*); and in Wilts, at Bradford-on-Avon, just across the border from Dunkerton (**R. 242**) ; at Warminster (**R. 244***b*) ; and at Hornington (**R. 244**), not far from the border of Dorset.

Edward Hancock was no mere refugee in Bristol. He had exercised his ministry in that city, and was ejected from his parish of St. Philips and Jacob in 1662. Calamy knows (III. 170-173) only of his sufferings in connection with occasional ministry in Bristol after his ejectment. He is reported in 1669, however, as associated with John Weekes in ministry to the Conventicle at Dunkerton (**R. 148***b*), and as preaching at Bath Weston (quite near to Batheaston and Bathford), as well as at Munkton Combe close by and at Beckington (**R. 147**), much farther south, but still within the county near its Wiltshire border. And now, in 1672, as recently chosen (' we have chose ') by the Presbyterians of Batheaston and Bathford as their pastor, he draws up the petition from his congregation to the King.

Both of these men were so active and zealous in good works that we cannot but marvel at their servile adulation of such a King as Charles II. James Greenwood, too, evidently had gained a position of influence in Cirencester, for the Weaver's Hall is licensed for him there. But whence and why this verbose sycophancy ?

There is one point in which the variations of these Petitions are quite worthy of note—the description of their status given by the petitioners themselves, as the ground on which their Petition should be heard and granted.

1. No less than fourteen described themselves simply as 'Inhabitants' of such and such a town or village. That is so with all the Petitions which were evidently engineered (by Dr. Butler, etc.) from headquarters ; as, for example, the whole of the Lancashire contingent ; that from Birmingham ; those from Merriott, Stoke Mary, and Taunton (St. Magdalen), in Somerset, and that from Dorchester.

2. As we might expect from the general character of the Petitions from Bristol, Batheaston and Bathford, and from Cirencester, the petitioners present themselves as the creatures of the King. The first and second calling themselves 'your Majesty's Faithful subjects,' and the last 'your Majesty's Thankful Subjects.'

3. The Wrentham Petition is from 'the Congregation and Non-'conformists' there (W. Ames, Presbyterian, was their minister).

4. The petitioners at Lotterford and Yeovil approach the King on behalf of themselves and 'the rest of their Congregation.' 'The Con-

'gregation' is the body that claims consideration from the King. We are not surprised to find they are 'Congregationalists.'

5. The Presbyterians of Coventry describe themselves and their fellow-petitioners as 'Protestant Christians.'

6. Those at Pensford (Somerset) more simply and frankly call themselves 'severall of the Presbyterian persuasion.'

7. The nondescript document from Dover is addressed to the King on behalf of 'all the Baptized people of Dover.'

8. The Petitioners in South Moulton with simple dignity describe themselves as a 'Congregational Church in South Moulton.'

9. The loftiest claim is put in—the highest Churchism is manifested—by the Congregationalists of Beccles in Suffolk, and of Tiverton and Exeter in Devon. They appeal to the King, in each case, as 'A Church of Christ'; and their claim as such is recognized and conceded.

CHAPTER VI

HALLS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS: FATE OF APPLICATIONS FOR THEIR LICENCE

THE Declaration was only five weeks old. Yet already complaints were being freely made. The Declaration had hinted at no restriction or limitation in the character of the meeting-places to be allowed or licensed. Indeed, the unqualified, unreserved character of the phraseology employed in the Declaration of Indulgence naturally encouraged the confidence that any 'public building' in towns where the need of it was manifest the owners or trustees of which were willing it should be so used would be sanctioned by His Majesty, and no difficulty would be encountered in obtaining a licence for it. The fourth paragraph of the Declaration contained this sentence: 'We do declare that we shall from time to time 'allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired in all parts 'of this our kingdom, . . . which shall be open and free to all persons.'

Indeed, in one case already, a licence had been granted for such public place—viz., the Town Hall of Newbury, Berks, on April 9; and several other buildings of a semi-public character had been licensed—viz., the Curriers' Hall in London, the Almirey Hall in Canterbury, the School Houses in Tiverton and Clapham, and Greyfriars in Ipswich, while such a well-known mansion as that of Lady Bridget Roberts—viz., 'Glassenbury' in Cranbrook—had been licensed too.

Applications for the Town Halls of Birmingham, Chipping Norton, and Nottingham had already been refused, as well as one for the King's Hall in Nottingham, and others for the Guildhalls at both Chippenham and Salisbury.

It had been the same with applications for the Tolbooth at Berwick-on-Tweed, the New Hall at Chard, the Spice Chambers in Nottingham, and a Room over the Market Place in Winchester. Applications for Companies' Halls had fared no better, though accompanied with certificates expressing the owners' willingness that they should be so used. So it was with the Haberdashers' Hall, the Lorimers' (or 'Loriners') Hall, and the Leathersellers' Hall in London, as well as the Shoemakers' Hall in Salisbury, and the Hall of the Glassworks in Broad Street, London.

Peremptory refusals, too, had been given to license the vacant Parish Churches of St. James and St. Michael's at Bath, the Episcopal Chapels at Coley and Morley in Yorks, at Nayland by Stoke, of St. Bartholomew's in Sandwich, and All Hallows, Honiton; or the School Houses at Berwick-upon-Tweed; Leeds, Geddington, Exeter, and Swansea. Even the privately owned mansion of Trinity House in Greaseborough, the Recess at Cirencester, and 'The Nunnery' at Rothwell, the Whitehall officials refused to license. In three cases in Newcastle-on-Tyne the refusal was made all the more galling, because it was the withdrawal of licences already made out and entered as issued (the date was April 16, just ten days before Dr. Butler felt impelled to write) for the Chapels of St. Magdalen Hospital and Trinity House, as well as for the Moot Hall.

All this was felt to be most unfair. So Dr. Nicholas Butler determined to let his patrons know what strong feeling had been aroused, and how such conduct was likely to frustrate the object of the Declaration. This he did in the following letter to Lord Arlington, preserved in **320 (196)**, endorsed by Sir Joseph Williamson himself:—

'Y^e^ Indulgence 26 Apr 7̄2. R.
D^r^ Butler
y^e^ use of Halls'

It is addressed:

'For ye Right Honble Earle of Arlington,' and runs:

'London Apr: ye 26th 1672

'Right Honble

'I should not bee faithful should I conceale ye dayly growth of Jelousies, Protestant dissenters conclude this there liberty soe graciously soe freely granted by his Majesty will bee short lived in regard 'tis soe stiffled in ye birth. publick places was declared should bee allow'd now refused, & they licenced to noe more then what thoese of ye Romish perswasion freely enjoy. they say why not Halls Schooles or chappells not endowed. they beeing by declaration only debarred church benefices. let other supply unendowed chappells with preaching ministers. dissenters desires off them presently ceaceth, otherwise they conclude wheare god hath his church ye Devill must have his chappell, it beeing his great worke to keep ye Gospell from beeing preached.

'Every day allmost affords tidings (as I can show some) from ye countries of ye many frequent & fervent blessing of god & ye King. tis great pitty yt anything (by lessening his Maj: soe mercifull grant) should bee done to hinder soe good soe advantageous a worke as y^{e} getting y^{e} harts of the people which now as y^{e} hart of one man begin to say long may your majesty live & rule over us. these are weighty reasons (I humbly conceive) rather of choice to allow them theese publick places. but I have troubled your honor too much already. yet I had your encouragement for it, but I am loath to abuse my liberty therefore only further beg to bee accounted

‘Right Hon^{ble}
‘Your honors
‘most unworthy yet most
‘faithfull servant
HB’

Nor was he satisfied with writing to the Earl—he sends a separate letter to the Earl's chief secretary Sir Joseph Williamson—which is preserved as **320 (197)**, endorsed: ‘26. Apr. $\overline{72}$ R. D^{r} B.
‘Halls to N. Conformists.

It is addressed: ‘For S^{r} Joseph Williamson’; and dated:
‘Aprill 26th 72’

so that it was probably written in the evening after he had despatched the above to Earl Arlington. It runs:

‘Most honored & dear S^{r}

‘had I seene you[*] I should further discoursed this point, I am confident you beelieve I intirely love you, without self ends of anything from you or by you. I am sorry to heare it said. whoe is y^{e} author of this Stop of halls etc: my ears are daily boared with theese complaints loath I was to trouble you but rubs are easiest removed at first, a plain frend is not to bee despised noe one is privy to my writing but I did see a necessity of it. our friend G is well had hee knowne of my writing hee would kindly remembered to you. I constantly let him know all my actings if not beefore, yet after

‘I am
‘ever without all doubt
‘Your truely loveing & endeared
‘frend

Thus plainly Dr. Butler made it clear to both the Earl and Sir Joseph that such unfairness was likely to check, if not to stay, the rising tide of Loyalty among the Dissenters. It made the Declaration anything but generous. It showed too unmistakably that the magnates both in Church and State were determined to keep the ‘places allowed’ for Nonconformist worship, as much in ‘holes and corners,’ in ‘out-of-the-way places,’ and in private houses; as perforce their meeting-places had been before, when unrecognized by the Crown.

The letters were not without effect.

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[*] I presume, when he called at Whitehall and left his letter for Arlington.

No private mansions were refused after this earnest protest, though opposition was evidently offered in more than one instance. As many as thirteen such mansion-houses were licensed—viz., Swath Hall, Kirk Sandall Hall, Wath Hall, and White House, Sherburn—all in Yorkshire; two Private Oratories in Lancashire, one in Rivington, and the other attached to Birch Hall, near Manchester; and as many as six mansions in Kent: Mistool House, in Chartham; the Chequer, Ash; the Old Abbey Hall, in Town Malling; Lady Vane's 'Fair-'lawn,' in Shipbourne; Court Lodge, in Lamberhurst; and the Hall of Wootton Court, at Wootton.

Fifteen public buildings, or semi-public, were licensed after April 26, as compared with only seven which had been 'allowed' before—viz., Ellen's Chapel (*alias* St. Helens) in Lancashire, Whitefriars in Chester, and Greyfriars' Hall in Canterbury, as well as the School Houses of Brancepeth in Durham and Honiton in Devon; with the Tolbooth at Morpeth, the Court Houses at Tottington and Warrington in Lancashire, at Ludlow in Salop, and Wellington in Somerset; and the Court Baron House in Bradford Abbas in Dorset; the Room or Hall over the Market at Owestry, and one under the Market House at Beaminster; the Mainriding House in Leeds, and the Weavers' Hall in Cirencester.

Yet the policy was only checked; it was not reversed. Applications for nearly twenty public buildings were refused after Dr. Butler had so energetically protested against such a course. The Parish Church at Trull, the Episcopal Chapel at Cleckheaton, the Church Houses at Marshfield, Taunton, and Trull; the School Houses at Blyth and Nottingham, at Birmingham and Ivelchester, and 'Blackfriars' in Norwich, were all 'black balled'; as were nine other Civic Buildings: the Tolbooth at Alnwick, the Town Halls of Henley-on-Thames, Andover, and Taunton, the Guildhall of Beccles, the Shire House at Bury St. Edmunds, the Town House at Bridlington, the Market House at Newport, Monmouth, and the Room over the Market Place at Petworth, in Sussex.

It ought, perhaps, to be noted that of the ninety-one applications for important Buildings (public or semi-public in character) seven have been lost, so that in **320** and **321** we have no application-memoranda for: The Town Hall, Newbury; Ellen's Chapel, Lancashire; the Court House at Holcombe, Tottington; the Court House at Warrington; the Oratory of James Bradshaw in Rivington; the Court House at Ludlow; and the Mansion House of Lady Vane—Fairlawn—in Shipbourne.

Of eighty-four we have the applications preserved, and other papers which enable us to trace their fortunes.

The applications are as follows, giving them in the order in which they are placed in the two volumes **320** and **321**.

I. CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS CONTAINING APPLICATIONS.

320 (1)	Habberdashers' Hall, London [also **320** (88) and **320** (88 B.)].
320 (29)	The School House, Clapham.
320 (32)	The Almirey Hall, Langport, Canterbury.
320 (34)	Curriars' (Curriers') Hall, St. Alphage's, London.
	School House, Honiton.
320 (35)	Chapell of All-Hallowes, Honiton.
320 (38)	Private Oratory, Birch Hall [also **320** (155), **320** (224), and **320** (225)].
320 (40)	School House at Exeter.
320 (40 A.)	Trinity House at Greasebrook, Rotheram, Yorks, belonging to the Earl of Stafford [also **321** (29) and **321** (364*b*)].
320 (41)	School House at Gedington, Northants.
	A Room over the School in Wellingborough.
	The Nunnery, Rothwell, Northants.
320 (56)	Town Hall, Chipping Norton, Oxon.
320 (59)	A Church or Chapel of Ease in Nayland, Suffolk.
320 (67)	The School House, Berwick-upon-Tweed [also **320** (68) and **321** (21)].
	The Tolbooth, Berwick-upon-Tweed [also **320** (68) and **321** (21)].
	The White House, Sherburn ('Sherborn').
	The Guildhall, Salisbury [also **320** (156)].
	The Shoemakers' Hall, Salisbury [also **320** (156)].
	The New Hall in the midst of Chard [also **320** (156)].
320 (68)	Lilbury House, Holbeck, Leeds.
320 (70)	The Guildhall, Chippenham, Wilts.
320 (72)	Over the Market House in Winchester.
320 (82)	Chapel at Morley, Batley, Yorks [also **320** (187), **320** (203), and **320** (271)].
320 (84)	Schoole house, Swansea [also **320** (86) and **320** (88)].
320 (88)	Hall in Old Abbey, Town Malling [also **320** (89)].
	Town Hall, Nottingham [also **320** (105)].
	King's Hall, Nottingham [also **320** (105)].
	Spice Chambers or Old Shambles, Nottingham [also **320** (105)].
	Free Schoole, Nottingham [also **320** (105)].
	Old Chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Sandwich [also **320** (93) and **320** (95)].
	The Glass House, Broad Street, London.
320 (88 A.)	Whitefriars, Chester [also **320** (127) and **320** (254)].
320 (93)	Lorimers' ('Loriners') Hall, Cripplegate, London [also **320** (94)].
320 (97)	Leathersellers' Hall, London.
320 (101)	Grey Friars, Ipswich [also **320** (102)].

320 (110)	The Schoole House, Leeds (called also The Free School) [**320 (187)**].
320 (115)	‘Glastenbury (here called simply ‘Lady Roberts howse’) (Glassenbury), Cranbrook, Kent’ [also **320 (161)** and **320 (162)**].
320 (125)	The Weavers’ Hall, Cirencester [also **320 (141)**].
320 (126)	English School House, Tiverton.
320 (139)	St. James’s Church, Bath (vacant).
	St. Michael’s Church, Bath (vacant).
320 (156)	New Hall in the midst of Chard, Soms.
	Guild Hall, New Sarum, Salisbury.
	Shoemakers’ Hall, New Sarum, Salisbury.
320 (157)	Coley Chapel, Halifax.
320 (187)	Swaith Hall, Worsop (‘Worspordaile’), Yorks [also **320 (203)** and **320 (271)**.
	Heaton Episcopal Chapel.
320 (203*b*)	Kirk Sandall Hall, Yorks [also **320 (271)**].
	West Hall, Hatfield, Yorks [also **320 (271)**, **321 (197*c*)**, **321 (199)**, **321 (200)**, and **321 (294)**].
	Mainriding House, Leeds, Yorks.
320 (207)	Town Hall, Andover [also **320 (208)**].
320 (213)	Blackfryers, St. Andrew’s, Norwich.
320 (222)	The Shire House, Bury St. Edmunds.
320 (223)	Tolbooth, Morpeth, Northumberland.
320 (237)	Town Hall, Birmingham [also **320 (112)**].
320 (259)	The School House, Birmingham [also **320 (260)**].
320 (267)	Court Lodge, Lamberhurst.
320 (289)	Lilbury House, Holbeck, Leeds.
	The White House, Shireburn (*i.q.*, Sherburn).
320 (292)	The Town Hall, Taunton, Soms.
	The Old Court House, Wellington, Soms. [also **321 (37)**, ‘John Norman’s house’].
	The Church House, Taunton.
	The Parish Church, Trull, Soms. (vacant).
	The Church House, Trull (vacant).
320 (298)	Mistool House, Chartham.
321 (15)	Wath Hall, Yorks.
321 (17)	Tolbooth, Alnwick.
321 (20*b*)	Ellin’s Chappell, Lancs [also **321 (21)**].
321 (30)	Court Baron House, Bradford Abbas [also **321 (36)**, Jer. French’s house].
321 (45)	The Chequer, Ash.
321 (74)	Guildhall, Beccles [also **321 (74 I.)**].
321 (87)	The Church House, Marshfield, Glos.
321 (172)	St. Nicholas Hall (‘Leather Hall’), Coventry [also **320 (305)**].
321 (180)	The Court House, Bridlington.
321 (189)	Town Hall, Henley-upon-Thames, Oxford.
321 (195)	The Scule (? ‘Scute’) House, Branspeth, Durham.

321 (201) The Hall of Wootton Court, Kent.
321 (237) A large Room over the Market, Oswestry [*vide* **E. (218)**].
321 (253) The Well House, Bathford.
321 (258) Hall in the Grey Friars, Canterbury.
321 (328) Loft over the Market Place, Petworth.
321 (353) The Market House, Newport, Mon.
321 (364) A Room under the Market House, Beaminster, Dorset.
Chamber over the School House, Ivelchester, Soms.
321 (364*b*) A Place called the Recess, Cirencester, Glos.
321 (377) Court House, Holcombe, Tottington, Lancs.

I have examined them from two points of view: first, as to the character of building for which application was made, and then as to the geographical distribution of the places from which the applications came.

From the former point of view their variety is quite remarkable. They included (1) Ecclesiastical Buildings—*i.e.*, 'vacant' or 'unused' Parish Churches and District Chapels, as well as Church-houses (as we should call them, Rectories or Vicarages), belonging to the Established Church; and a few dismantled monastic establishments of the old Roman Catholic régime; (2) Civic Buildings, such as Town and County Halls, Court Houses, Tolbooths, Guildhalls, and Market houses; (3) Educational Buildings, including a large number of School-houses; (4) Halls of City Companies; and (5) the Halls of old Mansions.

And from the latter point of view the distribution of places is quite as remarkable. The North is very strongly represented, and the Midlands. London is specially strong in its Companies' Halls; while the Puritanism of the West Country is clearly shown in the freedom and boldness with which Public Buildings of all kinds were 'desired' for Nonconformist worship.

1. First, then, the kinds of Buildings applied for.

Particulars of each:

I. *Ecclesiastical Buildings* (belonging to the Establishment).

1. Of Vacant Parish Churches and Chapels of Ease there were no less than twelve:

(1) In Northumberland: Chapel St. Magdalen's Hospital, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
The Chapel in Trinity House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne [**E. (24)**].

(2) In Yorkshire: Coley Chapel, Halifax [**320 (157)**].
Morley Chapel, Batley Pa. [**320 (82), (187), (203)**, and **(271)**].
Cleckheaton, 'Heaton Episcopal Chapel' [**320 (187)** and **(203)**].

(3) In Lancashire: Ellin's Chapel, now the Parish Church, St. Helen's [**321 (20*b*)**].

- (4) In Suffolk: The Chapel of Ease at Nayland [**320** (**59**)].
- (5 and 6) In Gloucester: Two Parish Churches in Bath—St. James's and St. Michael's [**320** (**139**)].
- (7) In Somerset: The Parish Church of Trull [**320** (**292**)].
- (8) In Devon: Chapel of All Hallows, Honiton [**320** (**35**)].

2. The old Chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Sandwich, Kent [**320** (**88**), (**93**), and (**95**)].

3. The Church Houses of:
   - (1) Marshfield, Gloucester [**321** (**87**)].
   - (2) Trull, Somerset [**320** (**292**)].
   - (3) Taunton, Somerset [**321** (**2**)].

4. Dismantled Roman Catholic Establishments:
   - (1) In Cheshire: Whitefriars, Chester [**320** (**88 A.**), (**127**), and (**254**)].
   - (2) In Notts: The Nunnery, Rothwell [**320** (**41**)].
   - (3) In Norfolk: Blackfriars, St. Andrew's Pa., Norwich [**320** (**213**)].
   - (4) In Suffolk: Greyfriars, Ipswich [**320** (**101**)].
   - (5) In Kent: Greyfriars (Hall in), Canterbury [**321** (**258**)].
   - (6) Hall in the Old Abbey, Town Malling [**320** (**88**) and (**89**)].

II. *Civic Buildings.*

1. Town Halls and County Halls:
   - (1) In Yorks: The Town House or Court House, Bridlington [**321** (**180**)].
   - (2) In Notts: The Town Hall, Nottingham [**320** (**88**)].
     The King's Hall or County Hall [**320** (**88**)].
   - (3) In Warwickshire: The Town Hall, Birmingham [**320** (**337**)].
   - (4) In Oxfordshire: The Town Hall, Chipping Norton [**320** (**56**)].
     The Town Hall, Henley-on-Thames [**321** (**189**)].
   - (5) In Berks: The Town Hall, Newbury [**B.** (**30**)].
   - (6) In Suffolk: Guild Hall, Beccles [**321** (**74**) and (**74 I**)].
     The Shire House, Bury St. Edmunds [**320** (**222**)].
   - (7) In Hants: The Town Hall, Andover [**320** (**207**) and (**208**)].
   - (8) In Salop: The Old Court House, Ludlow [**E.** (**212**)].
   - (9) In Somerset: The Old Court House, Wellington [**320** (**292**)].
     The Town Hall, Taunton [**320** (**292**) and **321** (**2**)].
     The New Hall in the midst of Chard [**320** (**67**), (**156**), and **321** (**20*b***)].

2. Court Houses:
   - (1) In Yorks: Bridlington [**321** (**180**)].
   - (2) In Lancs: Holcomb, Tottington [**321** (**377**)].

3. Tolbooths: Three of them, all
   - (1) In Northumberland: The Tolbooth, Berwick-upon-Tweed [**320** (**67**), (**68**), and **321** (**21**)].
     The Tolbooth, Alnwick [**321** (**17**)].
     The Tolbooth, Morpeth [**320** (**223**)].

4. Guildhalls and Market Houses:
   - (*a*) Guildhalls—
   - (1) In Northumberland: The Moot Hall, Castle Garth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne [**E.** (**24**)].
   - (2) In Yorks: The Main Riding House, Leeds [**320** (**203***b*)].
   - (3) In Wilts: The Guild Hall, Salisbury [**320** (**67**) and (**156**)].
     The Guild Hall, Chippenham [**320** (**70**)].
   - (4) In Suffolk: The Guildhall, Beccles [**321** (**74**) and (**74 I**)].
   - (5) In Kent: The Almirey Hall, Langport, Canterbury [**320** (**32**)].
   - (*b*) Market Houses—
   - (1) In Salop: A Room over the Market, Oswestry [**321** (**237**) *cf.* with **E.** (**218**)].
   - (2) In Notts: The Spice Chambers, or Old Shambles, Nottingham [**320** (**88**)].
   - (3) In Sussex: A Loft over the Market, Petworth [**321** (**328**)].
   - (4) In Hants: The Market (over it) at Winchester [**320** (**72**)].
   - (5) In Dorset: A Room under the Market House, Beaminster [**321** (**364**)].
     The Court Baron House, Bradford Abbas.
   - (6) In Monmouth, Wales: The Market House, Newport [**321** (**353**)].

III. *Educational Buildings.*

School Houses and Free Schools:

- (1) In Northumberland: Berwick-upon-Tweed [**320** (**67**), (**68**), and **321** (**21**)].
- (2) In Durham: Branspeth [**321** (**195**)].
- (3) In Yorkshire: Leeds [**320** (**110**), (**187**), and **321** (**20***b*)].
- (4) In Notts: Nottingham [**320** (**88**) and (**105**)].
  Blyth: [**321** (**299**)].
- (5) In Warwickshire: Birmingham [**320** (**258**) and (**263**)].
- (6) In Northants: Room over School-house, Wellingborough [**320** (**41**)].
  Gedington [**320** (**41**)].
- (7) In Surrey: Clapham [**320** (**29**)].
- (8) In Somerset: Chamber over the School-house, Ivelchester [**321** (**364**)].
- (9) In Devon: English School House, Tiverton [**320** (**126**)].
  Honiton [**320** (**34**)].
  Exeter [**320** (**40**)].
- (10) Wales—In Glamorgan: Swansea [**320** (**84**), (**86**), and (**88**)].

IV. *Halls of City Companies.*

(1) In London: Haberdashers' Hall [**320** (**1**)], Maiden Lane (opposite Goldsmith's Hall).
Curriers' Hall, St. Alphage [**320** (**34**)].
Lorimers' Hall, Cripplegate [**320** (**93**) and (**94**)].
Leathersellers' Hall, St. Helen's, Bishopsgate [**320** (**97**)].
(?) The Glass House, Broad Street [**320** (**88**), (**134**), and (**135**)].
(2) In Warwickshire: Shoemakers' Hall—*alias* Leather Hall—Coventry [**320** (**305**)].
(3) In Gloucester: Weavers' Hall, Cirencester [**320** (**125**) and (**141**)].
(4) In Wilts: Shoemakers' Hall, New Sarum, at Salisbury [**320** (**67**) and (**156**)].

V. *Halls of Old Mansions.*

(1) In Yorkshire: West Hall, Hatfield [**320** (**203***b*), (**271**), and **321** (**197 C**), (**199**), (**200**), and (**294**)].
Wath Hall [**321** (**15**)].
Kirk Sandall Hall [**320** (**203**) and (**271**)].
Swaith Hall, Worspordale [**320** (**187**), (**203**), and (**271**)].
Lilbury House, Holbeck, Leeds [**320** (**289**)].
Trinity House, Greasebrook, Rotherham [**320** (**40 A**) and **321** (**29**), (**364**)].
The White House, Sherburn [**320** (**289**)].
(2) In Lancashire: Oratory of James Bradshaw, Esq., Rivington, Lancs [**321** (**318**)].
Private Oratory, Birch Hall, in Manchester [**320** (**38**), (**155**), (**224**), and (**225**)].
(3) In Gloucester: A Place called the 'Recess,' in Cirencester [**321** (**364**)].
(4) In Kent: Hall of Wootton Court, Wootton [**321** (**201**) and (**202**)].
Mistool House, in Chartham [**320** (**298**)].
Glastonbury (Lady Roberts' house), Cranbrook [**320** (**115**), (**161**), and (**162**)].
Fairlawn, Lady Vane's house, Shipbourn [**E.** (**279**)].
The Chequer, Ash [**321** (**45**)].
Court Lodge, Lamberhurst [**320** (**267**)].

VI. There is one other small group, which ought in one sense to be included amongst Public Buildings—viz., Public Houses or Inns.

There is an incongruity nowadays in the idea of Religious Services being held in such surroundings, and that seems to have struck the Puritans of those days also, as only three applications of this kind were made:

(1) For 'The King's Head,' in Shrewsbury [**321** (**237**)].

(2) For 'The George Inn,' in West Smithfield, London [**320** (**83**) and (**87**)].

(3) For 'The Bell Inn,' Caerwent, Monmouth [**321** (**253**]).

2. Secondly, their Geographical Distribution.

According to our usual grouping, the lists of applications are as follows:

I. *Northern Counties.*

1. Northumberland:

Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the Tolbooth and the School House.
Alnwick, for the Tolbooth.
Morpeth, for the Tolbooth.

2. Durham:

Brancepeth, for the School House.

3. Cumberland and (4) Westmorland, nil.

5. Yorkshire:

(1) North Riding, nil.
(2) East Riding: Bridlington, for the Court House.
(3) West Riding: Sherburn, for the White House; Leeds: (i.) for Lilbury House, Holbeck, (ii.) the School House, (iii.) the Mainriding House; Batley, for Morley Chapel; Halifax, for Coley Chapel; Cleckheaton, for Heaton Chapel; Kirk Sandall, for Kirk Sandall Hall; Hatfield, for West Hall; Worspordale—*i.e.*, Worsborough Dale—for Swaith Hall; Rotherham, for Trinity House, Greasebrook (Earl of Stafford's); Wath-upon-Dearne, for Wath Hall.

6. Lancashire:

Rivington, for the Oratory of James Bradshaw, Esq.
Near Manchester, for Private Oratory, Birch Hall.
Tottington, for the Court House.
St. Helens, for Ellin's Chapel.
Warrington, for the Court House.

II. *North-Midland.*

1. Cheshire:

Chester, for The Whitefriars.

2. Derbyshire, nil.

3. Notts:

Nottingham, for the Town Hall, the King's Hall or County Hall, the Spice Chambers or Old Shambles, the Free School.

4. Lincolnshire, nil.

5. Shropshire or Salop.

Ludlow, for the Court House.
Oswestry, for a large Room over the Market House.

6. Staffs, (7) Leicester, and (8) Rutland, nil.

III. *South-Midland.*

1. Hereford and (2) Worcester, nil.

3. Warwick:

   Coventry, for the Shoemakers' Hall—*alias* the Leather Hall.
   Birmingham, for the Town Hall and School House.

4. Northamptonshire:

   Gedington, for the School House.
   Rothwell, for the Nunnery.
   Wellingborough, for Room over the School House.

5. Gloucester:

   Cirencester, for the Weavers' Hall and a Place called the Recess.
   Marshfield, for the Church House.

6. Oxford:

   Chipping Norton, for the Town Hall.
   Henley-upon-Thames, for the Town Hall.

7. Bucks, nil.

IV. *Eastern Counties.*

1. Hunts, (2) Beds, (3) Cambs, and (4) Herts, nil.

5. Norfolk:

   Norwich, for Blackfriars, St. Andrews.

6. Suffolk:

   Beccles, for the Guildhall and St. Nicholas Hall.
   Bury St. Edmunds, for the Shire House.
   Nayland, for the Chapel of Ease there.
   Ipswich, for the Greyfriars.

7. Essex, nil.

V. *South-Eastern.*

1. Berks:

   Newbury, for the Town Hall.

2. Middlesex:

   London, for the Curriers' Hall, the Haberdashers' Hall, the Loriners' Hall, and the Leathersellers' Hall.

3. Kent.

   Canterbury, for the Hall in the Grey Friars and the Almirey Hall.
   Wootton, for the Hall at Wootton Court.
   Chartham, for Mistool House.
   Cranbrook, for 'Glastonbury' (Lady Bridget Roberts).
   Sandwich, for the old Chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

4. Surrey:

   Clapham, for the School House.

5. Sussex:

Petworth, for a Loft over the Market.

6. Hants:

Andover, for the Town Hall.
Winchester, for Room over the Market House.

VI. *South-Western.*

1. Wilts:

Chippenham, for the Guild Hall.
Salisbury, for the Guildhall and the Shoemakers' Hall.

2. Somerset:

Bath, for two Parish Churches—those of St. James and St. Michael.
Trull, for the Parish Church and the Church House.
Ivelchester, for the Room over the School House.
Taunton, for the Town Hall and the Church House.
Chard, for the New Hall in the midst of the Town.

3. Dorset:

Beaminster, for Room under the Market House.

4. Devon:

Honiton, for the Chapel of All Hallows and the School House.
Tiverton, for the English School House.
Exeter, for the School House.

5. Cornwall, nil.

VII. *Wales.*

1. Flint, (2) Denbigh, (3) Carnarvon,* (4) Merioneth, (5) Montgomery, (6) Cardigan, (7) Radnor, (8) Brecon, (9) Pembroke, and (10) Carmarthen, nil.

11. Glamorgan:

Swansea, for the School House.

12 Monmouth:

Newport, for the Market House.

It was, of course, only by a separate examination of each case, that the general results already stated could be arrived at. That examination we reproduce in the pages which follow.

I. NORTHERN COUNTIES.

1. *Northumberland.*—In Berwick-upon-Tweed applications made for the Tolbooth (for Nicholas Wressell) and for the School House (for Luke Ogle) are preserved in three documents—**320** (**67**), **320** (**68**), and **321** (**21**)—all put in by James Innes, junior, as we see from the handwriting,

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* Application was made for Bodvel House, in Llannor parish, Carnarvon, and granted, for it is entered on **E.** (**238**) as issued September 5, 1672.

though none are signed or dated. [The last is annotated; these are desired to be filled up for James Innes, junior.] Neither was approved, and no licences were issued.

In Alnwick we have a similar case. Application was made on behalf of Robert Blunt for the Tolbooth. It was put in by Mr. Vernon on May 7, 1672, and has been preserved as **321** (**17**); but was rejected. Fortunately, Vernon had inserted 'if nott for his owne house there' as an alternative; and a licence for that was promptly granted (May 8), and is entered on **E.** (**92**).

In Morpeth the application for the Tolbooth there was more successful. The whole story, as told in these documents, is an interesting one. The applicant was John Thompson, a minister who, having been ejected from Bothel in this county, had retired to Morpeth, and who, on the publication of the Indulgence, determined to secure a licence. Within a month he was journeying up to London. He called at Whitehall 'on Thursday Apr 25th' [that we learn from his memorandum of receipt] and put in an application for it, which is preserved in **320** (**223**). The application was granted. The licence was issued five days later—April 30—and entered on **E.** (**49**). And John Thompson himself called for it three days after and took it away—May 2, 1672—his receipt being preserved in **320** (**277**).

In Newcastle-upon-Tyne strange things happened. Applications were made for three Public Buildings: the Chapel near Magdalen Hospital, the Moot Hall in Castle Garth, and the Chapel in Trinity House; but the applications have not been preserved. Licences were made out—dated April 16, 1672—and entered on **E.** (**23**) and (**24**); and yet, at the last moment, the King's approval was withheld—or withdrawn—and they were never issued, the marginal note being inserted in the place usually filled by a summary of the characteristic points in the licence 'not approved nor given out'; it is not easy to trace the course of events which had such an issue. The fact that the entries are dated seems to imply that the licences had been completed—*i.e.*, not only the blanks filled up, but that they had been signed (above by the King, and at foot by Arlington), and dated; and if that be so, strong objections must have been raised to the places (as 'Public Buildings') in influential quarters before they were called for, and so the licences were cancelled and withdrawn.

2. *Durham.*—Application was made by Richard Rawe [**321** (**195**)] for the 'Scule' House in Brancepeth, as a meeting-place for Robert Lever, a minister who had been ejected from Bolam, Northumberland, and had retired to an estate of his near Brancepeth.

The application was successful. It was made in a letter written from Durham City by Richard Rawe (who must have been a good Puritan citizen of that Cathedral City) on 'Saturday May 17. 72.'* It is addressed to his son—'M^r John Rawe, at his chamber in 'Lincoln's Inne, London'—whom he asks to procure licences for Robert

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* There is some mistake here. Saturday was May 18. [If May 17 was right, it should have been 'Friday.'] As he must have been sure of the day of the week on which he was writing, it is the day of the month which is wrong.

Lever and Robert Pleasaunce, and to send them down to him 'with 'what expedition he can conveniently.' The young lawyer must have taken or sent the letter to Lord Arlington's Office at Whitehall, and left it with Mr. Swaddell (one of the clerks there) as a 'memorandum' of application, for it is preserved in the Record Office as **321 (195)**. Fortunately he refers to it as 'Robert Lever's dwelling-house called '"Sculehouse."' So the licence was granted. It looks, however, as though some difficulty had been raised, for it is not issued till a month had elapsed (viz., on June 10, 1672), and the licence-entry describes it simply as 'Robert Lever's house.' [As so distinctly 'private' property, it perhaps ought scarcely to be reckoned in the category of Public Buildings.]

3. *Yorks.*—In Bridlington, application was made for 'The Town 'House' called 'The Court House'; but though the application was made through John Acklam, Alderman of Hull [**321 (180)**], it was rejected without comment.

In Sherburn, application was made thrice for 'The White House' there, in **320 (67)**, **(68)** and **(289)**. The applications for it were 'put in' by James Innes junior (the third is anonymous); and a licence was granted May 2, 1672 [**E. (68)**].

In Holbeck, Leeds, a similar threefold application was made for Lilbury House, and licence was granted for it the same day.

In Pudsey, near Leeds, no less than five applications are preserved for the Free School House: the first made by Dr. Butler April 17, 1672 [**320 (110)**], who mentions as a reason for granting it that J. Sale and Th. Sharpe are 'helpers of each other'; the second, by Timothy Cloudsley, a week later, April 24, 1672 [**320 (187)**]; a third was made by James Inness, junior (who was so universally successful in this agency work) [**321 (20*b*)**]; and a fourth and fifth were put in by Timothy Cloudsley [**321 (155)** and **(156)**]; and yet these applications were persistently refused.

In Halifax parish an application was made, unsigned and undated [**320 (157)**], for Coley Episcopal Chapel, to be the sphere of Oliver Heywood's ministry. This, too, was refused.

In Batley parish, again, a double application was made for Morley Chapel, first by certificate or petition [**320 (82)**], signed by twenty-one inhabitants, and then, a week later, by Timothy Cloudsley [**320 (187)**]. But it was to no purpose. It was 'not approved.' [This chapel was for Christopher Marshal and Samuel Bayley to preach in.]

In Worsborough Dale, Timothy Cloudsley made three successive applications for Swath Hall: the first [**320 (187)**], put in April 24, 1672 [*vide* first sentence in **320 (203)**]; the second [**320 (203)**] made probably April $\frac{29}{30}$; and the third [**320 (271)**], made on May 2, 1672. All these were for a Presbyterian meeting-place and were barren of result. It was only after three others had been made for it as Congregational: one [**321 (20)**] by James Innes junior, and two others by Cloudsley—**321 (199)**, on May, 18, 1672; and **321 (200)**, May $\frac{20}{21}$, 1672. At length a licence was granted on May 22, 1672 [**E. (131)**], and then for 'the howse of John Wadsworth in Swath, Yorkshire,' as a 'Congr. Meeting Place.' Probably, however, 'M^r Wadsworth's 'house' was not 'Swath Hall'; and it becomes another case of a large building being refused, but a licence being granted for a small private house to take its place.

In Greaseborough, two applications for Trinity House (the property of the Earl of Stafford), both made by John Hickes—the first quite early [**320** (**40 A**)], and the second, on May 8 [**321** (**29**)]—were at last rewarded so far as to secure the making-out and entry of the licence on **E.** (**172**); but as it is not dated, we are perforce left in some doubt as to whether it was ever issued.

[In Wath-upon-Dearne, Wath Hall was applied for by Mr. Dan on May 7 [**321** (**15**)], and two licences were entered for it: the first on **E.** (**188**), undated, and the second, entered on **E.** (**230**), as issued August 10, 1672; but as it is entered as belonging to the Teacher ('the house of 'Samuel Coates'), it can scarcely be reckoned among the Public Halls.]

In Cleckheaton, application was made twice by T. Cloudsley for the Episcopal Chapel (called 'Heaton Chapel'). The first time April 24 [**320** (**187**)], and the second time a week later [**320** (**203**)]; but it was refused as 'not approved.'

In Kirk Sandall, a twofold application for Kirk Sandall Hall was made by the same earnest agent, Timothy Cloudsley. The first on the end of April or on May Day [**320** (**203**)], and the second on May 2 [**320** (**271**)]; but this second was needless, as a licence had been issued May 1, 1672 [**E.** (**61**)].

In Hatfield, too, Cloudsley applied no less than six times for West Hall. The first application was made on **320** (**203**) April 27, 1672; and this first application was successful, for a licence was issued May 1, 1672 [**E.** (**60**)]. Yet when he called another time with **320** (**271**) the very day after—viz., on May 2, the officials do not give it him. Indeed, they allow him to apply a third time with **321** (**197 C**), a fourth time with **321** (**199**) on May 18, a fifth time with **321** (**200**), and even a sixth time with **321** (**294**) on May 31, without giving him anything. Then, ten days after, they make out a second licence, only in this form:

> 'The house of John Rooke at Westhall in Hatfield, Yorke for Congr. 10 June'

And when, three days after that, he called (on June 13, 1672), he takes it away, with two other licences he had applied for only a fortnight before. That first licence [entered on **E.** (**60**)] must have been taken away by someone who left behind him no memorandum of receipt. Whether it was ever sent down to Yorkshire or not we cannot tell.

One other, I fancy, should be added to this Yorkshire list—viz., that made by Timothy Cloudsley at the end of April, or on May 1 [**320** (**203**)], for the 'mainerideing house' in Leeds—for the most probable explanation of that term is that it was the chief Town Hall for the West or Main Riding of Yorkshire. The application for this was successful, for a licence was issued for it May 1 [**E.** (**60**)].

4. *Lancashire.*—At Rivington application must have been made for 'The Oratory of John Bradshaw Esq.,' there, although no record

of such application is preserved; because two licences were made out for it; one of which was never taken away from Whitehall, for it remains among the State Papers as **321** (**318**) in the Record Office to this day*; but the other was entered [**E.** (**196**)] as issued July 16, 1672.

At Birch (in the neighbourhood of Manchester) a similar incident occurred, only in this instance all the documents of a most elaborate and formal character are preserved. They are for the Oratory at Birch Hall, belonging to Thomas Birch, Esq. We have:

(1) The certificate of his consent that it should be used as a place of worship for both Presbyterians and Congregationalists [**320** (**38**)], dated April 11, 1672.

(2) The application for its use, by petition to the King, signed by nine inhabitants of the parish of Manchester [**320** (**155**)].

(3) A certificate of its previous use by the owner to show it had never been episcopally consecrated [**320** (**155 I**)], dated April 20, 1672.

(4) and (5) Two applications by W. Maddox [**320** (**224**) and (**225**)]. At first the application was refused [*vide* the note in the margin: 'Birche's house in Manchester not allowed to be licensed'; and it was only after very persistent endeavour that the consent of the authorities at Whitehall and 'approval' of the King was obtained (spite of all this abundant proof of its secular character); for the licence was not issued till April 30, 1672—nearly three weeks after the certificate of consent was signed by the owner.

In the Royal Manor of Tottington application was made for the Court House of Holcombe. There is something curious about this case too. A licence is entered as issued on September 5, on **E.** (**236**); but there is another licence dated September 30—not a printed form with the blanks filled up, but all written out in the same hand, and signed above by Charles and below by Arlington [**321** (**377**)]. And yet the latter, made with such care, with unusual trouble, and in this written form, was never taken from Whitehall, and remains stored in the Record Office to the present day.

From the Parish of Hardshaw in Windle, in what is now the stirring grimy town of St. Helen's, came an application for 'Ellin's Chapel'—now used as its Parish Church. The application is not preserved; but the entry of the licence is—on **E.** (**228**), as issued August 10, 1672—in which it is described simply as 'a Meeting house built by Pr. att Hard-'shaw in Lancastr.'

In Warrington an application—not preserved—must have come for the Court House there, for the licence is granted September 5, 1672 [**E.** (**236**). By a pleasing irony of fate, though the application is not preserved, the licence itself is, and hangs framed in the vestry of the Unitarian Chapel at Warrington. There is this singular fact about it, too: the date entered in the date space is September 30, *not* the 5th as entered on **E.** (**226**). However, the Curator of Warrington Museum tells me that a close examination of it has discovered clear indications of an alteration of the date. The ink of the date is of a different shade from the 'th,' and the edges of the pen-strokes are blurred, as made upon an erasure.

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* The mystery of this is dealt with *in loc.*, in the next Chapter (Cap. VII.).

II. Northern Midlands.

1. *Cheshire.*—From Chester came a threefold application for 'The 'White friars': the first [**320** (**88**A)] in Richard Steele's handwriting, but to be sent to Mr. Parsons; the second [**320** (**127**)], from Richard Steele; and the third [**320** (**254**)] unsigned. The licence was granted May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**92**)], and was taken away by Richard Steele two days later [**321** (**91**)].

2. *Notts.*—From Blyth an application, not recorded, was made for the School House, and a licence was made out and signed by both the King and by Arlington; but it was never issued, for it is undated and was never taken away, so that at the last revision it must have been refused as 'not approved' [**321** (**299**)].

From the County Town, Nottingham, the applications were bold and free:

(1) For the Town Hall for John Whitlock to preach in. Who made the application does not appear, as the memoranda containing it and several others are in Benson's handwriting. There were two of them: **320** (**88**) and **320** (**105**). This second is marked by Benson 'not appr.' So 'licence' for it was never granted.

(2) For the King's Hall, or County Hall, for William Reynolds (Whitlock's bosom friend) to preach in. The two applications for this also were made on the same memoranda with the above and shared its fate.

(3) For the Spice Chambers with the room under it, anciently called 'The Shambles,' for John Barrett to preach in (an ejected Nottingham minister). The same memoranda contained application for these as well. They are not marked 'not appr.' like the other two. Yet licences were not granted. The applications were simply ignored.

And it was the same exactly with a fourth public building there: the Free School, for Samuel Coates to preach in. Two applications were made on the same two memoranda, but they were wholly ignored, and no licence was granted.

3. *Shropshire.*—From Ludlow came an application, not preserved, for 'The Old Court House,' which was granted, the licence being issued July 25, 1672, and entered on **E.** (**212**), described as 'in Balling 'at Ludlow, Salop.'

From Oswestry application was made May 22, 1672, by William Owen, for 'An House in Oswalstree in Sh—sheire' [**321** (**237**)]. But they had to wait more than two months for a favourable response. The licence was issued at length July 25, 1672, and is entered on **E.** (**218**) as 'A large roome over the Markett.'

To these must be added the application made by William Owen for 'a Roome or Roomes' at the King's Head, Shrewsbury. It was 'put in' by Owens, May 22, 1672 [**321** (**237**)], and was made out and entered the same day [**E.** (**134**)], but was not taken away by him till the 28th [**321** (**277**)].

III. SOUTH-MIDLANDS.

1. *Warwickshire.*—From Birmingham came an application for the Town Hall in form peculiarly calculated to secure attention. The minister for whom application was made to conduct services there, Samuel Fisher, wrote a letter to his son, Charles, in London, enclosing a petition to the King, signed by some of the most influential men of Birmingham, preserved as **320** (**237**). This petition Charles Fisher forwarded at once to a respected and trusted friend of the family, with a letter bearing date April 17, 1672—the very day he had received the petition from Birmingham—calendared as **320** (**112**).

In it he frankly says: 'I knowe noe friend soe versed in such an 'affaire as this that my father can soe freely request as yo^{r}selfe to 'befriend him.' Unfortunately the letter has neither address nor elucidating endorsement; but other documents enable us to identify him without any doubt as Robert Blaney, Clerk of the Haberdashers' Company, who is showing himself as actively sympathetic with the Nonconformists in this matter. A week passes without anything being done; so, either because sickness has disabled him, or he thinks his elder brother may manage the affair better than himself, he appeals to his elder brother Samuel to take the matter up. He evidently is on the point of acting for other personal friends in Staffordshire. So he adds a postscript to a letter he has just written to Robert Blayney, and dated April 25: 'I pray remember my father's business.' For the matter of the Town Hall, however, it is to no purpose. Licences are granted to Samuel Fisher, senior, for his person and his own house in Birmingham. They were dated May 1, 1672, are entered on **E.** (**58**), and they were called for and taken away two days later by Robert Blayney; see his receipt [**320** (**302**)]. The application for the Town Hall was disregarded and no licence issued for it.

Other applications were made for the School House * in Birmingham, only to meet with the same fate. It was the first of six meeting-places 'desired' for Mr. Samuel Willis† to preach in, in the first case, on **320** (**259**); and the first of only three, in the second, **320** (**260**), the second and third of the latter being the third and fourth of the former. Licences were granted for all the five applied for in the first in addition to the 'School House'; but the request for the School House was disregarded. No licence was issued for it, but one was granted for Samuel Willis's own house in its place. In two respects the second memorandum [**320** (**260**)] differs from the first. It describes Samuel Willis as 'of the Episcopall persuasion,' whereas the first describes him as of the Presbyterian. The writing, too, is not of an ordinary current style; but a specimen of flourishing penmanship perfect enough to be reproduced in 'copper plate.' In both respects the memorandum is unique. I remember no other application in which the applicant is called 'Episcopall'; and there is certainly no other which would compete with it as a specimen of calligraphy.

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* Was the 'School House' Edward VI.'s School?

† Calamy spells the name 'Wills'; his descendants spell the same way.—(A. G.)

There is a singular case in Coventry. Application is made for a house in Orchard Street, in the parish of Holy Trinity, belonging to Robert Haywood, for Dr. John Bryan to preach in. It adjoined the Shoemakers' Hall, otherwise called St. Nicholas Hall, and seems to have been commonly known as '*Leather Hall.*' Vast congregations and influential had regularly attended Dr. Bryan's ministry in it. Three documents testify to the earnestness of the desire for it and the influential character and social status of those supporting the application. There was a Petition sent direct to the King [**321** (**172**)]; but though it was supported by a Certificate signed May 4, 1672, by sixteen prominent inhabitants [**320** (**305**)], declaring that although it adjoined this Public Hall, it was no part of the property of the Shoemakers' Company; and though the Petition was supported by a separate application made by Dr. Nicholas Butler as for 'Robert Hayword's house, &c.' [**321** (**173**)], the application being supported by the old Cavalier Royalist soldier, Lord Craven, who 'had promised to *call* for this Lycence,' it is only the personal licence for 'D^{r} John Bryon to be a Presbyterian Teacher in the house of Rob. 'Heyward in Coventry' that was granted May 16, 1672, entered on **E.** (**128**). There is no separate licence for his meeting-place entered in **E**.

2. *Northamptonshire.*—From Rothwell came an application for 'y^{e} Nunnery.' It is the last line of 'A Catalogue of y^{e} Names of divers 'Nonconforming Ministers now or late inhabiting the County of 'Northampton who desire the Allowance of theire Persons for y^{e} exer- 'cise of their Ministry according to his Ma^{ties} late Declaration, together 'wth the Places wherein they desire to be allowed such exercise' [**320** (**41**)]. It is for Thomas Browning to preach in—who had been ejected from Desborough, quite near to Rothwell. It and the application for John Baynard were evidently no part of the original 'Catalogue,' as these last two lines are in a different handwriting.

The place was evidently 'not approved.' No licence was ever issued for it, and Thomas Browning's licence was delayed a week thereby, for Baynard's two licences were granted May 1, 1672 [**E.** (**64**)]; whereas Browning's, with his own house in Rothwell as a substitute for 'The Nunnery,' were not issued till May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**82**)]. [Why a second licence as issued the same date is entered on **E.** (**89**) it is difficult to understand.]

From Geddington, in the same district as Rothwell, an application comes for 'y^{e} Schoole house' as a 'place' for the ministry of Stickland Negus. It appears first in the Catalogue [**320** (**41**)]; and a second time, in an application by Nathaniel Ponder, the printer [**321** (**57**)] put in an astutely less definite form as 'a house in Gedington.' But it is refused, and the only house licensed for him is Richard Barnes's in Wellingborough.

From Wellingborough, too, comes an application for 'a certaine 'roome over y^{e} schoole,' for Vincent Alsop to preach in, on **320** (**41**). [He had begun his career in the Free School at Oakham, but had returned to Wellingborough after ejectment from Wilby (only three miles away).] It, too, is refused; and the only licences allowed him are for himself and his own house in Geddington. So that these two—Stickland Negus and Vincent Alsop—are 'a pair' in their cross-purposes. 'Negus' wanted the School House in Geddington to preach in, and gets only a private house in Wellingborough; Alsop wanted the School House or a room above it in Wellingborough, and gets licence to preach only in his own house in Geddington.

3. *Gloucester.*—From Cirencester we have an application for the Weavers' Hall. It was probably given in verbally at Whitehall, for it is entered in a long list of 'Persons & Places desired to be licensed,' in Francis Benson's handwriting, and dated April 18, 1672 [**320** (**125**)]. 'Weaver's hall in Cirencester, desired to be licensed for a Presbyterian 'Meeting Place' is the form in which it is entered in the list; and it was doubtless as the 'place' for 'James Greenwood,' whose 'desire' is registered in the line above. Moreover, this is reinforced by an application of a much more formal character. It is a Petition 'To the 'Kinges most excellt Majesty Charles the 2d, &c.' [**320** (**141**)], and couched in language of far more cringing adulation than any other of the Petitions sent in to the King. A study of its phraseology suggests that Dr. Nicholas Butler had sent down a 'model form' (that which was used so closely in the Petitions which were sent up from Lancashire), and that the petitioners had 'improved' upon it, 'out-heroding 'Herod' in the fulsomeness of their flattery of the 'Reigning' Monarch. It would appear, too, that this must be put to the credit of the minister, 'Mr James Greenwood, who is of ye Presbiterian ꝑswasion.' It is signed by eight of his 'Majesty's thankefull subjects In and about ye Brough or 'Borow of Cirencester &c.'

From the absence of any licence entered in the Entry Books we should infer that their application was ignored or rejected. Yet we have a memorandum preserved in **321** (**230**) signed by James Innes junior, acknowledging the receipt on May 22, 1672, of licences for 'James Greenwood Presb.,' and 'Weavers' Hall in Cirencester Gloucr.'

After this mysterious success, of which no record is made in the Official Registers, Greenwood makes a second application through James Innes, junior, for 'a place called The Recess' in Cirencester, in **321** (**364***b*), but apparently with no result.

The personality of this 'James Greenwood' is as mysterious as his licence enterprises. Calamy notes only two Greenwoods: the first Dr. Daniel Greenwood, for many years Fellow, and for some time Principal, of Brazenose College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, who was deprived by the King's Commissioners in 1660 [Neal, 'Hist. of Pur.,' II. 488; Cal. I. 214], and a 'Mr. Greenwood' ejected from Hatton Chapel in Kendal parish, Westmorland (III. 354) ('much liked as a preacher, but accused of some things that were scandalous by which his memory is blackened'). It is scarcely likely that James Greenwood was the latter. Was he the son of the former?

In Marshfield an application is presented for 'The Parish house 'thereof commonly calld ye Church house.' It was put in by John Hickes, May 10, 1672 [**321** (**87**)], and was for George Seele. But the only licences granted are for himself and his own house in 'Marsfield' [**E.** (**200**)]. His house is called 'The howse of Geo: Steele'; though the licence for himself is 'to George Seele.' That for 'The Parish 'House' or 'Church House' was, evidently, rejected.

4. *Oxon.*—It is surprising to find that applications are made in this Royalist county for two Town Halls.

From Chipping Norton the application is conveyed in a 'note' of Stephen Ford's [**320** (**56**)], as one of two places asked as meeting-places for 'M^r^ William Troy.' He was residing at Oddington in Gloucester, and the second meeting-place asked for is his own house there. This application for Chipping Norton is refused; and William Troy's licences are issued for Oddington [**E.** (**96**)].

From Henley-on-Thames, too, comes a similar application; but only after Thomas Cole, for whom the application was made, had already obtained licences to preach in the houses of two friends—John Tyler and Alexander Bernard. These are dated April 22, and were fetched by Captain Cresset from Whitehall a week later, April 29 [see entry **E.** (**43**)].

The application for the Town Hall is on **321** (**189**). It is refused, but (as is the case of Vincent Alsop of Geddington) Thomas Cole has licences issued May 16, to preach in his own house, instead [**E.** (**114**)].

IV. EASTERN COUNTIES.

1. *Norfolk.*—In Norwich a licence is asked for 'A roome in y^{e} house 'late belonging to y^{e} Blackfryers in St. Andrews pish Norw^{ch}' for Benjamin Snowden (who had been minister of St. Clement's, Colegate) to preach in—on the same paper with a request for one for Dr. John Collings (who had been Vicar of St. Stephen's) [Cal. III. 9, 10] to preach in the house of Jonathan Wilson in St. Stephen's [**320** (**213**)]. It is of interest to note that in 1669 the Bishop had reported Collings and Snowden as preaching to a Conventicle of 'about 300' Presbyterians and Independents 'Att the house of John Barnham, Hosier' in the parish of St. John's of Madder Market (**R.** **227***b*); and 'the house of 'Mr. John Willson, Chimist,' in St. Stephen's [surely it must be the 'Jonathan Willson' mentioned in **320** (**213**)], is reported as the place of a Conventicle of 'Presbyterians & Independants,' 200 in number 'or 'thereabout' ('most women'), held by 'one M^{r} Lucas & others whose 'names cannot be learnt' (**R.** **227**).

'The Blackfryars' is refused; but licence is granted for Mr. Snowden to preach in John Barnham's house [**E.** (**191**); which is the very house in 'St. John's of Madder Market,' where the Conventicle was reported which was ministered to by 'Dr. John Collins' and 'M^{r} 'Benjamin Snowden' (**R.** **227***b*).

2. *Suffolk.*—In Bury St. Edmunds application is made twice for the Shire House. (1) In **320** (**222**) it is made anonymously for 'the Shire 'house in Bury,' for Samuel Slater, 'presbit:,' along with four others; and (2) a second application is made by John Hickes in **320** (**250**) together with three out of those four.* The application is refused for

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* In this case the applications for minister and place are in two separate lines:
'Samuel Sclater teacher Presbyt. in Berry'
'The Shire house in Berry.'

'The Shire House,' and the veteran, Samuel Slater, has no other licence granted him; though his son and namesake, at Walthamstow, is licensed for both person and residence there.

In Beccles application is made in most formal fashion for the Guild Hall for Robert Ottie to preach in. A Petition is addressed to the King on behalf of 'a Church of Christ in Beccles,' signed by ten of its members for the rest [**321** (**74**)], and accompanied by a Certificate of consent to its use for this purpose by nineteen Trustees [**321** (**74 I**)].

It is rejected; and it is only when the request is for his own house that any licence is granted for Robert Ottie. Such are the licences dated May 9, 1672, entered on **E.** (**96**) (only he is there called 'Rob. 'Otteway'), and fetched from Whitehall a week later by Edward Swift [**321** (**169**)]. Emboldened by his success, Swift applies for two further meeting-places for Mr. Ottie—the houses of two of the signatories of the Petition for the Guild Hall, Thomas Plumstead and Edmund Artis [**321** (**340**)]. The licence for 'Rob: Ottie' to preach in the former is issued June 10, 1672, and entered on **E.** (**162**); but there is no separate licence registered for Plumstead's house nor for that of Artis.

From Nayland-by-Stoke comes a remarkable application for the Episcopal Chapel-of-Ease [**320** (**59**)]. It assumes the form of 'a Case' presented in perfectly legal form by 'Samuel Gibbs,' a 'Gentleman,' 'interested in a Markett Towne in Suffolke called Nayland.' This Church, 'built by y^e^ Inhabitants for a Chapell of Ease' is 'destitute of 'all Publick worship' because 'the Incumbent of Stoke,' who 'enjoyeth 'all the Tythes and profitts of y~e~ said Towne of Nayland refuseth to 'performe any Divine Service therein.' Mr. Gibbs has secured the services of a 'conformable Priest' to take the services every other Sunday, who cannot take them oftener; and desires simply that for the alternate Sundays, Edward Sherman, a clergyman of Episcopal ordination, who 'is under some Scruple as to Universall conformitie,' might officiate in 'y^e^ said Empty Church or Chapel Standing in y^e^ midst 'of y^e^ said Towne,' on those Sundays on which it is unsupplied.

No. Edward Sherman's partial Nonconformity is sufficient to exclude him from this useful ministry; and no licence is issued for him here. It has not been denied him, however, in the place whence he was ejected, Stoke; for licences were issued for him, April 11, 1672 [**E.** (**12**)].

In Ipswich, application is made on two memoranda [**320** (**101**) and (**102**)] for the Grey Friars for Owen Stockton and Henry Havers (two Nonconformist ministers) to preach in. [They both hailed from the neighbouring county (Essex), the former having been ejected from Colchester and the latter from Stambourn.] 'For a wonder,' the application was granted, and licences were issued April 16, 1672 [**E.** (**25**)].

V. SOUTH-EASTERN.

1. *Berks.*—Application must have been made very early for the Town Hall in Newbury, though no memorandum of such application is preserved; for a licence was granted for it on the 9th of April, 1672.

Its entry in **B.** shows that it must have been made to Sir John Trevor rather than to Lord Arlington. It is the first of the very few entered in that Entry Book.

2. *London.*—Applications were made for four Company Halls in the City with varying success.

That for the Curriers' Hall, in St. Alphage Parish, London Wall, was made by Edmund Calamy himself. It is contained in an autograph letter, preserved as **320 (34)**, addressed to James Inness senior, dated April 6, 1672. The request was granted; and both licences, for his person on **E. (5)** and (by implication) for the Curriers' Hall on **E. (9)**, are dated April 2, 1672. This is strange indeed, seeing that Calamy writes on the 6th to say: 'My people have now at length 'pitched upon a certaine place for y^{e} Worship of God, viz. Curriars 'Hall in Alphage Parish.' A closer scrutiny of the entry on **E. (5)** explains the puzzle. The licence entered there as granted to 'Edmund 'Calamie' is only a 'general' one—'to be a Presbyterian Teacher in any 'place licenced and allowed'; and the note is added 'Desired by 'M^{r} Innesse & sent 2 him,' in Sir Joseph Williamson's handwriting. Evidently Calamy had asked him to secure him a licence at once, not naming any 'place' because his people had not then been able to fix upon one. The licence is made out in those general terms and is issued April 2. Then, four days later, he writes Mr. Inness for Curriers' Hall, and the licence is made out for that; but for coherence' sake, it is filled in for April 2, although not made out till the 6th or 7th.

For the Haberdashers' Hall, Maiden Lane, Wood Street, the documents are sufficient in dignity and importance to have secured success. The very first in these licence-documents [**320 (1)**] is concerned with it. It records the Resolution of the Haberdashers' Company, passed at their Court on March 22, 1672, to grant the use of their Hall on Sundays and Thursdays for Dr. Jacomb, the friend and protégé of the old Dowager Countess of Exeter.

320 (88) contains the first direct application, appearing in company with several others of this semi-public nature; and **320 (88 B)** is the direct request of Dr. Jacomb himself, to be 'approved of and allowed to 'preach at' two 'places'—this 'Haberdashers Hall, Lond.,' and 'the 'Countesse of Exeters House in little Brittaine.' Unfortunately, it contains the ominous words inserted in Benson's handwriting, 'not allowed'; and accordingly that request was refused.

The other licences, however, were granted; and are recorded on **E. (41)**, as issued April 22, 1672.

That for the Loriners'* Hall, just outside the wall in Fore Street, was 'put in' by Robert Mascall for John Wells to preach in [**320 (93)**]. The memorandum is in a cramped but stately handwriting (so sure a sign of a veteran), and asks for the 'Lorimers' Hall' as a second meeting-house for 'John Wells Teacher Presbiterian.' The first was to be 'his dwelling House in y^{e} Midle Morefields.' 'The 'Lorimer's Hall' was denied him. Benson has written opposite in the margin 'not app.' The application was repeated in **320** (**94**); only the place is called 'Lorimmers Hall in Cripplegate parish'; and again it is marked, this time, in the same line and in full, 'not approved.' 'The Lorimers' Hall' is therefore out of the question. Still, there remains the original application for his own private house. Even for that, however, he has to make an application in person, and leave a signed memorandum, 'For my house in ye Middle Moorefeilds—John 'Wills' [**320** (**124**)] before his request is granted. But it is granted, and the licences are issued April 17, 1672, and entered on **E.** (**26**). He is persistently called 'Wells' by others, though he distinctly signs himself 'Wills.'

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* So the Company consistently call themselves: not 'Lorimers' or 'Lorimmers as in these licence-documents.

For the Leathersellers' Hall, in Little St. Helen's, as a place of worship for Dr. Owen and his assistant Mr. Loder, we have in **320** (**97**) a certificate dated April 16, 1672, and signed by Robert Harbin as Clerk of the Leathersellers' Society, stating that 'the freedome of theire 'Hall is graunted unto Dr Owen and Mr Loder to preach there, Soe as 'they obtayne his Mats Licence for that purpose.'

It was refused; and Dr. Owen appears to have been so 'offended' or 'disgusted,' as to take no further steps to obtain a licence. Mr. Loder, however, had applied for licences in his own house in association with the veteran Philip Nye, and had secured them [**E.** (**22**)], April 15, 1672, the day before the application for the Leathersellers' Hall was sent in.

For the Glass House in Broad Street three separate applications are made, in each case for Anthony Palmer and George Fownes. This 'Glass House' is the earlier name for the building which had been recently purchased by the Pinners' Company; the same, that is, as the Pinners' Hall. It was part of the glass factory erected in Broad Street by Verselyn (a Venetian who in 1580 came over to introduce Venetian methods of glass-blowing into England, and under a Patent obtained from Queen Elizabeth, had planted a factory there) nearly a century before.

In the first [**320** (**88**)] it is the last on a list of several buildings more or less public, suggesting that it is 'put in' to test the question whether 'Public Buildings' will be allowed.

The second and third are short memoranda 'put in' by Owen Davies [**320** (**134**) and (**135**)]. It is all useless. The application is refused. The teachers, however, are both licensed for John Savage's house on London Bridge, April 19 [**E.** (**32**)], and the licences were carried off by Owen Davies on the 22nd [**320** (**175**)].

3. *Kent.*—For a hall in the Grey Friars in Canterbury, Robert Mascall applies on May 25, 1672 [**321** (**258**)]; and it is granted June 10, 1672 [**E.** (**164**)]. But it is so clearly and avowedly the private property of Robert Dunsmore, Esq., that perhaps it scarcely should be placed in this list.

From Wootton application comes for the Hall of Wootton Court through the same indefatigable agent for Kent and London (Robert Mascall) on May 18 [**321** (**201**) and (**202**)]. This, too, is granted, but not for more than six weeks later—viz., June 29, 1672 [**E.** (**190**)].

In Chartham, again, the same Robert Mascall applies, May 3, 1672, for a licence for Mistoll or Mistool House [**320 (298)**] ; with the same success. Licence is issued May 8 [**E. (87)**], and Mr. Mascall takes it away from Whitehall, May 11, 1672 [**321 (99)**].

In Cranbrook application is made for 'Glastonbury' or Glassenbury, the mansion of Lady Bridget Roberts, for her chaplain, Thomas Brand (he signs himself unmistakably 'Brond'), to conduct service in. Four several documents are preserved in connection with the case.

The first [**320 (115)**] is a list of 'Persons who desire Licences' (ten in number), drawn up by Francis Benson, April 17, 1672. The second [**320 (161)**] is devoted entirely to this case, reading:

> 'The house of y^e Right W^ll the Lady Bridget Roberts called Glastenbury in y^e Parish of Cranbrook in y^e County of Kent for a P^rsbyterian Congregation.
>
> 'M^r Thomas Brand her Presbyterian Chaplain.'

It is neither signed nor dated. So it is with the third [**320 (162)**], which includes an application for Horsmonden, as well as for this for 'Cranbrooke.' The fourth, and most interesting of them all, is **320 (205)**, which is a letter to some 'Reverend Sir,' unnamed (the address is detached and lost), dated April 29, 1672, and written by 'Thomas Brond,' the chaplain for whom the licence is desired. He is in anxiety about the licence, and the whole situation, as it is clear 'the Church men' and the justices are on the war-path, and threatening her ladyship with process of law if she persists in having Nonconformist services in her mansion. In view of all this, it is rather odd to find from the Licence Entry Book that licences had been made out nine days before ; indeed, they had been issued only three days after Mr. Benson's first inclusion of the case on his list of **320 (115)**—viz., April 20, 1672 [**E. (33)** and **(34)**]. Reading between the lines, it would seem that Mr. Brand was expected to call at Whitehall for them, and that he had found it difficult to do so, for the two reasons : first, that it was necessary for him to find some substitute at 'his Lady's'; and second, that it was not easy for him to ride up to Town on purpose.

To the licensing of the Hall in the Old Abbey in Town Malling no objection was taken, though it was first applied for in **320 (88)**, the List of Places, so many of which were refused. The second application for it was **320 (89)**, a separate document desiring only the two licences for 'M^r Samuel French,' and 'the hall of the old Abby in which 'Richard Sighurst now dwelleth.' It was not till July 1, 1672, that the licences were issued. All these were for Presbyterians.

In Sandwich, application was made for 'the Old Chappell belonging 'to the Hospitall of St. Bartholomews.' First in the list already referred to [**320 (88)**], the second time in **320 (93)**, put in by Robert Mascall, in a paper with two other applications on it for teachers and places in London ; a third by the same Robert Mascall, on a paper [**320 (95)**] which has been torn so as to mutilate the name of the town and county, and which is devoted entirely to this one case ; and yet a fourth, on the back of **320 (118)**, by the same earnest veteran. This last shows that

Robert Mascall has begun seriously to question whether he can hope for success, for he provides an alternative in case the authorities refuse it. Its terms are:

> 'Of y^e Towne of Sandwich in y^e County of Kent.
> M^r Comfort Starre Teacher Congregationall
> The Meeting Place
> The Old Chapell belonging to y^e Hospitall of St. Bartholomews w^{th}out y^e walls of y^e Towne of Sandwich
> if y^t will not be allowed then
> A dwelling House in y^e Towne of Sandwich.

It was not allowed; and Comfort Starr had to content himself with licences to preach in his own house in Sandwich, which were issued April 17, 1672, and are registered on **E. (29)**.

In Ash, an application for 'The Chequer,' as the private property of John Savery, presented anonymously in **321 (45)**; and in **321 (345)** in a note addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson by J. Gould, must apparently have been refused at first, though finally granted. For this reason. In **321 (45)** 'The Chequer' was desired as one of three places for Mr. Charles Nicholls of Adisham to preach in. Licences for himself and his house in Adisham were granted May 8, 1672 [**E. (86)**]; but the licence for 'The Chequer' was not entered till another eighty pages later [**E. (167)**], and has no date affixed; and then is entered, not as 'The 'Chequer,' but simply as 'The howse of John Savery.' It remains a question, too, whether the licence was ever issued from Whitehall.

From Canterbury, very early, came an application for 'The Almirey 'Hall,' hitherto known as 'Ethelberts Palace.' The application was made by Robert Mascall in a paper calendared as **320 (32)**; and without hesitation the licence was granted as one of the first batch issued on April 2, 1672; and is registered on the fourth page of **E.**

Two other buildings were large enough to have raised the question at headquarters as to whether it were prudent to license them; though we are glad to add, that in both cases no objections were presented; at any rate, of importance enough to prevent licences being granted. They were:

Court Lodge at Lamberhurst; two applications for which were put in: **320 (267)** apparently by the minister himself, James Simonds, and **320 (268)** by Colonel Blood. The licence was granted May 1, and was entered on **E. (66)**.

Fairlawn, in Shipborne, the mansion of Lady Vane. The application for this has not been preserved; but the licence is entered December 9 [**E. (279)**].

4. *Surrey.*—From Clapham came an application for the School House for Dr. Henry Wilkinson, and his own house. On the same memorandum [**320 (29)**] were applications for two others. It was presented early, for it is endorsed 'Apr. 1672'; and clearly Sir Joseph Williamson had taken special interest in it, for the endorsement is in his own handwriting—not his clerk's. So early, too, that the question

touching Public Buildings has not yet been raised, for the licences are all granted at once without any hesitation, for they are dated April 2, 1672 (in the very first batch issued), and entered on **E.** (**7**).

5. *Sussex.*—From Petworth a licence is desired for 'the lofte over 'the Markett place in pettworth which they hire.' The application is made by Thomas Blood, with a pair for Thurnscoe, Yorkshire [**321** (**328**)]. It is undated. But none of these memoranda were left later than the middle of June, and there is proof positive that it must have been earlier than June 10, for the Thursco licences are entered as issued on that date [**E.** (**162**)]. There are licences entered in **E.**—viz., for two houses in Petworth: Jeoffrey Dautrie's, dated July 22, 1672 [**E.** (**201**)], and Henry Phillips's, dated August 10, 1672 [**E.** (**230**)]. Most probably, then, Blood's application was refused, for this loft over the market is hardly to be identified with either 'the house of 'Jeoffrey Dantrie at Petworth' [**E.** (**201**)], or 'the house of Henry Phillips, Petworth' [**E.** (**230**)]. And 'the Loft over the Market at 'Petworth' must be reckoned as among the semi-public buildings refused (*cf.* pp. 241-242).

6. *Hants.*—From Andover, for the Town Hall, the application is preserved in two forms. The first is one in the handwriting of Isaac Chancy [**320** (**207**)], of Easton. [He signs **320** (**206**), 'Isaac Chancy of 'Estontõ Andover'], naming in the first line 'M^{r} Samuell Sprint for the 'tow̃ Hall in Andover,' with applications for five others, including one for himself (for 'Eastonton neer Andover'). The second [**320** (**208**)] is the first of a list of three of these applications for the immediate neighbourhood of Andover, drawn up in careful fashion but strange spelling. The spelling of 'preswaission' bewrays the author. It is Samuel Tomlyns, ejected from Crawley, living at Upham, preaching regularly at Winchester [**320** (**72**)]. **320** (**208**) reads:

> 'Samuel Sprint of Upper Clatford in the County of Sowthamton being of the Presbiterian Preswaission desier Licence to Preach
> In the Towne Hall of Andover in the saeyd County or in any other Licensed Place.'

But opposite the words 'The Towne Hall,' is the marginal note in Benson's hand 'not appr.,' and no licence was issued for it. In its stead—as in many similar cases—he gets a licence for his own house at Clatford, though not till after much trouble on the part of his friend and much vacillation as to denomination (whether it was to be Presbyterian or Congregational), on July 25, 1672 [**E.** (**219**)].

For Winchester comes an application for 'over the Market 'House' from Samuel Tomlins [**320** (**72**)]. He describes himself as 'Late Minister.' He had been such at Crawley, and since had been 'Living in the ꝑish of Upham.' He now 'desiers the 'Benefit of Our Most Gratious Majesties Declaration for Granting 'Liberty to preach,' and 'over the Market House of the sayde Citty' is 'a second' to 'the Howse of Ann Complin widdow in the Citty 'of Winchester' as places to preach in. [It is he who drew up the second application for Samuel Sprint to preach in 'Andover Towne Hall,' as is evident from his unique spelling of the word 'Persuasion.']

The two phrases seem to have been read as only descriptive of one and the same place: as though 'Widow Complin' lived in a tenement over the 'Market House.' The licences made out and entered on **E. (19)** and **E. (20)** give that clear impression, and the conclusion is to my mind inevitable from the fact that the marginal summary of the 'Place licenced' on **E. (20)** is 'Winton—Pr. Complin's howse.'

Yet my own strong conviction is that he was asking for two 'meeting-places,' 'the House of Ann Complin,' and 'a Chamber over 'the Market House'; the second being refused as a 'Public Hall.'

VI. South-Western.

1. *Wilts.*—For Chippenham comes an application for the Guild Hall. It is put in by James Innes junior [**320** (**70**)], for Mr. Benjamin Flower to preach in. He had made the application in [**320** (**69**)] for him to preach in 'his own house at Chippenham in Wilts'; but in this (**70**) he adds to the clause 'his own house at Chippenham in Wiltshire, '& the Guildhall there.' It is not granted; but his house is licenced on April 30, 1672 [**E.** (**49**)], and James Innes junior takes it away from Whitehall the next day, May 1, 1672 [**320** (**243**)].

From Salisbury come applications for both 'The Guildhall' and 'The Shoemakers' Hall': first in a paper in James Innes junior's handwriting [**320** (**67**)] for 'M^r^ W^m^ Hunt Presb. of New Sarum. 'the Guildhall at Salisbury—the Shoemakers Hall there.' Against them we find the fatal annotation 'not app.' Still, a second application is 'put in' in the same hand [**320** (**156**)] in almost identical terms:

> 'M^r^ W^m^ Hunt, Presb.
> The house commonly called Guildhall } in new Sarum.'
> & the house called Shoemaker's hall }

The second attempt succeeds no better than the first. In the margin Benson writes again 'not appr.' No licence is issued for either; and no definite place is licensed for William Hunt. A licence for him as a 'Generall teacher' is entered May 2, 1672 [**E.** (**69**)].

2. *Somerset.*—The application from Bath for licence to use the Episcopal Churches of St. James or St. Michael in that city (for Mr. James Greenwood to preach in), was evidently an afterthought. James Greenwood's first application [**320** (**125**)] in a long list of 'Persons & 'Places desired to be licensed,' put in by Francis Benson, April 18, 1672, was 'to be a Presbyterian Teacher at Barton Farme, near Bath.' But he decided to get up a Petition—on his own behalf—framed somewhat on Dr. Butler's model, and to put in a claim for one of these two parish churches. This he did in **320** (**139**) 'Humbly praying' (after a preamble of more than ordinary flattery) 'that (if it seeme good to 'your Princely wisdome to allow unto Non-conformists any vacant 'Churches or Chappells that are non-endowed) St. James or St. 'Michaells Church in Bath both vacant and not endowed, may be

'allowed M^{r} James Greenwood. . . . But if neither of the s^{d} Churches, 'which would be most decent for the wor^{hp} of god and most convenient 'for many sickly and infirme people of our perswation: Then wee most 'humbly begg your most gratious allowance of a meeting place at Barton 'ffarme a little remote from the Citty.' It was signed by eight of His Majesty's 'Faithfull Subjects within and adjacent to the City of Bath.' The applications for these Churches was rejected (though we have no documentary evidence of the spirit and manner of its rejection), but the licences for James Greenwood and Barton farm were issued April 19, 1672, and registered on **E.** (**33**) and **E.** (**32**) respectively.

From the Taunton district came one of the boldest applications in the whole range of these licence-documents. It is unsigned and undated. It asks licences for five public buildings, distributed in the three towns of Taunton, Trull, and Wellington. It is calendared **320** (**292**), and is for—

(1) The Old Court House in Wellington;
(2) The Towne Hall and Church House of Taunton; and
(3) The Parish Church 'in the tyme of Vacãcie' and the Church House of Trull.

It puts in an application for a private house (Thomas Stone's) in Taunton as well, and strengthens the application for Church and Church House in Trull by adding: 'This is desired by the Generalitie of the 'pish.' One would like to know the author of a document of such amazing courage.

The expression of the desire from Trull is so strong that it needed and obtained no confirmation. The request from Wellington for the Old Court House is repeated in a second application—the form of which suggests that it was put together by the same hand as **320** (**292**)—viz., **321** (**37**) which gives a list of six ministers and the places which they desired for their meeting-places, the first of which is that of Timothy Batt for the Old Court House, and for another private house in Wellington as well—viz., 'the howse of Daniell Lock.' It is evidently Walter Payne's memorandum, and seeks to smooth the way for acceptance of the Old Court House by describing it as 'John Norman's house in Wel-'lington cald Old Court house.' [In **320** (**292**) it is described with vaguer dignity as 'an old house com̃only called or knowne by the Name 'of the old Court howse.']

The application from Taunton is fortified also by a separate document —viz., a formal Petition to the King signed by ten 'Inhabitants of the 'Towne & pish of Taunton St. Mary Magdalene in the County of 'Som^{r}set' [**321** (**2**)], praying that 'George Newton Clerke M^{r} of Arts 'of the presbiterean way may be Licensed to preach to the presbiterean 'Congregac̃on in The Towne-Hall, Church House & the dwelling-'house of Thomas Stone in the said Towne.'

The application for four of the five Public Buildings was rejected.

(1) In Wellington, that for the Old Court House is granted as John Norman's house, May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**84**)].

(2) In Taunton, neither Town Hall nor Church House was licensed, but Thomas Stone's house was, May 2, 1672 [**E.** (**69**)]; as well as two others applied for by W. Payne; and

(3) In Trull, though licence was refused alike for the Parish Church and Church House, Benjamin Berry was licensed to preach in two private houses, May 16, 1672 [**E.** (**120**)].

From Ivelchester (or Ilchester) comes an application for 'The 'Chamber over the Scholehouse' [**321** (**364**)]. It is put in as a second 'place' for William Hopkins of Milborn Port, in addition to his own house in Milborn Port. His own house is licensed; but the only house in Ivelchester licensed is Mary Moore's [**E.** (**212**)], which cannot reasonably be identified with 'The Chamber over the School House' any more than 'over the Winchester Market Hall' can be identified with Widow Champlin's house. We view 'The Chamber over Ivel-'chester School House' amongst the 'rejected.'

From Chard the application for 'The new hall in the midst of the 'Towne' should probably be looked upon as rejected, though some may identify it with 'a large roome in the midst of the street at Chard,' which was allowed and licensed May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**79**)].

'The New Hall' was first applied for on behalf of Mr. Ben. Milles, 'Presb. of Chard in Somersett,' in a long list on **320** (**67**), put in by James Inness junior, and was marked in the margin 'not appr.' Application for it was put in a second time in another of James Inness junior's memoranda of application [**320** (**156**)], only not linking Mr. Milles's name with it. It stands in the line above Milles's (which reads: 'Ben: Milles Presb. a personall License'), and is again annotated 'not appr.' It seems to have been refused, but B. Milles gets his personal licence May 2, 1672; twice entered—on **E.** (**68**) and **E.** (**69**).

'The large Roome in the midst of the Street at Chard,' on the other hand, is applied for by James Innes junior, definitely as a 'place' for William Samson of Thorncombe, Devon, to preach in. This on **321** (**20***b*), where it is described as 'belonging to M^r^ W^m^ Atkins, 'M^r^ Nath. Pitts & others.'

Twice before John Hickes had applied for a licence for William Samson [**320** (**104**) and (**145**)], but with no 'place' named for him; but now—most promptly—licences are made out for him and this 'Large 'Roome in Chard,' May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**79**)], and James Innes junior takes them away the very next day, May 9, 1672 [**321** (**66**)].

It is surely more probable that these two—'The New Hall' and 'the large Roome'—are distinct structures; but it is possible, of course, that the licence may have been granted for it when described as the private property of the individual specially named, though refused when described as a large public hall.

3. *Dorset.*—The application for the Court Baron House at Bradford Abbas as a 'place' for Jeremiah French to teach in would probably have been refused, but that it was described so distinctly as his personal property in both the documents containing the application. The first

is a Petition humbly begging the King to license it [**321** (**30**)], signed by himself and four others; and beneath their names is this note: 'The place above mencõned is M^r^ French the peconer (petitioner) his 'owne house—in that or in any outhouse & building thereunto 'belonging, they being all his owne.'

The second is an application-memorandum put in on the same paper with two others [**321** (**36**)], by John Warr or Mr. Bradbye, and puts it quite as emphatically: 'his owne house called the Court baron 'house at Bradford Abbas.'

The licences are granted promptly May 8, 1672, entered on **E.** (**88**) and (**89**), and taken away by John Warr a week later, May 15, 1672 [**321** (**157**)].

In Beaminster, too, an application is granted for 'a Roome under the 'Markett house.' It was made by James Innes junior, in that portentous list of his on **321** (**364**). It was for John Willis to preach in [and 'The house of Lancelott Cox there' is asked for as well]. The licence for the house of Lancelott Cox is made out and entered first [**E.** (**177**)], but it is not dated. The other two are entered on **E.** (**232**) as both issued August 10, 1672.

So that it was granted, though tardily.

4. *Devon.*—From Honiton come applications for the Chapel of All Hallowes and for the School House. The documents containing these applications, however, are so confused as regards the ministers who desired to use the buildings that a good deal of needless trouble was caused to the officials at Whitehall. The confusion was on the part of James Innes senior. The correction was made by his son, James Innes junior. The documents containing these applications are **320** (**34**) and **320** (**35**).

320 (**34**) was a letter addressed to James Innes senior, by Edmund Calamy, with reference to the licence he desired for the Curriers' Hall, and asking James Innes senior to employ his son in procuring the Licence.

An application for the Honiton School House is also appended in a line written by James Innes junior, on the back of this letter to his father. [The letter is dated April 6, so that the date of this memorandum by James Innes junior, would naturally be a day or two later.]

320 (**35**) is a letter from James Innes senior, to Sir Joseph Williamson, begging licences for Nathaniel Vincent and William Whitaker; and it is in a Postscript to this letter that he makes the confused application for Honiton which produces such a muddle. He makes Mr. Sourton, of Honiton, desire a licence for the Chapel of All Hallows, says nothing about the School House, and asks for Mr. Hieron (another Honiton minister) only a personal licence.

This letter of his evidently reached Whitehall before **320** (**34**), which he probably sent on to his son the same day that he wrote himself to Sir Joseph Williamson. It was acted on with promptitude. Put at once by Sir Joseph into the hands of his clerk, Mr. Benson made out a licence for Mr. Sourton in accordance with this Postscript. But the licence never left Whitehall; and is preserved in the Record Office to this day as **320** (**270**). Though the blanks in the body of the printed form are filled up, it is not dated. Doubtless for this simple reason. Before completion by signature the son had called with Calamy's letter to his father, presented it as a memorandum of application for the Curriers' Hall, and left it—with the two lines on the back of it, which he wrote as memoranda of application for the three Honiton licences. So that a fresh licence was made out for Mr. Hieron to preach in the Honiton School House, instead of Mr. Sourton, which was quite right. The licence already made out for the School House would, of course, be valid for either; and we have these two entered on **E.** (**8**) as issued April 2, 1672.

Through this confusion Mr. Sourton gets left out in the cold. When Innes senior's application for him to preach in 'The Chappell of 'All-hallowes' is brought before the authorities—although Mr. Innes is careful to explain that it 'is only in the power of some parochall 'Trustees (not belonging at all to the Bishops jurisdiction, as [he is] 'informed)'—the application is 'not approved,' and licences are refused.

The correct application made by his son: 'Mr Sourton only for a 'personall License,' is somehow overlooked. A licence is granted him for Powderham, as a General Teacher, a month later (May 2, 1672) [**E.** (**76**)], on an application by James Innes junior [**320** (**67**)], in a long list undated and unsigned, though in his unmistakable handwriting. James Innes junior calls for it, and takes it away, as we see by the Receipt Mem. [**320** (**295**)]. No licence is granted him for Tiverton till September 5, 1672, as shown by the entry on **E.** (**236**).

By this time, too, something must have happened about the School House. It looks very much as though objection had been raised in powerful quarters to the use of 'The School House' itself (although a licence had been duly issued for it), for another licence is issued the same date as Mr. Sourton's general licence—viz., September 5, for 'A meeting-house adjoyning to the Scoole house,' and entered on **E.** (**249**). Or was it that a meeting-house—which was projected (perhaps even begun) when the School House itself was licensed—was completed in these five months, and a licence obtained for it, in order that it might be used in its stead?

For the School House at Tiverton, too, application was made, and was made successfully, as a place for Richard Saunders. A first application was 'put in' by John Hickes on **320** (**52**), with three other Devon cases, not later than the middle of April, and, all unsuspiciously, it was granted at once; for John Hickes had had the astuteness to put it in as 'Mr John Blundel's house'—John Blundell being one of the School Trustees. The licence was issued April 13, 1672, and entered on **E.** (**20**). Application had meantime been made to Sir Thomas Clifford, who was M.P. for Totness (as well as installed at the Treasury), to support the claim. And on April 18—five days after the licences had been made out, signed, and dated—he sent round a memorandum to his colleague's (Lord Arlington's) office, for Oliver Peard, of

Barnstaple, and for James Haddridge, of Halberton, as well as for Richard Saunders, of Tiverton. This appears from Benson's endorsement of the paper [**320** (**126**)]: 'Devon. Given in by Mr Treasurers Steward. 18 Ap.' The description of the building in this application is much fuller, representing it as 'the English Schoole howse belonging to John 'Blundell, Wm Hamm Esqrs & others Trustees for ye same.' That was on the Saturday; and on the following Monday Sir Thomas Clifford sends round again and takes away the licences (now a week old), as the note informs us: 'delivered to Mr Treasurers man 20 Apr. 72.'

In Exeter application was made by James Innes junior, on **320** (**40**), last line, for 'The School house . . . belonging to ye Hospital 'of St. John's at Exon'; but it was ignored or neglected—for nothing came of it.

VII. WALES.

1. *Glamorgan.*—In Swansea, application was made, and is preserved in three memoranda, for the School House, for Daniel Higgs to preach in.

The first memorandum was 'put in' by Richard Steele [**320** (**84**)]. It asked licences for 'Daniel Higgs Congr. at his own House and at the 'School-house in Swansey. Glamorganshire.'

The second application [**320** (**86**)] is unsigned. But the endorsement contains the fatal phrase 'not appr.'; and its first item has also a note as fatal: 'Daniel Higgs Congregat. Swansey schoole house (not 'licensed) and his owne house Glamorgan shire.'

The third is on a list drawn up by Fr. Benson [**320** (**88**)], in the line 'Daniel Diggs Congregationall, at the Schoole howse in Swanzey.'

The third mention effects no more than the other two. It manifestly was rejected, and no licence issued.

2. *Monmouth.*—In Newport application is made for the Market House. It is made on **321** (**353**), in a paper headed 'Licenses to 'preach in ye County of Monmouth,' but not signed. It is the second item in the list: 'Mr John Powell Independent At the Markett howse 'in Newport.'

It was evidently 'not approved,' and no licence was issued for it, for 'John Powell of Newport, Monmouth' received a Licence only as 'Grāll Independent Teacher,' dated June 10, 1672, and entered on **E.** (**170**).

Summarizing the results of all these applications, then (omitting the Inns), we find that thirty-seven licences were granted and fifty-three were refused.

Classifying them as along the lines adopted on pp. 649-652, we get the two following lists:

I. GRANTED.

1. Anglican Buildings:

   Ellin's Chapel, in the parish of Hardshaw-under-Windle, Lancs (now St. Helen's parish church). August 10, 1672 [**E.** (**228**)].

Rivington Chapel, Lancs [**E.** (**196**)] (' The Meeting Place in 'Rivington ').

2. Relics of the Roman Catholic Régime :
   - Whitefriars, Chester, Cheshire. May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**92**)].
   - Greyfriars, Ipswich, Suffolk. April 16, 1672 [**E.** (**25**)].
   - Mr. Dunsmore's Hall in Greyfriars, Canterbury, Kent. June 10, 1672 [**E.** (**164**)].
3. Educational :
   - School House (?), Brancepeth, Durham. June 13, 1672 [**E.** (**153**)] [Robert Lever's house].
   - School House, Clapham, Surrey. April 2, 1672 [**E.** (**7**)].
   - School House, Honiton, Devon. September 5, 1672 [**E.** (**249**)].
   - School House, Tiverton, Devon. April 13, 1672 [**E.** (**20**)] (' A Meeting house adjoining it ').
4. Civic :
   - The Town Hall, Newbury, Berks. April 9, 1972 [**B.** (**30**)].
   - The Tolbooth, Morpeth, Northumberland. April 30, 1672 [**E.** (**49**)].
   - The Court House, Holcomb, Tottington, Lancs. September 5, 1672 [**E.** (**236**)].
   - The Court House, Warrington, Lancs. September 5, 1672 [**E.** (**236**)].
   - The Old Court House, Ludlow, Salop. July 25, 1672 [**E.** (**212**)].
   - The Old Court House, Wellington, Somerset. May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**84**)] (' the house of John Norman ').
   - The Court Baron House, Bradford Abbas, Dorset. May 8, 1672 [**E.** (**88**)] (' the house of Jeremiah French ').
   - The Mainriding House, Leeds, Yorks. May 1, 1672 [**E.** (**60**)].
   - The Almirey (' Almnery ') Hall (Ethelbert's Palace), Canterbury, Kent. April 2, 1672 [**E.** (**4**)].
   - A Room over the Market, Oswestry, Salop. July 25, 1672 [**E.** (**218**)].
   - A Room under the Market House, Beaminster, Dorset. August 10, 1672 [**E.** (**232**)].
5. Commercial or Mercantile :
   - Weavers' Hall, Cirencester, Gloucester. May 22, 1672 [**321** (**130**)].
   - Curriers' Hall, St. Alphage, London Wall, London. April 2, 1672 [**E.** (**8**)].
6. Private Mansions ;
   - Swath Hall, Worsborough dale, Yorks. May 22, 1672 [**E.** (**131**)] (' The house of John Wadsworth ').

Kirk Sandall Hall, Kirk Sandall, Yorks. May 1, 1672 [**E. (61)**].
Wath Hall, Wath-upon-Dearne, Yorks. August 10, 1672 [**E. (230)** and (?) **E. (188)**] ('the house of Samuel Coates').
West Hall, Hatfield, Yorks. May 1, 1672 [**E. (60)**].
The White House, Sherbourne, Yorks. May 2, 1672 [**E. (68)**].
The Oratory (John Bradshaw, Esq.), Rivington, Lancs. July 16, 1672 [**E. (196)**].
The Oratory, Birch Hall, Birch, near Manchester, Lancs. April 30, 1672 [**E. (51)**].
Hall in Wootton Court, Wootton, Kent. June 29, 1672 [**E. (190)**].
Mistool House, Chartham, Kent. May 8, 1672 [**E. (87)**].
Glassenbury (Lady Bridget Roberts'), Cranbrooke, Kent. April 20, 1672 [**E. (34)**].
The Chequer, Ash, Kent [**E. (167)**] (?) ('John Savery's 'house').
Hall in Old Abbey, Town Malling, Kent. July 1, 1672 [**E. (192)**].
Court Lodge, Lamberhurst, Kent. May 1, 1672 [**E. (66)**].
Fairlawn, Shipbourne, (Lady Vane's), Kent. December 9, 1672 [**E. (279)**].

II. REFUSED.

1. Anglican Buildings:

Parish Church, St. James, Bath, Somerset. April 17.
Parish Church, St. Michael's, Bath, Somerset. April 18.
Parish Church, Trull, Somerset. May 2.
Chapel, St. Magdalen Hospital, Newcastle. April 16, made out; yet not approved.
Chapel, Trinity House, Newcastle. April 10, made out and not approved.
Chapel, Coley, Halifax, Yorks. April 20.
Chapel, Morley, Batley, Yorks. April 15 and 24.
Chapel, Heaton, Cleckheaton, Yorks. April 30 or May 1.
Chapel of Ease, Nayland-by-Stoke, Suffolk. April 11 or 12.
Chapel, Hospital of St. Bartholomew's, Sandwich, Kent. April 17 or 18.
Chapel of All Hallows, Honiton, Devon. April 6.
Parish Church House, Marshfield, Gloucester. May 10, 1672.
Church House, Taunton, Somerset. May 2.
Church House, Trull, Somerset. May 2.

2. Relics of old Roman Catholic Régime:

The Nunnery, Rothwell, Northamptonshire. April 11 or 12.
Blackfriars, Norwich, Norfolk. April 30 or May 1.

3. Educational:
   - School House, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland. April 12, 13.
   - Free School House, Leeds, Yorks. April 17 (Dr. B.).
   - School House, Blyth, Notts. May 31 or June 1.
   - Free School, Nottingham, Notts. April 23 or 24.
   - School House, Birmingham, Warwick. May 1 or 2.
   - School House, Geddington, Northants. April 11 or 12.
   - Room over School House, Wellington, Somerset. April 11 or 12.
   - School House, Ivelchester, Somerset. June 14.
   - School House, Exeter, Devon. April 11 or 12.
   - School House, Swansea, Glamorgan, Wales. April 16 or 17.

4. Commercial or Mercantile:
   - Haberdashers' Hall, London. March 22.
   - Loriners' Hall, London, April 15 or 16.
   - Leathersellers' Hall, London, April 16.
   - The Glass House, or Pinners' Hall, Broad Street, London. April 16.
   - Shoemakers' Hall, Salisbury, Wilts. April 15 or 16.

5. Civic:
   - The Tolbooth, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland. April 16.
   - The Tolbooth, Alnwick, Northumberland. May 7.
   - Town Hall, Birmingham, Warwickshire. April 17.
   - Town Hall, Nottingham, Notts. April 20.
   - King's Hall or County Hall, Nottingham, Notts. April 20.
   - Town Hall, Chipping Norton, Oxon. April 11, 12.
   - Town Hall, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon. May 16, 17.
   - Town Hall, Andover, Hants. April 30.
   - Town Hall, Taunton, Somerset. April 30.
   - Guildhall, Beccles, Suffolk. May 9 or 10.
   - Guildhall, Chippenham, Wilts. April 14, 15.
   - Guildhall, Salisbury, Wilts. April 11, 12.
   - The Shire House, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. April 30 or May 1.
   - The Moot Hall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland. April 16, made out; yet refused.
   - The Town House or Court House, Bridlington, Yorks. May 13-16.
   - The New Hall in the midst of the Town, Chard, Somerset. April 12-14.
   - The Spice Chambers, or Old Shambles, Nottingham, Notts. April 23 or 24.
   - Room over Market Place, Petworth, Sussex. June 10-11.
   - Room over the Market Place, Winchester, Hants. April 11, 12.

The Market House, Newport, Monmouth, Wales. June 11, 12.

6. Private Mansions:

Trinity House, Greaseborough (Earl of Stafford), Greaseborough, Yorks. April 11, 12.

A Place called The Recess, Cirencester, Somerset. April 18.

CHAPTER VII

LICENCES MADE OUT, BUT LEFT AT WHITEHALL

In the Preface to Vol. I., reference is made to 'what may be called "derelict" Licences'—*i.e.*, 'actual Licence-forms more or less completely filled up, signed, and dated, and yet never taken away from Whitehall' (page ix).

There are twelve of them: Licences which have never reached their proper destination, left in Lord Arlington's Office in the first instance, and so carefully preserved among the State Papers that they are to be seen in the Public Record Office at the present day by any one interested to ask for them.

Why they were left when presumably of priceless value to those who applied for them, is prima facie a great puzzle.

Were they left through pure carelessness, the licensee or his agent not taking the trouble to call for them at Whitehall? or were they imperfect, and as technically 'incomplete,' practically valueless? Only a detailed examination of each and all can enable us to answer these questions.

Such detailed examination will be found on the following pages: Of the eleven 'derelicts' only 'one' is preserved in '**320**,' the other ten are all in '**321**.' They are: (1) **320 (270)**; (2) **321 (89)**; (3) **321 (165)**; (4) **321 (257)**; (5) **321 (299)**; (6) **321 (317)**; (7) **321 (318)**; (8) **321 (319)**; (9) **321 (320)**; (10) **321 (374)**; (11) **321 (375)**; and (12) **321 (377)**.

We take them in this order:

(1) **320 (270)**: The first of this singular collection of derelict licences is made out on the first model—*i.e.*, as 'Licence for a Teacher' [*vide* **320 (7)**, **(8)**, **(9)**, and **(9*a*)**]—a teacher in a definitely assigned place. It is filled in by Mr. Benson for 'Francis Sourton of y^{e} Presbyterien pswac̄on,' to preach 'in the Schole house at the Towne of Honiton in Our County of Devon.' It is neither signed nor dated. Before going the length of submitting it for signature to the King and Lord Arlington, Sir Joseph Williamson (or his subordinate, Francis Benson) had his attention drawn to the confused muddle which was concentrated in it.

The licence-documents, carefully sifted, reveal a pretty story, showing James Innes senior, and James Innes junior, involved in a somewhat amusing tangle.

[The following story in part has been twice told already in these pages, from different standpoints, once in treating of James Innes senior, and again in the last entry on Public Buildings, so that it may be passed over by those who have read either.]

James Innes senior, though a Nonconformist, was rather a *persona grata* at Court, and though one of the ejected in Cornwall, had come to possess considerable interest in Nonconformist circles in London. He had played a rather important part in the negotiations which had led to the issue of the Indulgence, and which had determined the forms of its working; and he availed himself early of his influence at Whitehall to secure licences for his friends. The second document connected with Mr. Sourton's case is a letter, preserved as **320** (**35**), addressed by him to Sir Joseph Williamson, written on Saturday, April 6. It presupposes a previous successful attempt on behalf of Thomas Vincent, a brother of Innes's wife, and begs a similar favour for Thomas's younger brother, Nathaniel Vincent, as well as for Mr. Whitaker, Nathaniel's friend and neighbour in Southwark.

The postscript of this letter, however, concerns Francis Sourton. It reads: 'There is one M^r^ Sourton of Devon who desires, if it may 'be, a Licence for a place in Honiton call'd the Chappell of All-'hallows (w^ch^ is only in the power of some parochall Trustees, not 'belonging at all to the Bishops jurisdiction, as I am informed'). The derelict licence, however (the history of which we are seeking to trace), assigns to Francis Sourton, not the 'proprietary Chapel of All-'hallows,' but 'the Schoole house' in the Town of Honiton.

Whence the variance? The preceding document [**320** (**34**)] supplies the explanation. That document is a letter written by Edmund Calamy (the father of the Historian of Nonconformity) to James Innes senior, asking him to employ his son to procure him a licence for the 'Curriars (*sic*) Hall in Alphage Parish.' James Innes senior, had apparently handed the letter over to his son, who had gone to Whitehall with it, taking also his father's letter to Sir Joseph Williamson.

But the 'desires' of Mr. Sourton and of his friend, Mr. Hieron, of the same town (Honiton), were apparently known to the son, independently of the father, and before handing in his father's letter from Edmund Calamy, he had written a brief memorandum on the back of it in reference to the two Honiton brethren. It is quite clearly in his bold, clear, characteristic handwriting, and asks 'the School House' for 'M^r^ Heron,' and only a personal licence for Mr. Sourton. It reads:

'M^r^ Heron for the Schoolehouse in Honiton Parish.
'M^r^ Sourton only for a personall License.'

What passed verbally between young Innes and the Whitehall officials, of course, we cannot tell; but between the two postscripts, and the talk over the counter of the office, Mr. Benson got completely confused, and made out a licence for Mr. Sourton for the place desired for Mr. Hieron. The confusion was evidently discovered, when young Innes called for the licences; for Mr. Sourton's was left behind as of no use. Whether another was made out for Mr. Sourton for the

Chapel of All-Hallows or not, we do not know. If so, it was rejected as ‘not approved’ by Arlington and the King.

That a licence for the School-house as the meeting-place for Mr. Hieron was made out and passed we know, for both licences are entered on **E. (8)**:

‘Schoole Howse in Honiton. Pres.	‘Schoole Howse in Honiton Parish licenced to be a Place of Meeting of the Presbyterian way. 2 Apr. 1672’
‘Heron a Presbyt. Teacher in Honiton Schoole	‘Licence to M^{r} Heron to be a Presbyt. Teacher in the Schoole howse in Honiton. 2 Apr. 1672 [is of y^{e} County of Devoñ’]

So that through the muddle between James Innes, *père et fils*, poor Mr. Sourton goes without his licence, though his friend and neighbour gets his within a fortnight of the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence.

But he does not lose his licence altogether. Indeed, ultimately he gets two licences—one in May, and the other in September. To understand the characteristic differences between them, however, we must glance at what Calamy is able to tell us of Sourton's career (II. 41).

Calamy's notice of him is given under the head of ‘Honiton M^{r} ‘Francis Soreton.’ He does not seem to know his place of birth. He was son of Ellis Sourton (‘Soorton’) of North Buckland (Foster's ‘Alum. Oxon.’), was educated in the Free School of Plymouth, so was most probably a native of that great southern seaport, or its immediate neighbourhood. He passed from Plymouth to Oxford, where he became a Fellow of Exeter College. He was a hard student, and became a learned scholar, and (what was better) an excellent preacher. His influence was very great with even the least cultured and most unruly of his parishioners at Honiton. Besides his regular Sunday preaching, he preached a monthly ‘preparation sermon,’ and set up a ‘weekly lecture’ in which he had the co-operation of several like-minded clergy of the neighbourhood. This multiform activity he maintained ‘till the act of Uniformity ejected him.’ Calamy proceeds in his story: ‘He then retired to the house of *Sir W^{m} Courtney* of ‘Poderham, whose aunt he married, and who presented him to this ‘living.’

Our natural inference would be that he retired to Powderham in 1662 or early in 1663. If that is what Calamy meant, however, he was misinformed, as the Episcopal Returns of 1665 show him to be still living in Honiton in that year. Both forms of Seth Ward's Returns tell the same tale. In the short summary in **R. 307***b*, we have: ‘Honyton 31, ‘M^{r} Fran. Sourton. thence ejected’; and in the longer form on **R. 402***b*, under the heading of ‘Honyton Deanery—Nonconformists,’ we have this report: ‘M^{r} Francis Sourton sometymes minister of Honyton now ‘liveing in Honyton.’ Evidently, then, for three years after his ejectment he continued to live amongst his faithful and attached people. ‘Upon the Five-mile act,’ Calamy tells us, ‘he was imprisoned in

'Exeter jail.' That statement comes most inconsequently after a reference to the Indulgence of 1672—whereas it was passed we know seven years before it—in natural sequence to Sheldon's 'Enquiries,' which were aimed chiefly at the Nonconformists, and undoubtedly were intended to make the execution of it the swifter and more pitiless by giving the persecuting officials information as to where to find their men. He was already closely connected with Powderham, as the Dowager Lady Courtenay, of Powderham, had the patronage of the Rectory of Honiton, had given Sourton the living, and later had given herself to him in marriage.

The Courtenay family had for generations had large possessions and great influence in both Cornwall and Devon; indeed, the eldest of the family were hereditary Earls of Devon. The Sir William Courtenay of Powderham of this period, though a young man [his aunt was Mr. Francis Sourton's wife], was High Sheriff of the county, and from 1678 to 1681 represented the county in Parliament. Yet he and his family were thoroughly Puritan in their sympathies, though his namesake (? and father) had commanded troops for the King's cause in the civil wars only twenty years before (Clarendon, II. 661). Indeed, we have this curious paradox—the lineal descendant of William Courtenay, the Papal prelate (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), who three centuries before cited Wicklif to appear before him when Bishop of London, appears now as champion of this more than Wicliffite Nonconformist ejected minister.

As Calamy tells us, when Francis Sourton was imprisoned in Exeter jail for breaking the Five Mile Act by continuing to live in the Borough of Honiton, Sir William Courtenay did not hesitate to espouse his cause and use his influence as High Sheriff of Devon to procure his release 'and conveyed him in his coach to his own house' in Powderham Park, 'where' (Calamy adds) 'he continued till his death.'

Though the affections of his old people at Honiton were still warmly with him from 1665 to 1672, his home was in the mansion of his powerful friend (his wife's nephew) at Powderham.

As we have seen, when the Indulgence was proclaimed, application was made for him that he might be licensed to preach in the proprietary Chapel of All-Hallows in Honiton; an application made only first to be misrepresented and then to be rejected. That was in April. But not a month later a second application was made connecting him, not with the parish from which he had been ejected, but with that in which he had found refuge in Sir William Courtenay's hospitable mansion. It is James Innes junior who makes this second attempt. On an application memorandum asking for no less than forty-eight licences [numbered **320 (67)**] the last line but one reads:

'M^{r} Francis Sourton of Pouderham in Devon Presb. a Gen^{ll} teacher'

This application receives immediate attention. The licence is granted, and entered in **E. (76)** under date May 2. It reads:

'Francis Sourton Grãll Pr. of Pounderhã in Devoñ. 2 May. 72.'

More, James Innes junior calls for it, and takes it away from Whitehall the very day it is issued [so, at any rate, the calendarist appears to think from the position he assigns in Vol. **320** to this undated document]. The memorandum of receipt is **320 (295)**, and acknowledges the receipt of fifty-six licences, Francis Sourton's being indicated by the two words 'Sourton teacher' about half-way down the list.*

Of course, as a general licence, it gave Sourton Royal authority to preach in any 'allowed' place, whether at Powderham or Honiton, or anywhere else. At Powderham, however, there was no licensed place, as Sir William Courtenay, though openly giving the ejected minister a home, did not apply for a licence. Still, at Kenn, close by, Richard Herring's house was licensed—the minister who had been ejected from Drew's Teignton; while at Topsham there were two—the houses of John Sealy and William Green; and at Woodbury, the other side of the Estuary, there were two—one belonging to a layman, Andrew Holwill, and the other to another ejected minister, Richard Binmore (who had been ejected from Woodleigh-on-Avon, in the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge.

His friends at Honiton, however, were not satisfied: and yet another licence was asked for, and obtained, describing him as of Honiton.

As this was four months later, we have only the entry of the licence in **E.** No memoranda of either application or receipt are preserved bearing date later than June, nor is the Imperfect Index continued after that month. The entry, too, is not made in Francis Benson's hand, but in a hand much less free and cultured. It is on **E. (236)**, and runs:

> 'ffrancis Sourton in Honiton in Devon. Presb. tea. Sep^t^ 5^th^'

So the last glimpse we have of him in this licence literature unites him to his old people. Significantly (?), too, in the same handwriting, and for the same date (September 5), we have this entry on **E. (249)**, last line:

> 'A meeting house adjoyning to the Scoole house in Honiton Devon Sep^r^ 5^th^ Prs.'

Had his friends built this meeting-house so as to secure his services, while Mr. Hieron's friends had the benefit of their own pastor's ministry in the School-house itself? . . . or what is its real explanation?

(2) **321 (89)**. This is a 'Licence for a Generall Teacher,' fully made out, and duly signed above by Charles R. and at foot by Arlington; but not dated, and never given out. [Incidentally (be it observed) the filling in the date is thus shown to be the last thing done with a licence, apparently just before it is handed over the counter to the person taking it away.] It is made out for

> 'Richard Chidell of Roade, in the Parish of Godshill in the Isle of Wight *of the Perswasion commonly called* Presbyterien *to be a Teacher and to teach in any Place licensed & allowed by Us*' &c.

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* That this is the licence referred to in **320** (**295**) is made fairly certain by the way it is entered in Sir Joseph's imperfect Index—**I.** (*vide* Vol. I., p. 597):

> 'Pounderham | Francis Sourton in any allowed Place 2 May 72.'

Why was it not actually 'given out'? Or, to put it the other way, why was it not 'taken away' by Richard Chidell or his authorized Agent?

These Licence-documents, I think, make it clear. It was because Richard Chidell did not pose as a minister, and did not want to be licensed as a Teacher. The fair conclusion, I think it will be seen, is that he was a stalwart Nonconformist layman in good circumstances, whose 'mansion-house' was in a hamlet called Roade, in the Parish of Godshill; and that all he wanted was a licence for his house as a meeting-house for Presbyterians to worship in. His friends or agents, knowing little about him or the Isle of Wight, made a hash of his instructions.

It seems that he had expressed his desire before the end of the month of April, and that his agent in Town—quite probably the Richard Davies, who ultimately takes it away—had applied for a licence for his house exactly in conformity with his desire. A licence was prepared, signed, and dated May 1, 1672, as is proved by the entry on **E. (67)**. It is the first line on the page:

> 'Rich^d Chiddells howse for Pr. in Roade in the Parish of Goddshill in Wight. 1 May.'

There it was left uncalled for for a full fortnight.

Mr. Chiddell, it may be presumed, was uneasy that he had not received it, and wrote to friends in London about it; and they stirred again to secure him his desire. This time it was the famous John Hickes, whose services they enlist. He seems very imperfectly to have understood his commission; for on May 10 (a Friday) he hands in a memorandum of application [**321 (87)**] the very last item on which is one for Chidell. It reads:

> 'Richard Chidell in Roude in the parish of Godshill in the Isle of Wight for a Presbyt. Congregat.'

321 (87) is a composite document containing two lists following one another on the same page, but separately signed, one line in each of which is erased, and betraying in several other details (which need not be particularized here), either carelessness, haste, or confusion.

Evidently this last line is read by the officials as a request for a Teacher's licence; though candour compels one to add that in this the officials were at fault rather than John Hickes. Though the word 'house' does not occur in the line, neither does the word 'teacher,' and the expression 'for a Presbyt. Congregat.' should surely have been understood as applying to a house as a meeting-place for a 'Presbyterian 'Congregation' rather than to a person as a Teacher. However that may be, the Whitehall officials do so misunderstand John Hickes's memorandum. They make out a licence in this sense—the very document which is preserved as **320 (89)** in the Record Office—and they enter it on **E. (109)** in these words:

> 'Licence to Rich: Chidell of Roade in the Parish of Godshill in the Isle of Wight. Pr. Graff Teacher 13 May'

It is a circumstance not easily explained that the entry is dated, while the licence is not. It surely is a strange thing, too, that when he left the memorandum **321** (**87**), John Hickes did not take away the licence for Chidell's house that had been ready ever since the first of the month. Either the officials did not look it up and offer it to him, or, if they offered it to him, he refused to take it.

The only other thing we know is that two days after this second licence has been made out, Richard Davis calls at Whitehall and takes away three licences—though in his memorandum he speaks of them as two—two for John Martyn and one for Richard Chidell.

The memorandum reads verbatim **321** (**159**) :

> 'May the 15th 72
> 'Received then a Lycence for John Martyn to teach in the howse of Grace Byly
> 'An other for a howse of Richard Chudwell in Rude parish in the Eile of Weight.
> 'by me
> 'RICHARD DAVIES'

The two licences covered by the first line (for a separate licence was needed, and was issued for Grace Byles's house as well as for John Martyn as a teacher), were applied for by John Hickes at the same time, and on the same memorandum-paper, as that on which he made application for Chiddell [**321** (**87**)]. It was made on the second line of the second section of that paper :

> 'John Martyn Independt teacher, & to teach in the house of Grace Byles at Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight'

Richard Davies could not have been a highly educated man ; for he writes 'Byly' for 'Byles'; 'Chudwell' for 'Chidell'; 'Rude' for 'Roade'; and 'Eile of Weight' for 'Isle of Wight.' Still, he seems to have known what he was about ; and particularly what Mr. Chidell wanted. For he refuses the second licence, made out for him only two days before ; and takes with him the licence made out just a fortnight since—for his house.

Thus it comes to pass, that by a misunderstanding of John Hickes's memorandum, Francis Benson was at pains to fill in a licence, and both the King and his Minister, Lord Arlington, were at pains to affix their signatures to it ; when it was not really desired, and so was left at Whitehall to be preserved as one of the historical curios which form the literary treasures of the Record Office.

(3) **321** (**165**).—This is complete, signed and dated, as well as properly filled in. It is a licence for James Briscoe of Toxteth Park, near Liverpool (Lancashire), as a general Congregational Teacher.

This must be the Briscoe, whom Calamy mentions (II. 380) as ejected from Walmsley Chapel, three miles north of Bolton, and a chapelry in parish of Bolton-le-Moors ; 'who was pastor of a congregational church in this Chapel,' and 'afterwards removed thence to

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'*Toxtoth Park* where he preached in the chapel jointly with Mr 'Thomas Crompton, continuing there till he died, which was in *Sept.* '1685 aged 96.' Calamy gives his Christian name as Michael, though in these licence-documents it is given six several times as 'James.' From contemporary Liverpool documents, however, it is clear that Calamy was right. Briscoe's name was undoubtedly Michael; and the puzzle is to understand how it appears in these licence-documents as 'James.'

In this year (1672) he was already an old man of eighty-three; but the minister with whom he was associated in the Nonconformist ministry of Toxteth Park was nearly fifty years his junior. Thomas Crompton (written 'Thrumpton' in these Documents), who had been the accredited minister of Toxteth ('Torkscath') Chapel, in the parish of Walton-on-the-Hill, during the Commonwealth, had been ejected in 1662 when he was only twenty-seven; and was at this time only thirty-seven. There was a difference, too, between them in their ecclesiastical standing as decided as their difference in age. Crompton (or Thrumpton) was a Presbyterian while Briscoe was a Congregationalist.

Two remarkable men was interested in this Nonconformist cause at Toxteth Park: one the notorious Thomas Blood, and the other, young Gilbert Aspinwall, who had only just been called to the bar in London, and who not unnaturally, in approaching Whitehall on its behalf, describes himself as 'Mr Gilbert Aspinwall of the Temple.'

At the outset, at least, the application is in behalf of the younger minister, who in Toxteth Park was amongst the people of his choice in the Commonwealth days. Four of the ten references to Toxteth Park in these licence-documents are concerned with him.

The first [**320** (**268**)] is an undated application-memorandum by Thomas Blood; which, besides eight applications for Essex (including those for Gilson and Kitley, which later were the occasion of a heated correspondence with Whitehall on the subject of fees), four for Newcastle, and one each for Middlesex and Kent, contained these two for Toxteth:—

> 'Tho Cramton of Toxtel Park Lankashire person & howse presbiterian
> 'A Meeting howse in Toxtel parke Lankashire'

No date is affixed to the paper; but it must have been 'put in' before the 2nd of May, as some of the Essex licences were issued on that date.

The next document connected with the case is an informal petition from the Toxteth Park people presented in person at Whitehall (a little later, probably) by young Aspinwall. It is of special value, not only on account of the social position of the petitioner, but as indicating the character of the 'Meeting house' for which a licence was being asked. The young London barrister was moving in the matter, without a doubt, because of his personal connection with the district. He was the son of one of Lancashire's gentry, Edward Aspinwall, of Aspinwall; and it is clear that the Aspinwalls were a large and influential clan in the southern half of the county, specially its south-western corner. (No less than four of them are mentioned in Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses.')

His petition shows that the 'Meeting howse' to be licensed is no private house lent, or public building hired, for the purpose; but one erected by the people themselves. Apart from this document, we might naturally conclude it was 'the Chapel of Ease in Toxteth Park,' specially licensed for Nonconformist worship; for Calamy (II. 378) tells us that Thomas Crompton, 'after the Act of Uniformity took place, 'continued to enjoy the liberty of the public chapel, being some way privileged.' [By the way, he gives the name in a very strange form, '*Torkscath* Park.'] Gilbert Aspinwall's petition shows that the people were not content any longer to use a building which really belonged to the prelatical Establishment. The young barrister makes very free with the minister's name; for he calls him not Crompton, but Trumpton; and the licence issued to him evidently had it in that strange disguise, for the licence-entry preserves it in that form.

The petition [**321** (**56**)] reads thus:

'Mr Thomas Trumpton nonconformist minister of Toxteth Park nere Liverpoole Lancashire is recommended by the inhabitants of the place to preach att a meeting house built by the inhabitants for that purpose.

'This is humbly moved by Mr Gilbert Aspinwall of the Temple in name and behalfe of all the rest'

And the licence-entries are on **E.** (**84**), showing that the licences asked were granted about a week after Blood's application was put in:

'The Meeting howse in Toxtethpark near Leverpoole in Lancashire licensed for Presb. use 8 May

'Licence to Thomas Trumpton to be a Pr. Teacher in the Meeting howse in Toxteth Park near Leverpoole, Lancashire. 8 May'

The 'Licence' for James Briscoe—Thomas Crompton's aged coadjutor—the history of which we are tracing, was also (in all probability) due to Blood's continued interest in this part of Lancashire. [We know his wife was a native of Holcroft in the parish of Culcheth.] At any rate, he takes it away from Whitehall, together with five others for Bradford in Yorkshire. Like his application for Crompton's, this receipt-document for Briscoe's is undated; but the Editor of the Calendar would evidently assign it to May 16 or 17, for he puts it immediately before a letter dated May 17; and next but two after one dated May 15. Internal evidence, also, quite justifies the supposition; for the Bradford licences are all entered as issued on the 16th of May.

It is **321** (**194**); begins 'Received the licences for'; ends, 'by Tho: 'Blood'; and its last line but one reads:

'James Brisco in lankaster.'

There are two licences entered for 'James Briscoe': the first on **E.** (**124**), dated the 16 of May, but tantalizingly indefinite:

'Like to James Briscoe of Toxtell Parke, Lancashire. 16 May.'

The second, on **E.** (**142**), much more definite, but dated nearly a fortnight later:

> ‘Licence to James Briscoe to be a Congr. Teacher in the Meeting howse in Toxtell Parke, Lancast̃r. 29 May.’

It will be noted the earlier entry does not give his denomination nor the character of the licence, whether ‘general’ or ‘special’; though as it follows a licence to Dudley Rider ‘to be a Graƚƚ Pr. Teacher,’ we might reasonably conclude that James Briscoe’s licence, was a ‘generall’ (or roving) one, and that he was a Presbyterian. So evidently the Whitehall officials had interpreted the application, and in those terms, as clearly, the licence was made out; for in Sir Joseph Williamson’s Index (**I.**) it is given under the heading ‘Presbyterian’ (p. 603 of the Reprint):

‘Toxteth parke nere Leverpoole	‘James Briscoe in any allowed Place. 16 May 7̅2̅.’

But, as evidently, this entry is not the entry of the licence which is still to be seen among the archives of the Record Office; for though the date is the same, ‘the sixteenth day of May,’ and it is a general licence —that is, a licence ‘to teach in any place licensed and allowed by Us, ‘according to our said Declaration’—he is there described as ‘of the ‘Perswasion commonly called Congregationall’—not ‘Presbyterian’ as indicated both in **E.** (**124**) and in **I.** (*in loc.*).

Blood, then,—or whoever actually ‘put in’ an application for him—must have inadvertently played Briscoe false in his application; and Blood, without any possibility of question, must have got the idea in his head that Briscoe was a Presbyterian like Crompton; or else, when he called at Whitehall, he would not have refused the licence which they handed him, which was made out for him as ‘Congregationall.’ *That* he clearly did, and insisted on another being made out for him as ‘Presby‘terian.’ But Blood was mistaken; for, as Calamy tells us (II. 380), ‘he was pastor of a *congregational* church.’ And he evidently wanted —not a general licence—but one to take his turn with Crompton in ministering to the Toxteth Park people in the meeting-house they had built for the purpose.

Nor did he fail in his suit. Either by Blood, or through Gilbert Aspinwall, or some other friend in London, he applies for and obtains it about a fortnight later. We have the double proof of it both in the Entry Book and Sir Joseph’s Index.

The entry in **E.** (**142**) I have quoted above. The reference in **I.** I have reprinted on p. 603 (Vol. I.) under the head ‘*Congregationall*’:

‘Toxtell Parke	‘James Briscoe in the Meeting house. 29 May 7̅2̅’

The licence left at Whitehall, though formally complete, was left there evidently through the mistaken insistence of Colonel Blood rather than through any action on the part of Briscoe. A ‘general licence’ would have served his purpose, as a Congregationalist—viz., giving him the Royal authority to preach in the Toxteth Park meeting-house, or any other licensed place.

There is one further fact, incidentally revealed, we ought not to miss. There was not the same exclusive bigotry between the different

Nonconformist denominations, which ruled in the Church of England, and had ruled them out. Though 'the Meeting House' erected by the inhabitants of Toxteth Park was licensed 'for Presbyterian 'use,' and in the first instance was licensed definitely for Crompton (*alias* Trumpton) to preach in as a Presbyterian Teacher, they were glad still to allow their aged friend James (or Michael ?) Briscoe to occupy the pulpit, and their Congregational brethren to worship in the building; and the officials of Whitehall, without any hesitation, issued a licence to Briscoe to preach 'in the Meeting howse' there as 'a Con-'gregational' Teacher. It is another collateral proof of what Oliver Heywood had gloried in, the fraternal feeling which existed between the two great denominations in South Lancashire in such marked contrast to what obtained between them in some other counties.

(4) **321 (257)**.—This licence is filled in for 'Fowler a Teacher,' but is neither signed nor dated. Benson's insertions are—

'Christopher Fowler of the Presbyterien Perswasion—to teach in—a
Roome or Roomes in the howse of Griffith Bubby in Redding
in Our County of Berks'

It was evidently made out in response to an application made by Colonel Thomas Blood, preserved in **321 (210)**. This application-memorandum is a remarkable document. For one thing, it was presented at Whitehall on a Sunday (May 19).

[I think only one or two others were given in on Sunday. **321 (273)** was presented just a week later (Sunday, May 26), by Owen Davies.]

For another, it makes applications for only two licences, both of which were not needed: Christopher Fowler's, for reasons presently to be explained; the other because it had been issued only the day before. The memorandum is clearly in Blood's handwriting, though not signed by him; and is annotated by Benson: 'Given in by Thomas 'Blood, May 19.' It reads:

321 (210):
'Mr Christopher Fowlard of Redding in barkshire presbyterian
at the howse of Griffith Bubly.'
'The howse of Alderman Andrews in Essex'

To secure the second licence there had been a competition of kindly offices by James Innes junior, as well as by Thomas Blood.

First, James Innes junior had applied [**321 (21)**] for 'the house of 'Daniell Andrews Esqr in the parish of low Layton in Essex. Presb.' Then Blood, in a memorandum in his own handwriting, and signed at the back 'Tho Blood,' makes a second application [**321 (55)**], in these terms:

'Desiered by Mr Wells of London
'a Licence for Allderman Daniell Andrew's hows at Laitonstone
in Essex for A presbiterion meeting place' &c

Then James Innes junior puts in a third application on **321 (118)** for 'the house of Daniell Andrews Presb. in the parish of Lowlayton in 'Essex.'

A licence is now made out and entered as dated May 13, only the name is curiously misspelt [**E. (111)**]:

> 'The howse of Daniel Andny in Laitonstone, Essex. Pr. Meeting Place. 13 May'

Though so misspelt in **E.**, however, it is written up rather more correctly in Sir Joseph's Alphabetical Index (**I.**) (*vide* Vol. I., p. 599) as—

> 'Laiton Stone | 'The howse of Daniel Andrus 13 May $\overline{72}$'

Its incorrectness, however, appears to have been discovered, and a second licence is entered as made out three days later on **E. (114)**:

> 'The howse of Dan: Andrews in the Parish of Low Clayton, Essex Pr. Meeting Place. 16 May'

and is so written up in **I**, in the very next line to the above. This licence is taken away by James Innes, junior, two days later—witness **321 (206)**—where in the midst of a list of twenty we find this:

'Dan: Andrews house.'

The list is signed at foot:

> 'Received the Licenses above menc̃oned psons & places
> on the 18th of May 1672
>
> 'I say received by me
> 'Ja: Inness jun^{r}'

It is for this licence, only 'given out' the previous day to 'Ja: 'Innes jun^{r}' that Blood makes a second application on this memorandum [**321 (210)**].

Unfortunately, too, his application for Christopher Fowler is as useless and as needless as it is ill-spelt (a quite characteristic fault of this remarkable man).

Indeed, it is difficult to see who could have set Blood to make the application. The combination of Christopher Fowler and this gentleman's house in Reading is so curious, in the light alike of Calamy's account of Christopher Fowler's career and of these licence-documents.

Calamy gives us a brief outline of Fowler's life in I. 294-295. From it we learn that he was born at Marlborough, was educated at Oxford, and had an unusually varied ministerial career. He must have begun it quite early in the reign of Charles I. (for he was born in 1601). He began preaching in Oxford, and he received appointments successively in Woodhey (which must be West Woodhay), in Berks; and in St. Margaret's, Lothbury, London. It was probably after Charles I.'s death that he was appointed to the Vicarage of St. Mary's, Reading, and it was certainly by the Parliamentary authorities he was made Fellow of Eton College not long afterwards. From his fellowship he was ejected on the accession of Charles II. (1660), and from his living in Reading by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. The only further information Calamy has to give of him is that after his ejectment 'he retired to London, where he exercised his ministry in private': and that 'he died in Southwarth in January, 167$\frac{8}{9}$.'*

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* '1676' is Palmer's erroneous 'correction' of Calamy.

Evidently, then, in this year of the Indulgence, he had left Reading some years, probably nine or ten; and had settled down 'in London'; though the phrase must be taken in a very extended sense, for it was south of the Thames that he settled.

From what Calamy says of the place of his death, we should have surmised that it was in Southwark that he had gone to live. From these licence-documents, however, we learn it was in the parish of Lambeth, and in the village of Kennington. Indeed it is on the highest authority possible that we get this information. It is from a licence-application in which he asks for licences for himself, in the following terms, calendared as **321 (265)**:

'Mr Christopher Fouller prays to have his Majties graciouse Lysence: for his house in the Village of Kenningtõ in the parrish of Lambath in the County of Surrey, And a Lysence for too allow him to preach in Any Lysenced place.'

It is interesting to find the veteran minister—he was then seventy-one years of age—making so bold a bid for extended liberty. His application is promptly heeded, and licences for both his person and his house are granted May 25. [He would find that the terms of his licence to preach in his own house covered an authority for him to preach also in any other place licensed or allowed.] The licences are entered on **E. (137)**:

> 'Licence to Christ. Fowler to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Kennington in the Parish of Lambath, Surrey.
>
> 'The howse of Christ. Fowler in Kenington in the Parish of Lambeth, Surrey Pr. Meeting Place. 25 May.'

Evidently it was Fowler's deliberate wish to be licensed for Lambeth and not for Reading. His age alone would make it unlikely that he should desire a licence for his old sphere, so far away as Reading.

Then again, the house in Reading for which Blood makes application as Fowler's place of ministry, had been licensed six days before he made the application. Blood had called the owner's name 'Griffith Bubly.' The derelict licence spells it 'Griffith Bubby.' Two licences were made out for it. The first, for both Independents and Presbyterians, where the name is given as 'Griffin Bully,' is on **E. (111)**:

> 'The howse of Griffin Bully in Reading, Berks. Pr. & Ind. Meeting Place. 13 May'

This had been taken away the following day by a fellow citizen of this Griffin Bully—viz., Richard Ellis—together with licences for his own house and that of Richard Hunt, all in Reading, as we see in **321 (148)**.

The second licence was made out twelve days later, as entered on the last line of **E. (135)**:

> 'The howse of Griffith Bubby in Reding Berks Pr. Meeting Place. 25 May.'

This second licence was really quite unnecessary. It will be noted that it is made out on the same day on which the two licences asked for by Christopher Fowler are issued—*i.e.*, for his person and his house in Kennington (as entered two pages further on [**E.** (**137**)])—and it looks as though it had been made out as the companion and complement of the licence for Christopher Fowler, in G. B.'s house, which was never taken away. The first licence, entered on **E.** (**111**), it will be noticed, was made out for 'Griffin Bully.' It had been applied for by two separate individuals: John Hickes, who had 'put in' for it three times—viz., in **321** (**54**), in **321** (**122**), and **321** (**125**); and by Richard Ellis (who, we have seen, also wanted a licence for his own house), on **321** (**123**); and in all these cases it is spelt Griffin (or Griffine) Bully. It is only Blood who applies for Griffith Bubly, and it is in this name—only 'Bubly' is changed to 'Bubby'—the derelict licence **321** (**257**) and the licence entered on **E.** (**137**) are made out.

The facts seem to be, then, that when Christopher Fowler called at Whitehall for his licences, or some friend on his behalf, he was offered four licences: two for Kennington—one for his person and another for his own house there; and two for Reading; that he took the two for Kennington, and the licence for Mr. Bully's (Bubby's) house in Reading, and sent it on to him to give him a double-barrelled authority to hold Nonconformist services in his house; but that he left the other Reading licence behind, as a document which would be of no service to him, since he would not care to take the tedious journey even to serve his old people there.

(5) **321** (**299**).—This licence, for 'the Schoolehouse in Blyth, in 'Nottinghamshire,' as a 'Presbyterien' meeting-place, is defective only because undated.

It is not only correctly filled in, but is actually signed personally by the King (above) and Arlington (below). But it was never 'given out,' and bears no date.

Is not this a second proof that the dating of these licences was the last process previous to their being actually issued? They might be entered in either **B.** or **E.**, but they were not issued till they had been signed and dated, and the date copied into the licence-entry; though we find cases in which the entry is dated and the licence is not.

This licence, however, was not even entered. Some intimation must have been given to the Whitehall officials, that though both the King and Lord Arlington were willing to license 'The School House' at Blyth, strong objection was taken by some influential person at Court, or in the Church, or by some local magnate, that to license a 'Public Builing' like the 'School House' would give sore offence.

At any rate, it is not issued, but a private house is licensed instead. Evidently a large house, the property of a Mr. Robert Lambert, called 'St. James's house.' The licence in entered on **E.** (**263**):

> 'The house of Rob^{t} Lambert called S^{t} James house in Blith in Nottinghāsħ. Pr.'

(6) **321** (**317**).—This also is a licence for a Teacher in an assigned place, filled in but neither signed nor dated. It is filled in for 'Timothy 'Smith of the Presbyterien perswasion' to be a Teacher 'in a Roome 'or Roomes in his howse in Longaridge in Our County of Somersett.'

The evident reason of its being 'derelict' is its gross inaccuracy. There is no place of the name 'Longaridge,' or of any name approaching it, in Somersett; and Timothy Smith never had any connection with the County, or with the South of England. He was a Northerner. Calamy's account of him (II. 367) is very meagre, but very definite. He knows nothing of his birth, early life, or education. But he tells us that all his ministerial connections were with Lancashire and its remoter mountainous parts. He was first minister of Bradshaw, very near to Bolton, and afterwards of Longridge, on the south-west spur of Longridge Fell, about seven miles north-east of Preston. It was from Longridge that he was ejected, and it was for himself and his house in Longridge that he desired licences. This imperfect licence was intended for the personal licence; but Mr. Benson had made the egregious mistake of putting 'Longridge' (or 'Longaridge' as he called it) in 'Somersett.' So that when the mistake was pointed out it was laid aside, and was left among Sir Joseph Williamson's papers.

But fresh licences were made out and taken away. They are entered on **E.** (**168**), the entries dated June 10:

> 'The howse of Timothy Smith in Longaridge, Lancaster for Pr. 10 June'
>
> 'Licence to Timothy Smith to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Longaridge, Lanc. 10 June'

By whom they were applied for, and by whom taken away, we do not know.

Calamy tells us that 'though he did not conform, he often preached 'in the chapel after his ejectment: for this being an obscure place, with 'a small salary, there was no striving for it,' and he adds: 'He died 'very poor, in 1679, aged 60.' It appears, from the entries quoted, that at first he was content to hold these licensed services in his own house. His people, however, were ambitious to have a Chapel of their own, and built one; for a month later and more we find a licence entered on **E.** (**196**) for:

> 'The Meeting Place in Longaridge, Lanc. Pr. 16 July.'

Or does this mean the Longridge Episcopal Chapel?

(7) **321** (**318**).—This licence-form is filled up for 'Samuel Newton 'of the Presbyterien Perswasion' to be a Teacher 'in the Oratory of 'John Bradshaw, Esq^{r} in Rivington, in our County of Lancaster,' but it is neither signed nor dated. . . . Of course, in this stage, it was of no more value than the paper on which it was printed and written.

Why was it not proceeded with? Let us look at the facts we know of him, and his connection with Charles's Indulgence.

From Calamy (II. 376) we learn incidentally that Samuel Newton was born in 1641 or 1642, so that when he was appointed to Rivington, a hamlet north-west of Bolton (midway between Horwich and Chorley), he could scarcely have attained his majority. He was little more than twenty-one when ejected in 1662, and for a time retired to Crompton, on the eastern border of the county (between Oldham and Rochdale); but afterwards returned to the parish of his former cure, and 'consented 'to read some of the prayers, as he had liberty to preach in the Church 'without disturbance.' Evidently application had been made on his behalf for a licence to preach in a part of the mansion house of one of the local gentry, John Bradshaw, Esq. The room or hall was called 'The Oratory,' and had evidently been the private chapel of the mansion in the pre-Reformation days.

[There was another hall similarly licensed : 'The Oratory at Birch-'Hall,' north of Manchester, a little north by west of Middleton.]

This gentleman was namesake of the John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law, who was one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal during the Commonwealth, was President of the assembly which tried Charles I., and as their mouthpiece actually pronounced the death sentence on him. He lived ten years after the execution of the King, dying the year before the Restoration of Charles II. Clarendon tells us that this John Bradshaw was a gentleman of an ancient family in Cheshire and Lancashire, and it is certain the Bradshaws were persons of influence in Lancashire. [A Sir Robert Bradshaigh represented the County Palatine in both the first and second Parliaments of Charles II. ; and a Sir Roger Bradshaigh represented the Borough of Wygan from 1695 to 1741.] Now Wigan was only between five and six miles from Rivington (south-west), so that it was probably to this family of Bradshaw or Bradshaigh that Rivington Hall belonged. This John Bradshaw was only a remote connection of John Bradshaw the Regicide, the 'arch 'traytor,' or 'arch-rebell,' as John Evelyn calls him.

Anyway Samuel Newton (the ejected minister of Rivington) was licensed in June (as a general Presbyterian teacher), and the Oratory of John Bradshaw, Esq., in July. The licences are entered in **E.** :

E. (168) : 'Licence to Sam: Newton of Riverton, Lanc. to be a Grāll Pr. Teacher. 10 June'

E. (196) : 'The Oratory of John Bradshaw Esq^{r} in Rivington Lanc. Pr. 16 July.'

But beside this Oratory in the Bradshaw mansion, another building, apparently built for the purpose of Nonconformist worship, was licensed on the same date, as witness :

E. (196) : 'The Meeting Place in Rivington, Lanc. Pr. 16 July.'

Or was it the Rivington Episcopal Chapel, as in the case of Longridge ?

The most probable reason, therefore, of the licence preserved in the Record Office, being left at Whitehall, is that Mr. Newton did not wish his licence to be made out specially for John Bradshaw's Oratory—as his eye was quite as much upon the 'Meeting House' or Episcopal Chapel, if not more; and made application for a general licence—so that he should be free to preach in either, and, indeed, in any place 'allowed' by Charles II.

All this is inference—as also what I have written in Chapter VI. —from these 'Original Records.' It seems, however, from information kindly furnished me by Rev. Alex. Gordon, based on documents and records quite authentic and reliable, that these 'Records' misrepresent the facts. There never was a Chapel at Rivington Hall, nor was this Hall ever owned by a Bradshaw, nor is there any trace of any 'Oratory' at Rivington other than the public 'meeting place' known as Rivington Chapel. John Bradshaw was owner of Bradshaw Hall, of which Bradshaw Chapel was an appanage.

Neither at Bradshaw, nor at Rivington (or at Birch) was the 'Oratory' or 'Chapel' part of the mansion house. Rivington Hall (which was built by the father of Bishop Pilkington) was sold soon after 1606 to Robert Lever of Darcy Lever; at his death passed to John Andrews, who had married his daughter and sole heiress, and until quite recently was in the unbroken ownership of the Andrews' family. In 1672, therefore, if John Bradshaw was living at Rivington, he must have rented the Hall from the Andrews'.

Mr. Gordon confesses that 'Bradshaw's Oratory in Rivington' still remains a puzzle; but (as at present advised) thinks that it can only mean 'Bradshaw Chapel,' which was undoubtedly his property as an appanage of Bradshaw Hall; and that Samuel Newton under these licences, would be acting as incumbent of these two episcopally consecrated places—Bradshaw Chapel and Rivington Chapel. . . . I cannot but think, however, that as the licence for Bradshaw's Oratory was never taken away from Whitehall—though it is entered in **E. (196)**—Newton contented himself with Rivington Chapel, from which he had been 'turned out' in 1662. This Chapel had been built at the same time as the Hall, and had been consecrated on Oct. 11, 1541; but had been rebuilt (though apparently not reconsecrated) in 1666, only six years before this licence was taken out.

(8) **321 (319)**.—This licence was complete, save for a date. It was duly filled in for 'George Lisle of y^e^ Presbyterien Perswation' to teach 'in a Roome or Roomes in the house of Elizabeth Trew att Witham in 'y^e^ County of Essex'; and it had passed under the hands of both King and Minister, the autograph of 'Charles R' being written above, and that of 'Arlington' below. Yet it was not dated nor issued. Why? The facts revealed by these licence-documents give us the very plain answer. It was not wanted. It could have given neither the minister nor the lady householder anything they did not already possess; and was therefore left at Whitehall by the lady's representative when her licence was taken away.

In **321 (289)** we have an application-memorandum, neither signed nor dated, for four licences for Witham in Essex. Its terms are:

> 'George Lisle of Wittham in Essex a presbyterian for his owne house;
> 'Edmund Taylor; presbyterian; his owne House.
> In Wittham also:'

Though unsigned, however, it was probably 'put in' by the Isaac Davis, who signs a memorandum of receipt of all four licences in **321 (291)**. The handwriting I have not specially noticed; but both pieces of paper have scribblings at the back, and the writer seems fond of the 'colon.' The scribbling at the back of **321 (289)**, which is all erased, is singular enough to prove of some interest (if its significance could be deciphered): 'Bomquarell, Cap^t^ of the French Cavlrey For his

'Loving Frind Samuell.' That at the back of **321** (**291**) is only the single word 'Filington,' in Francis Benson's handwriting.

It looks as though the whole thing was put through very promptly, for the licences are all entered as issued on May 29. The personal licences are entered on **E.** (**142**) :

> 'Licence to Edm: Taylor to be a Pr. Teacher in his howse in Wittham, Essex. 29 May
>
> 'Like for George Lisle in his howse in Witham, Essex. 29 May'

The licences for their houses are entered on **E.** (**145**) :

> 'The howse of George Lisle in Wittham, Essex Pr. Meeting Place. 29 May
>
> 'The howse of Edm: Taylor in Wittham, Essex Pr. Meeting Place 29 May'

The memorandum of receipt by Isaac Davis is on **321** (**291**) :

> 'Rec^{d} a Licence for George Lisle a Teacher and his house in Essex for Edmond Taylor & his house att Wittham in Essex
>
> 'ISAA: DAVIS'

The Calendarist evidently thought 'Davis' prompt and expeditious for though the memorandum of receipt is undated, he puts it before one which bears date May 30.

These licences gave both Lisle and Taylor authority to conduct services in their own houses: and, by the terms of the 'Licence for a 'Teacher,' in any other allowed place as well. As soon, therefore, as Elizabeth Trew or any other householder in Witham obtained a licence for her or his house, either Lisle or Taylor would be free to preach in it. There was no need, therefore, for the issue of a separate licence for George Lisle to preach in Elizabeth Trew's house. But someone appears to have made application for him in this sense some ten days after he had obtained his licences; and licences were accordingly made out; one for Elizabeth Trew's house, which is entered on **E.** (**155**) :

> 'The howse of Eliz: Trew in Withã, Essex for Pr. 10 June';

and the other for George Lisle to preach 'in a Roome or Roomes' in it, which is not entered, although made out in due form. It is this, which, though duly signed, and ready for dating, was never taken away, because it was not really wanted.

All five licences that were taken away were duly entered by Sir Joseph *in loco* in **I.** (Vol. I., p. 599) :

'Wittham
'Edm. Taylor in his howse in Wittham 25 May $\overline{72}$.
'George Lile in his howse 29. May $\overline{72}$.
'The howse of Eliz. Trew. 10 June.'

Lisle and Taylor appear to have settled into friendly neighbours. Calamy does not know much about them; but all he tells us fits in with the testimony of these 'Original Documents.'

Lisle he notices (II. 213) under Rivenhall in Essex. All he has to say is as follows:

> 'RIVENHALL (200*l*.). M^{r} GEORGE LISLE.'

'*Newcourt* mentions him in his "*Rep. Eccl.*" among the rectors of this parish. He was one that honoured his function by his deportment in it: but was imprisoned at *Colchester* for his Nonconformity.'

T. W. Davids, in his 'Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex,' pp. 449-450, gives the following account of George Lisle and Rivenhall:

'The rectory had been sequestered from George Boswell, who was also rector of North Benflete. It is clear, however, that Boswell still retained Benflete, as his name appears in the Parliamentary return for that parish in 1650, when he is described as "a preaching minister, of "good life and conversation." Boswell's immediate successor was Richard Ward. The Rev. B. D. Hawkins obliges me with the following entries in the parish register:

> '"Mem. I came to Rivenhall, February 8, 1647. Geo. Lisle.
>
> '"Abigail, daughter of Geo. Lisle, minister of Rivenhall, was born March 29, 1651, about four of the clock in the morning, and baptized on the same day; and was buried April 25.
>
> '"Elizabeth, June 27: 1652
>
> '"George, November 29, 1653."'

The Parliamentary Return for Rivenhall, in 1650, speaks of him as 'an able, godly minister.'

After his ejectment, Lisle retired to Witham. Then Davids refers to the Episcopal Return, and the Indulgence licences, and concludes:

'He died at Witham, and was buried in the Church. The Rev. J. Bramston kindly informs me that there is a tablet erected to his memory on the south side of the chancel, and within the rails, with the following inscription:

> '"Near this place lieth interred the Rev. George Lisle, minister of the gospel, and late rector of Rivenhall, who died in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Buried March 31, 1687."'

The Episcopal Returns show that he retired from Rivenhall to Witham, after his ejectment, and not more than six years after it; for in 1669 the Bishop of London reports (**R. 222**) under 'Conventicles in Essex':

'At Witham | ' . . . M^r^ Litle — N-Conform.'

'Litle' is manifestly an error for 'Lisle'; and he is recognized by the Bishop as one of the ejected Nonconformist clergy.

Taylor, Calamy notices at the end of his section on Essex (II. 229), under the heading: 'The following are said to have been ejected in this 'county, but the places are uncertain!' All he can tell us is:

'Mr Edmund Taylor. He preached in several places. He was imprisoned in Tilbury Fort, in the Duke of Monmouth's time, and died at Witham. Perhaps he was the parson mentioned in *Monmouthshire*.

These licence-documents show that Taylor had settled at Witham as early as 1672 (for he then has a house there), so that he was probably arrested in 1685-86 at Witham, simply on the suspicion that as a Nonconformist he sympathized with the Duke of Monmouth's cause.

(9) **321** (**320**).—Why this licence was not completed and issued, I frankly confess, fairly puzzles me. As far as it goes it is what, we know, was wanted; and further, its exact counterpart when completed, signed and dated, was actually given out on the 10th of June, 1672.

It is filled in for—

> 'Edmund Whincopp of the Congregationall Perswasion . . . in a Roome or Roomes in his howse in Middleton in Our County of Suffolk'

and is preserved still. Its counterpart, a licence for 'a Roome or 'Roomes in his howse in Middleton' which one would suppose would be made out at the same time as this **321** (**320**) is nowhere in evidence. How is this? Who made the application to which this imperfect licence is a response, we do not know.

This we do know, as soon as Thomas Danson makes application for these licences for Edmund Whincop and for a great many more they are all made out, completed, issued, and taken away.

Thomas Danson's application is made on **321** (**338**), and reads:

> 'Edmond Whincop Mr of Arts, of the Congregationall Perswasion, for his own house in Middleton in Suffolk, and for John Man's House in Swafling; and for Richard Rouses house in Knodishall in the same County.'

The memorandum contains applications also for John Hurnon, as Teacher and for his dwelling-house in Sibton, as well as for Edmond Bellamy's house there, and also for a Mrs. Dunnington's house in Dunwitch.

These licences are all promptly issued, on June 10, and are entered on **E.** (**155**) and (**156**).

Those asked for Hurnon are entered in a batch on **E.** (**155**); then on the same page we have Whincop's meeting-houses:

> 'The howse of Rich: Rouse in Knodishall, Suffolk, Pr. Meeting Place 10 June
>
> 'Like for the howse of John Man in Shafling, Suffolk. 10 June
>
> 'The howse of Edm: Whincop in Middleton, Suffolk, for Congr. 10 June'

while the first entry on (**E. 156**) is of his personal licence:

> 'Licence to Edm. Whincop to be a Congr. Teacher in his howse in Middleton, Suffolk. 10 June'

The licences are all entered up, too, in **I.** (Vol. I., pp. 614, 615):

'Sibton	'The howse of Edm: Bellamy Congr. 10 June.
	'John Hurnon in his howse. 10 June.
'Middleton	'Edm: Whincop in his howse Congr. 10 June.
'Knodishall	'The howse of Rich: Rousse Congr. 10 June.
'Dunwetch	'The howse of Mrs Dinnington. 10 June.
'Shafting	'The howse of John Man. 10 June'

only it will be noted that 'Rouse' becomes 'Rousse'; 'Dunwitch' becomes 'Dunwetch'; 'Dunnington' becomes 'Dinnington'; and 'Swafling' (or Swefling), after becoming 'Shafling' in **E.**, is still further transformed to 'Shafting' in **I**.

Of Hurnon, Calamy has nothing to tell us. He does not seem to have been one of the ejected ministers. But of Whincop Calamy has a most interesting account. It is given in III. 282-284, under LAYSTON: 'EDMUND WHINCOP, M.A., of *Caius Coll: Camb.*'

He was a native of this village of Middleton, not far from the coast of Suffolk, about midway between Southwold and Aldeburgh. After finishing his course at Cambridge, about 1640 (a full-fledged M.A.), he returned to Middleton, to keep a school and practise physic: and as a good conforming member of the Church of England. Going to hear Mr. Manning [Mr. William Manning, who subsequently became minister of Middleton, and was thence ejected (Cal. III. 284)] at Yoxford,* only two or three miles north-west of Middleton, on the great London road, he became a Nonconformist; and (? on Mr. Manning's removal to Middleton) became the minister at Yoxford, removing afterwards to Layston (or Leiston), whence he was ejected in 1662. Of his life after his ejectment Calamy learned little. All he can tell us is that sometime after it, he suffered imprisonment at Blythburgh for five months, and 'was at length called to be pastor of a Congregational 'Church at *Watesfield* in this county.' Palmer was able to supplement Calamy's account by the statement that he did not remove to this north-central part of Essex till 1678, and then was able to maintain his pastorate only five years, persecution (spite the powerful patronage of Mr. Samuel Baker of Wattesfield Hall) driving him across the county border to Blow Norton (in Norfolk) on the River Waveney, where he died, after four years of enforced retirement, in 1687. These licence-documents show that he was living in Middleton in 1672; so that the strong probability is that on his ejectment from Leiston he retired to his paternal inheritance in the home of his childhood at Middleton.

(10) **321 (374)**.—This licence is one of two which were signed by Lord Clifford and not, as usual, by Arlington. It is filled in, too, and dated July 22.

The filling in is defective, however. It is a licence for 'a Roome or 'Roomes in the house of John Disne . . . . in Lincolneshire'; but the town or village is not named. The defect is a conscious one; for, following John Disne's name, Benson had written 'att' followed by a blank.

This defect, no doubt, led the applicant (Mr. Disney, or some agent in London) to refuse it, and it has remained among the State Papers ever since. But we are able to supplement the defect by a licence-entry dated September 3rd [made out, therefore, six full weeks after this rejected licence was abandoned to the obscurity of the cellars, first of Whitehall, and then of the Record Office]. It occurs on **E.** (**247**), and shows that Mr. Disney's house was in the Cathedral City itself. It reads:

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* This is the not unnatural interpretation which I placed on Palmer's version of Calamy. Calamy's original words, however, scarcely carry such a meaning. They are: 'Upon hearing of Mr. Manning at Yoxford, he became a Noncon-'formist.' There is no proof that William Manning was ever at Yoxford. Calamy in all probability simply meant that when at Yoxford himself Whincop heard about Manning what led him to change his views and become a Nonconformist.

> 'The house of John Disney Esq^r of y^e Citty̆ of Lincolne. Pr. Sep^t: 5^th.'

Fortunately, too, an incidental reference to the house of John Disney, Esq., in Calamy's account of Michael Drake (II. 427) enables us to confirm the implication of this licence-entry, and more closely to identify the house. Calamy says of Michael Drake that he first settled at Lincoln as assistant to Mr. Abdy [the references to whom are given just above (p. 726)]; that he was presented to Pickworth by Sir W. Armyn in 1646, being ejected thence after seventeen years' ministry there; that he retired to Fulbeck, and while living there (which was for several years) he went every Saturday evening to Lincoln, and preached on the Sunday to a few people 'in the house of John Disney Esq. in the 'parish of St. Peters at Goats in Lincolne.' We have it located very accurately therefore. It was in the parish of 'St. Peters at Gowts'—such is the modern form of the name, as given in the 'Imperial Gazetteer' (Vol. IV., p. 37). Further, it is definitely connected with the ejected minister Michael Drake, as the meeting-place of a select congregation of Presbyterians to which he regularly ministered, though living ten mile away (at the least).

Michael Drake was licensed himself 'to be a Presbyterian Teacher 'in his howse in Fulbeck' [*vide* licence-entries for both his person and his house on **E.** (**127**)] on the 16th of May; but the form of his licence as Teacher in a special place contained the all-inclusive clause: 'With further Licence and Permission to him the said Michael Drake 'to teach in any other Place licensed by Us according to our said 'Declaration' [see printed forms in **320** (**7**), (**8**), (**9**), and (**9***a*)].

The reason of this licence **321** (**374**) being left at Whitehall is clearly because the town was not indicated in which the house was situated; though an additional—but easily remedied—defect was the inaccurate spelling of the name: viz., 'Disne' when it should have been 'Disney.'

(11) **321** (**375**).—This licence also is complete in form—*i.e.*, it is filled in, signed and dated. It is dated July 22, and is signed above by the King, but below, not (as usual) by Arlington, but by Clifford.

The licence is for 'a Roome or Roomes in the house of George 'White in Darbyshire *to be a Place for the Use of such as do not conform* '*to the Church of England who are of the Perswasion commonly called* Con-'gregationall' &c.

There cannot be much doubt that the reason for its rejection by the applicant was the same which consigned **321** (**374**) to a similar fate; that the county only is mentioned, not the town or hamlet in which George White's house is situated. For a licence is entered on **E.** (**230**) which supplies the defect, giving Chesterfield as the town, and bearing date August 10—*i.e.*, nearly three weeks later.

Whether George White came for it himself, or employed some London friend to call at Whitehall for him, does not appear. Nor do we know whether the fresh licence was made out and given to him the same day that he called for it. There is ample time for the applicant to have called; and, finding the licence inadequate, to have intimated that he would call for another later on, calling again on the 10th of August, or even later, for the revised licence.

(12) **321** (**377**).—This document is unique in one respect, and otherwise presents a very puzzling problem.

It is a licence for a place—perfectly regular in form, with the particulars duly filled in, including the date, and signed above by the King and below by Arlington. Instead of its being printed as far as the phraseology of all the parts of it common to all place-licences is concerned, and the blanks filled in in writing by Sir Joseph Williamson or by one of his clerks, it is written from beginning to end. Why this was done it is difficult to suggest.

It is, of course, just possible that Sir Joseph at this date (September 30, 1672) may have 'run out' of printed forms; and, being pressed to issue the licence at once, he may have ordered one of his clerks to write out a form, filling in the particulars as he went along. Yet more than ten pages of **E**. are filled with entries of licences which when dated are dated September 30; so that is not at all likely. And what is more remarkable, there is an entry on **E**. (**236**), which shows that a counterpart of this written licence had already been made out and issued between three and four weeks before:

> 'The Court house att Holcome att Tottington in Lancaster Pr. Sept 5th'

The only difference between the two is the date—September 5 and September 30. In a correspondence with Charles Madeley, Esq., curator of the Warrington Museum, touching the difficulties connected with the licences issued for the two Court-houses of Tottington and Warrington, the only suggestion I was able to make was the following:

Towards the end of August or at the very beginning of September, in 1672, the Presbyterians in both these Lancashire districts (Tottington and Warrington) secured the services either of some Lancashire man who was going up to London, or of some licence-agent in Town, to procure licences for their respective Court-houses as meeting-places for Presbyterian worship. The applications thus made at Whitehall were attended to, and made out and entered on September 5.

The licence-agent, or the Lancashire friend, however, did not call for the licences for more than three weeks. Getting anxious lest they should miss their licences altogether, the Tottington and Warrington folks began to stir again towards the end of the month. Either sending up a friend from Lancashire, or writing the licence-agent again, the one or the other called at Whitehall on September 30, specially charged to get the licence for Tottington. He seems, indeed, to have previously got the loan of a licence for 'a Place' already issued and in operation, copied the form and filled in the particulars, and handed it in at Whitehall as an application, begging Sir Joseph to get it signed and issued on the spot. Willing to oblige the applicant, Sir Joseph managed to carry it through. While he was doing this, Mr. Francis Benson is looking carefully through his papers, and has discovered the two licences for the Court-houses of Warrington as well as Tottington, already made out as far back as September 5, and ready to be taken away for the last three weeks. So that when Sir Joseph comes back from his audience with his chief, Lord Arlington, and the King, bearing in triumph this manuscript-licence actually signed by both, he finds that his clerk has discovered the licence which had been issued on September 5, and handed it over to the applicant, together with one for the Court-house of Warrington as well. Upon which the applicant would naturally protest that it would be useless for him to take away the written licence, when the printed form of licence—duly completed—had already been given him. And profusely thanking Sir Joseph for the special kindness he had shown him, and regretting with many apologies that he had unintentionally given him, the Secretary of State, and his Sovereign all this unnecessary trouble, he would leave the written licence behind, to be recommitted by Sir Joseph to the papers so carefully kept and stored in his safe. The licences handed over the counter would therefore both be dated September 5.

I learn also from Mr. Madeley that in the licence for the Court-house at Warrington, actually preserved in the Vestry of Cairo Street Unitarian Chapel, Warrington, which is dated September 30 (not the 5th), close scrutiny of the actual document shows quite discernible traces of alteration of the date. In reporting the result of that scrutiny to F. W. Monks, Esq., of Stonecroft, Appleton, Cheshire, Mr. Madeley writes: 'If you look at the licence itself' (as Mr. Turner suggests) 'you will see 'that the figures "30" were certainly not written at the same time as 'the rest of the date "th" . . . "Septemb^{r}." The colour, or rather 'the blackness, of the ink is quite different; and that, and the blurred 'edges to the penstrokes, suggest an alteration over an erasure.' It seems, then, that one of two things happened. Either the erasure and alteration of date were made at Whitehall by the clerk at the request of the Lancashire friend or the licence-agent when he was on the point of taking it away. In that case, probably, the licence for Tottington was altered in the same way (the clerks not troubling to alter the date of the entry). That, however, we cannot tell, as the actual licence for Tottington is not preserved. Or the erasure and alteration were made afterwards. It might be by the licence-agent, who feared that the Warrington folk would blame him for not going to Whitehall for it sooner, or for carelessly keeping it all these weeks before sending it down. Or it may have been by one of the Presbyterian leaders in Warrington, who thought that his friends might blame him for indolence or carelessness if the licence showed the earlier date.

Whatever the reason, however, I cannot avoid the conviction that the extant licence, preserved to this day in Warrington, was originally dated September 5, and is the licence entered on **E. (236)**.

CHAPTER VIII

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF INDULGENCE DOCUMENTS FOR THE SEVERAL DENOMINATIONS OF NONCONFORMISTS

WITH most workers in this field the main, if not the only, thing sought from the Indulgence-documents is authoritative information on one point—viz., whether a certain individual (and generally it will be one of the ministers ejected in 1662) availed himself of Charles's Indulgence, and so secured one or more licences in 1672.

On that one point, of course, an entry in one of the two Entry Books (**B.** or **E.**) is sufficient evidence. Yet recourse to these 'Original 'Records,' even, has seldom been made. The *précis* given in the Calendar of State Papers for 1672-73 affords them all they want, because the work of the Calendarist has been so accurately done that to see the name in which they are interested given in the Calendar as of one who received a licence as a member of such and such a denomination in such and such a place, is as reliable a source of information as to see the entry of it in one of the Entry Books themselves.

That bare fact, however (without an enquiry even as to how or when the licence was obtained), is so prosaic a fact that it must be hard for even the most imaginative of historians to invest it with any living interest. Yet even so careful an investigator as the late Bryan Dale frankly confessed to me that that was all he cared to ascertain in this connection. If that is all these licence-documents have to yield, then they may well be left in the neglect with which they have been treated since they were first stowed away so carefully by Sir Joseph Williamson.

That is by no means the case. These names of persons and places need not be left unstudied, as though they were like the bones that filled the valley of Ezekiel's vision. To further notice and more careful attention, with more light cast upon them, and the breath of a real historic interest breathed into them, they may be clothed again with flesh and blood, and begin to live and move before us an exceeding great army of champions valiant for the truth. To begin with : to learn how they were obtained is a great thing. That we have already seen is possible with all those obtained in the first three months of the Indulgence—by careful scrutiny, first of the few notes appended to the earliest of the licence-entries, and then of the memoranda of application and receipt which form the bulk of the two Volumes **320** and **321**. To find out all we can of those who actually obtained them is also a great thing, and to that I have bent what energies I possess in the chapters which precede. The search into the story of the several Addresses and Petitions presented to the King in connection with them, again, has done something more, I trust, towards this great end.

Moreover, there are two points connected with these licences which have a living significance of their own. I mean (1) their dates, and (2) their numbers.

I. Their Dates.

Dates are attached in many cases to all three classes of documents: (1) To the licence-entries, giving the dates on which they were signed and issued; (2) to the memoranda of application; and (3) to the memoranda of receipt.

In each case a mere comparison of the earliest of these dates—the date on which application was first made for a licence—with that of the Publication of the Declaration of Indulgence, is full of collateral interest and significance. It will afford, in general, some indication of the promptitude and eagerness of the applicant to accept the Royal favour and to avail himself of the Indulgence.

To gauge the significance of these dates fairly, no doubt, the student should take into consideration the distance from London of the place whence the application comes, if it be on any of the great highways or from the nearest large town, if it were in some secluded district. We must realize, too, that rumours of the coming Indulgence must have preceded it in London and in busy centres of population with more definiteness than in rural neighbourhoods, so that many in cities and large towns would be ready to avail themselves of it as soon as they received reliable information as to how they must proceed. That alone can account for the fact that hardly a fortnight had elapsed before many, chiefly in London and its suburbs, had not only applied for licences, but had actually obtained them.

On the other hand, it took some time before the intelligence reached most Nonconformists in the provinces in forms reliable enough for them to trust it; so that not till a month or two after the Declaration did many provincial Nonconformists attempt to avail themselves of it.

Not a few, indeed, even after they were satisfied as to the reality of the facts, hesitated long before they could reconcile it with their lofty conception as to the one true source of their authority (either to preach the Gospel or to worship God after the dictates of a spiritually enlightened conscience), to ask it from an earthly Monarch. Many, apparently, were able to bring themselves to do it only when (after the lapse of nine or ten months) they saw that most of their brethren had found it possible. While we must remember that not a few, up to the last moment of the eleven months during which the Indulgence lasted could not bring themselves to look upon it save as a temptation of the devil.

Still, duly weighing all these considerations, the dates scattered up and down these documents have their significance and value. In what follows I deal solely with the successful applications as proved by that entry of licences actually secured in the Entry Books. The tables which follow give the number of licences entered in the Entry Books on the respective dates of licence-issue, distributing them (under their respective dates) over the counties to which the licences apply, and arranging the counties in the groups adopted in the Classified Summary.

Arranged in this form, they constitute a rough diary of the licences made out and entered during the eleven months of the Indulgence for the several counties of England and Wales ; though in the process of distribution among the counties, I am too well aware that errors have crept in, and I am not clear whether I took **B.** into consideration at all. To go through the whole again, however, I have not the heart !

These entries were spread over exactly ten months, the first being entered on April 2, 1672, and the last on February 3, 1673 [a little more than a month before the Great Seal was broken from the Declaration of Indulgence by the King's own hands (March 7, 1673)].

Their distribution over these ten months, however, was very uneven. Let me give the numbers as entered in the Diary.

(1) In April, 1672, they amounted to 580, distributed as follows:

April 2	75	April 17	46
,, 9	4	,, 18	20
,, 11	92	,, 19	23
,, 12	10	,, 20	86
,, 13	36	,, 22	30
,, 14	2	,, 23	6
,, 15	10	,, 30	104
,, 16	36		

(2) In May they totalled up to 1,031, as follows:

May 1	142	May 16	157
,, 2	90	,, 20	3
,, 8	168	,, 22	81
,, 9	52	,, 25	69
,, 10	1	,, 29	104
,, 13	164		

For these two months all the entries are dated, and all were undoubtedly issued, save the seven which on April 16 were withdrawn at the very last moment. They total 1,611.

In every one of the eight subsequent months we find many entries undated. I give the numbers in each.

(3) In June, 680 licences were entered, of which 290 were dated and 372 undated :

June 10	276 dated ;	**E. (166-167)**	26 undated.
,, 13	1 ,,	**E. (170-190)**	340 ,,
,, 15	3 ,,		
,, 29	34 ,,		

(4) In July, 564 were entered, and of these 504 were dated, and 60 undated :

July 1	2 dated ;	**E. (192-195)**	60 undated.
,, 16	35 ,,		
,, 22	203 ,,		
,, 25	264 ,,		

(5) In August, 256 were entered, and of these only nine were undated :

August	8	20
,,	10	221
,,	12	4
,,	23	2

(6) In September, 584 were entered, of which 413 were dated, and 181 were undated :

September	5	325
,,	30	78

The undated 181 are mixed with the dated in most promiscuous fashion.

(7) In October, only 133 were entered, of which 39 were dated. One dated October 27, is entered quite out of order on **E. (272)**. It is that for Richard Baxter :

October	28	39

The undated 94 are scattered over **E. (261)** to **(268)**.

(8) In November, 164 were entered : 139 being undated, and only 25 dated :

November	18	24
,,	20	1

(9) In December, 147 were entered, and of these 36 only were dated :

December	9	27
,,	23	9

Passing into the year 1673 (O.S. 1672).

(10) In January, 49 only were entered, and of these 11 only were dated, all on January 13.

(11) In February, 108 were entered, but of these 6 only were dated, all on February 3.

These figures make a grand total of 4,296, instead of 4,386 as above, a big discrepancy of 90 ! [N.B.—The distribution of the numbers among the counties is a process in which I have found it very difficult to avoid error.]

The total of entries dated is 3,196, and that of the undated 1,100, making the undated entries almost exactly one-third of the dated and a quarter of the whole !

Speaking broadly, then (and for the moment neglecting the duplicates and triplicates), the licence entries were made as follows :

1672.	April	580
,,	May	1,031
,,	June	680
,,	July	564
,,	August	256
,,	September	584
1672.	October	133
,,	November	164
,,	December	147
1673.	January	49
,,	February	108

The largest number of entries was made in May, 1672, nearing 1,100. In June, April, September, and July, the numbers ranged between 662 and 576 (April giving 630, and September 593). August showed a total of only 263, as compared with 576 just before it in July, and 593 just afterwards. [Doubtless, then, as it would be now, because of the general 'holidays.'] November and December make the next best total to August. Evidently by the end of the year 1672, the great body of those inclined to avail themselves of the Indulgence had done so, for the two first months of 1673 account for little over 100 licence-entries (though February nearly doubles the tale of January).

The distribution of these days of licence-signature and licence-issue among the months I have already referred to (in the first part of Chapter III. in this section) in speaking of the task which the Indulgence brought upon both the King and his Secretary, inasmuch as both had to sign each licence that was issued.

In the month of April there were fourteen of the days in which this irksome work of signature had to be done.

In May, there were 11; in June, there were 4; in July, 3; in August, 3; in September, 2; in October, only 1; in November and December, 2 each—these all in 1672; and in the two months of 1673 into which the Indulgence lasted, only one day in each was taken up with it.

The numbers of licences signed upon these days varied greatly; but for April and May the numbers entered and signed were identical, because all the entries were dated. For the other eight months a great number of the entries are undated, so that it is a question whether these were signed, as undoubtedly all those were the entry of which bears a date.

In what follows I must be understood as speaking of licence-entries, leaving it an open question whether that means the same as licences actually issued. One thing is certain, the numbers give us the minimum number of applications, for no licence was issued unless it was applied for; while for many licences applications had to be repeated, twice, thrice, even four times before they were granted.

In dealing with this question of the dates on which licences were applied for and issued, I have unconsciously, even of necessity, referred to the second of my two points which have their historical significance. I mean that of the numbers applied for and granted.

Before passing to that, however, and making a serious attempt to give a reliable estimate of these numbers, I must ask the student's attention to another significant detail.

The dates attached to the various documents connected with any one licence, or set of licences, have their interesting significance also.

The interval between an application for a licence and its actual issue has its meaning. On the one hand, if the interval is short, it speaks of promptitude on the part of the Whitehall officials; and in all probability, too, of insistence, and personal influence on the part of the applicant. Specially is that apparent when the date of application and issue are the same. If the interval is long, on the other hand, it surely bespeaks carelessness in the officials, or even some prejudice on their part against the applicant or the would-be licensee: and when that is coupled with a multiplication of application-memoranda, it shows that while the officials are indifferent or inclined to be antagonistic, the applicant is eager, and his agents are anxious to second his eagerness by repeated effort.

So, too, of the interval between the date of the entry of the licence and that of its removal from Whitehall. Identity of date bespeaks alertness on the part of the visitor to the office; a short interval, interest and promptitude; but a long interval, carelessness, or indifference, or both.

II. THEIR NUMBERS.

Two sets of numbers are quite worth ascertaining: (1) the number of licences recorded in the Entry Books; and (2) the number of individuals licensed.

To a first hasty thought, it might be concluded that they are identical; but a second, more considered one, suffices to convince us that the first may prove much larger than the second.

For reasons which it is generally difficult, and in some cases absolutely impossible, to assign, it happened that for some individuals a second or even a third licence was made out.

(1) The number of licences actually recorded in the Entry Books. This can be ascertained by the simple process of counting the entries in the two Entry Books. This is what we find: The licences actually entered in the two Entry Books amount together to 4,386—viz., 50 in E. B. No. 27 (or **B.**); and 4,336 in E. B. No. 38B (or **E.**).

In **B.** there are thirteen cases in which, though houses are mentioned, no licence is stated to have been issued even *pro formâ*. Such, however, no doubt were made out and issued, or the licensee would have been placed in an awkward fix.* Adding these 13 to the above total would make it 4,399.

Some of these, however, were duplicates and even triplicates. On examination, too, I found them to be far more numerous than I had imagined. The duplicates amounted to 165, and the triplicates to 12. Deducting the 177 from the 4,399, it brings the total number of persons licensed either as teachers or householders to 4,222.

On April 16, however, 7 licences, completed and ready for issue, were withdrawn at the last moment and were not 'given out.' This reduces the 4,222 to 4,215.† This is only two more than the Collective Total of my first County Classification, as given on p. 719.

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* If a meeting was being held in his own house, in which his licence authorized him to preach, and he was not preaching, unless he held a separate licence for the house (even though he were present to produce his personal licence) the authorities might make a difficulty.

† There are, however, many cases entered in **E.** similar to thirteen I have noticed in **B.**, which would, again, increase the number of licences.

This is the result arrived at, from adding up the numbers of entries in the two Entry Books as given in Vol. I., pp. 413 to 585.

Passing from these unclassified totals to the more difficult task of ascertaining the number of licences entered for the different counties, and, on the other hand, for members of the three great denominations, I have given two sets of results in the Tables which follow. The one is a 'first count,' when I had completed my first sifting or classification; and the other is formed on a rigorous analysis of the Classified Summary as actually published in Vol. II. of 'Original Records.' I have put the numbers reached in two columns (side by side), the first headed '1st C' (or First Count), the second headed 'C. S.' (or Classified Summary).

I present the figures in four Tables. In the first three I give the double figures in each county for (1) Presbyterians; (2) Congregationalists; and (3) Baptists; and in the fourth (4) for all three denominations collectively. Perhaps I should add a word with regard to my classification as to denomination. The denominations normally recognized at Headquarters were three: (1) Presbyterian; (2) Congregational or Independent; and (3) Baptist or Anabaptist.

One applicant preferred to distinguish himself by a name which had doctrinal rather than ecclesiastical significance. In the matter of church-organization, he had no deep convictions, and hence no strong preferences or antagonisms: he could consort equally well, he tells us, with Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Congregationalists; but in the matter of theological doctrine he was 'stiff'; and he asked to be put down as an 'Antinomian.' This was Richard Coore of Tong, in Yorkshire. His request was granted.

Another, no less distinguished a divine than Richard Baxter, so strongly objected to identify himself with any of the recognized sects that he sent to seek a licence 'without the Title of Independent, 'Presbyterian, or any other Party, but only as a Nonconformist.' Before his message was received at Whitehall, however, Sir Thomas Player, Chamberlain of London, had applied for and secured one for him, in accordance with his known desires; and his licence was accordingly made out as to 'a Nonconforming Minister' to teach in any licensed or allowed place. It was dated October 27, 1672, and was entered on **E. (272)**.

Before Richard Baxter, indeed, another licensee had secured a similar distinction. In two other particulars, moreover, this case was singular: (1) It was one of the very few in which Lord Clifford had been principal, not Arlington; and (2) the licence was drawn up on parchment, instead of on one of the printed paper-forms. The individual thus distinguished was Francis Bampfield (who had been ejected from Sherborne in Dorset (Cal. II. 149-153). The licence is entered on **E. (190)**; and in the left-hand margin is this note: 'Made in Parchment thus by my L^d 'Clifford's order 29 June'; and it reads: 'Licence to Fran: Bampfield 'a Nonconforming Minister to teach in any licensed place. 29 June.'

The following Tables give the number of individuals licensed for these three denominations in the several counties.

It will be noted that the discrepancies shown in the two columns are in no case very large; but that while in the Presbyterians and Congregationalists the first count gives slightly larger totals than the second; in the case of the Baptists, the difference between the totals is only one, and it is the final count which gives them that minute advantage.

TOTALS OF LICENCE-ENTRIES FOR BOTH TEACHERS AND HOUSEHOLDERS IN EACH COUNTY ACCORDING TO FIRST COUNT AND CLASSIFIED SUMMARY.

I. PRESBYTERIANS.

County.	1st C.	C. S.	County.	1st C.	C. S.
ENGLAND.			Brought forward	1,304	1,287
1. Northumberland	26	19	28. Essex	130	131
2. Durham ...	14	15	29. Berks	42	38
3. Cumberland ...	13	14	30. Middlesex ...	75	71
4. Westmorland ...	9	10	30A. London ...	118	116
5. Yorkshire ...	136	137	31. Kent	68	61
6. Lancashire ...	147	146	32. Surrey ...	51	51
7. Cheshire ...	71	67	33. Sussex ...	61	61
8. Derby	92	110	34. Hants ...	65	68
9. Notts	41	40	35. Wilts	62	68
10. Lincs	34	27	36. Somerset ...	202	205
11. Salop	53	50	37. Dorset ...	112	105
12. Staffs	79	71	38. Devon ...	224	233
13. Leicester ...	109	109	39. Cornwall ...	61	62
14. Rutland ...	10	10			
15. Hereford ...	34	32	WALES.		
16. Worcester ...	35	34	40. Flint	6	6
17. Warwick ...	76	68	41. Denbigh ...	2	2
18. Northants ...	54	55	42. Carnarvon ...	4	4
19. Gloucester ...	42	40	43. Merioneth ...	—	—
20. Oxon	37	30	44. Montgomery ...	3	3
21. Bucks	24	27	45. Cardigan ...	—	—
22. Hunts	10	10	46. Radnor ...	5	4
23. Beds	6	7	47. Brecon ...	—	—
24. Cambs ...	16	16	48. Pembroke ...	—	—
25. Herts	24	28	49. Carmarthen ...	—	—
26. Norfolk ...	34	34	50. Glamorgan ...	11	11
27. Suffolk ...	78	81	51. Monmouth ...	1	3
Carried forward	1,304	1,287	Total ...	2,607	2,590 (− 17)

II. CONGREGATIONALISTS.

County.	1st C.	C. S.	County.	1st C.	C. S.
ENGLAND.			Brought forward	705	697
1. Northumberland	12	12	28. Essex	27	27
2. Durham	4	3	29. Berks	10	9
3. Cumberland	17	15	30. Middlesex	11	11
4. Westmorland	—	—	30A. London	67	68
5. Yorks	55	59	31. Kent	26	27
6. Lancs	25	28	32. Surrey	9	9
7. Cheshire	17	18	33. Sussex	34	33
8. Derby	21	19	34. Hants	46	44
9. Notts	17	18	35. Wilts	21	21
10. Lincs	11	10	36. Somerset	22	22
11. Salop	27	28	37. Dorset	35	36
12. Staffs	18	18	38. Devon	56	59
13. Leicester	25	25	39. Cornwall	—	—
14. Rutland	4	4			
15. Hereford	6	6	WALES.		
16. Worcester	19	18	40. Flint	—	—
17. Warwick	9	9	41. Denbigh	16	15
18. Northants	50	48	42. Carnarvon	7	7
19. Gloucester	49	50	43. Merioneth	6	6
20. Oxon	16	17	44. Montgomery	4	4
21. Bucks	11	11	45. Cardigan	11	10
22. Hunts	9	12	46. Radnor	9	9
23. Beds	63	62	47. Brecon	5	5
24. Cambs	36	38	48. Pembroke	7	7
25. Herts	18	18	49. Carmarthen	5	5
26. Norfolk	86	77	50. Glamorgan	23	21
27. Suffolk	80	75	51. Monmouth	33	30
Carried forward	705	697	Total	1,195	1,182 (−17)

III. BAPTISTS.

County.	1st C.	C. S.	County.	1st C.	C. S.
ENGLAND.			Brought forward	4	4
1. Northumberland	—	—	6. Lancs	—	—
2. Durham	—	—	7. Cheshire	2	2
3. Cumberland	—	—	8. Derby	5	5
4. Westmorland	—	—	9. Notts	10	10
5. Yorks	4	4	10. Lincs	39	38
Carried forward	4	4	Carried forward	60	59

BAPTISTS—*continued.*

County.	1st C.	C. S.	County.	1st C.	C. S.
Brought forward	60	59	Brought forward	198	202
11. Salop	—	—	32. Surrey ...	10	10
12. Staffs	4	4	33. Sussex ...	8	10
13. Leicester ...	20	15	34. Hants... ...	13	13
14. Rutland ...	—	—	35. Wilts	28	29
15. Hereford ...	7	8	36. Somerset ...	44	40
16. Worcester ...	2	1	37. Dorset ...	16	16
17. Warwick ...	16	14	38. Devon ...	12	11
18. Northants ...	7	6	39. Cornwall ...	—	—
19. Gloucester ...	8	8			
20. Oxon	—	7	WALES.		
21. Bucks	2	2	40. Flint	—	—
22. Hunts ...	10	10	41. Denbigh ...	—	—
23. Beds	1	1	42. Carnarvon ...	—	—
24. Cambs ...	22	21	43. Merioneth ...	—	—
25. Herts	7	7	44. Montgomery ...	—	—
26. Norfolk ...	19	19	45. Cardigan ...	—	—
27. Suffolk ...	3	3	46. Radnor ...	1	1
28. Essex	2	2	47. Brecon ...	1	1
29. Berks	16	17	48. Pembroke ...	—	—
30. Middlesex ...	2	2	49. Carmarthen ...	1	1
30A. London ...	10	10	50. Glamorgan ...	11	11
31. Kent	40	45	51. Monmouth ...	8	8
Carried forward	198	202	Total ...	411	412 (+1)

TOTALS OF LICENCE-ENTRIES FOR ALL DENOMINATIONS, AND FOR BOTH TEACHERS AND HOUSEHOLDERS, IN EACH COUNTY ACCORDING TO FIRST COUNT AND CLASSIFIED SUMMARY.

IV. COLLECTIVE TOTALS.

County.	1st C.	C. S.	County.	1st C.	C. S.
ENGLAND.			Brought forward	95	88
1. Northumberland	38	31	5. Yorks	195	200
2. Durham ...	18	18	6. Lancs	172	174
3. Cumberland ...	30	29	7. Cheshire ...	90	87
4. Westmorland ...	9	10	8. Derby ...	118	134
Carried forward	95	88	Carried forward	670	683

COLLECTIVE TOTALS—*continued.*

County.	1st C.	C. S.
Brought forward	670	683
9. Notts	68	68
10. Lincs	84	75
11. Salop	80	78
12. Staffs	101	93
13. Leicester ...	154	149
14. Rutland ...	14	14
15. Hereford ...	47	46
16. Worcester ...	56	53
17. Warwick ...	101	91
18. Northants ...	111	109
19. Gloucester ...	99	98
20. Oxon ...	53	54
21. Bucks	37	40
22. Hunts ...	29	32
23. Beds	70	70
24. Cambs ...	74	75
25. Herts	49	53
26. Norfolk ...	139	130
27. Suffolk ...	161	159
28. Essex	159	160
29. Berks	68	64
30. Middlesex ..	88	84
30A. London ...	195	194
Carried forward	2,707	2,672
Brought forward	2,707	2,672
31. Kent	134	133
32. Surrey ...	70	70
33. Sussex ...	103	104
34. Hants... ...	124	125
35. Wilts	111	118
36. Somerset ...	268	267
37. Dorset ...	163	157
38. Devon ...	292	303
39. Cornwall ...	61	62
WALES.		
40. Flint	6	6
41. Denbigh ...	18	17
42. Carnarvon ...	11	11
43. Merioneth ...	6	6
44. Montgomery ...	7	7
45. Cardigan ...	11	10
46. Radnor ...	15	14
47. Brecon ...	6	6
48. Pembroke ...	7	7
49. Carmarthen ...	6	6
50. Glamorgan ...	45	43
51. Monmouth ...	42	41
Total ...	,213	4,185 (−28)

In the Tables which follow I have attempted a further discrimination, rendered desirable—if not absolutely necessary—from the greater interest taken by many in the Teachers than in the places in which they taught, and the congregations gathered to hear them. It was so with Blackburne Daniel, who, in dealing with the number of individuals licensed, confined himself wholly to the former.

The latter (meeting-places and congregations that gathered in them) involved, however, another set of individuals, who deserve a memorial quite as much as the teachers—the noble men and women who licensed their dwellings as places for Nonconformist worship. I have tried therefore to get at the numbers of householders (or owners of property) who desired licences for their houses, or for a room or rooms in them, as well as of Teachers or Ministers who conducted services in them.

And I have arranged the two sets of numbers in columns headed respectively 'T' (for Teachers or Ministers) and 'H' (for Householders or Owners of property), and placed Mr. Daniel's figures in brackets before my own.

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS LICENSED, 1672-73.

ENGLAND.

Group.	County.		P.	C.	B.	Total.		
						T.	H.	Licences.
I. 1.	Northumberland	T.	(10) 11	(3) 4	(0) —	(13) 15	16	31
		H.	8	8	—			
2.	Durham	T.	(7) 7	(2) 1	(0) —	(9) 8	10	18
		H.	8	2	—			
3.	Cumberland	T.	(3) 3	(4) 5	—	(7) 8	21	29
		H.	11	10	—			
4.	Westmorland	T.	(2) 2	(0) —	(0) —	(2) 2	8	10
		H.	8	—	—			
5.	Yorkshire :							
	(1) North Riding	T.	(6) 6	—	—	6	7	13
		H.	7	—	—			
	(2) East Riding	T.	5	3	—	8	7	15
		H.	4	3	—			
	(3) West Riding	T.	(55) 49	(22) 25	3	(80) 77	97	174
		H.	66	28	3			
6.	Lancashire	T.	(46) 48	(6) 9	(1) —	(53) 57	117	174
		H.	98	19	—			
II. 7.	Cheshire	T.	(22) 25	(6) 7	(1) —	(29) 32	55	87
		H.	42	11	2			

	8.	Derbyshire	T.	(28) 34	(8) 8	(0) 1	(36) 43	91	134
			H.	76	11	4			
	9.	Nottinghamshire	T.	(9) 13	(6) 6	(2) 4	(17) 23	45	68
			H.	27	12	6			
	10.	Lincolnshire	T.	(11) 13	(6) 5	(18) 18	(35) 36	39	75
			H.	14	5	20			
	11.	Shropshire, or Salop	T.	(13) 13	(8) 11	—	(21) 24	54	78
			H.	37	17	—			
	12.	Staffordshire	T.	(17) 21	(3) 3	(3) 2	(23) 26	67	93
			H.	50	15	2			
	13.	Leicestershire	T.	(27) 33	(6) 9	(9) 8	(42) 50	99	149
			H.	76	16	7			
	14.	Rutland	T.	(2) 2	(1) 1	(0) —	(3) 3	11	14
			H.	8	3	—			
III.	15.	Herefordshire	T.	(11) 11	(3) 3	(1) 1	(15) 15	31	46
			H.	21	3	7			
	16.	Worcestershire	T.	(10) 11	(5) 7	(0) —	(15) 18	34	52
			H.	23	11	—			
	17.	Warwickshire	T.	(20) 22	(3) 3	(8) 7	(31) 32	59	91
			H.	46	6	7			
	18.	Northamptonshire	T.	(21) 17	(15) 20	(4) 4	(40) 41	68	109
			H.	38	28	2			
	19.	Gloucestershire	T.	(17) 16	(21) 21	(5) 5	(43) 42	56	98
			H.	24	29	3			
	20.	Oxfordshire	T.	(9) 10	(3) 5	(5) 4	(17) 19	35	54
			H.	20	12	3			
	21.	Buckinghamshire	T.	(6) 10	(6) 5	(1) 1	(14) 16	24	40
			H.	17	6	1			
		Groups I., II., and III. ...	...	...	...	...	(547) 601	1,052	1,653

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS LICENSED (ENGLAND)—*continued.*

Group.	County.		P.	C.	B.	Total.		
						T.	H.	Licences.
22.	Huntingdonshire	T.	(5) 5	(5) 5	(5) 5	(15) 15	17	32
		H.	5	7	5			
23.	Bedfordshire	T.	(4) 2	(20) 22	(1) 1	(25) 25	45	70
		H.	5	40	—			
24.	Cambridgeshire	T.	(3) 3	(12) 16	(10) 10	(25) 29	46	75
		H.	13	22	11			
25.	Hertfordshire	T.	(9) 13	(5) 8	(5) 4	(19) 25	28	53
		H.	15	10	3			
26.	Norfolk	T.	(10) 11	(23) 30	(12) 12	(45) 53	77	130
		H.	23	47	7			
27.	Suffolk	T.	(28) 28	(23) 29	(0) —	(51) 57	92	149
		H.	43	46	3			
28.	Essex	T.	(42) 47	(12) 13	(1) 1	(55) 61	99	160
		H.	84	14	1			
V. 29.	Berkshire	T.	(20) 14	(2) 2	(9) 10	(31) 26	38	64
		H.	24	7	7			
30.	Middlesex	T.	(25) 29	(3) 4	(0) 1	(28) 34	50	84
		H.	42	7	1			
30A.	London	T.	(61) 62	(36) 33	(8) 7	(105) 102	92	194
		H.	54	35	3			
31.	Kent	T.	(17) 19	(12) 12	(24) 24	(53) 55	78	133
		H.	42	15	21			
32.	Surrey	T.	(24) 20	(2) 4	(6) 6	(32) 30	40	70
		H.	31	5	4			

	33.	Sussex	T.	(19) 20	(11) 15	(4) 6	(34) 41	63	104
			H.	41	18	4			
	34.	Hants	T.	(24) 27	(13) 16	(5) 6	(42) 49	76	125
			H.	41	28	7			
VI.	35.	Wiltshire	T.	(23) 23	(11) 10	(17) 15	(51) 48	70	118
			H.	45	11	14			
	36.	Somersetshire	T.	(54) 69	(6) 7	(22) 23	(82) 99	168	267
			H.	136	15	17			
	37.	Dorsetshire...	T.	(32) 36	(12) 13	(9) 9	(54) 58	99	157
			H.	69	23	7			
	38.	Devonshire	T.	(83) 89	(19) 22	(3) 3	(105) 114	189	303
			H.	144	37	8			
	39.	Cornwall	T.	(25) 24	(0) —	(0) —	(25) 24	38	62
			H.	38	—	—			
		Groups IV., V., and VI. ...	...	...	...	...	(881) 945	1,405	2,350
		Groups I., II., and III. ...	...	...	...	...	(547) 601	1,052	1,653
		The whole of England ...	...	...	...	...	(1,428) 1,546	2,457	4,003
		Channel Islands	T.	...	...	...	3	—	3
		England and Channel Islands...	...	...	...	...	(1,428) 1,549	2,457	4,006

WALES.

VII.	1.	Flintshire	T.	(1) 1	(0) —	(0) —	(1) 1	5	6
			H.	5	—	—			
	2.	Denbighshire	T.	(1) 1	(5) 6	(0) —	(6) 7	10	17
			H.	1	9	—			
		Carried forward	...	...	...	...	(7) 8	15	23

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS LICENSED (WALES)—*continued.*

Group.	County.		P.	C.	B.	Totals. T.	Totals. H.	Totals. Licences.
	Brought forward	...	...	...	...	(7) 8	15	23
VII. 3.	Carnarvonshire	T.	(2) 2	(3) 3	(0) —	(5) 5	6	11
		H.	2	4	—			
4.	Merionethshire	T.	(0) —	(1) 1	(0) —	(1) 1	5	6
		H.	—	5	—			
5.	Montgomeryshire	T.	(0) 1	(1) 2	(0) —	(2) 3	4	7
		H.	2	2	—			
6.	Cardiganshire	T.	(0) —	(4) 4	(0) —	(6) 4	6	10
		H.	—	6	—			
7.	Radnorshire	T.	(0) 2	(2) 3	(1) 1	(3) 6	8	14
		H.	2	6	—			
8.	Brecknockshire	T.	(0) —	(2) 2	(1) 1	(3) 3	3	6
		H.	—	3	—			
9.	Pembrokeshire	T.	(1) —	(2) 2	—	(3) 2	5	7
		H.	—	5	—			
10.	Carmarthenshire	T.	(0) —	(2) 2	(1) —	(3) 2	4	6
		H.	—	3	1			
11.	Glamorganshire	T.	(4) 4	(7) 8	(2) 4	(13) 16	27	43
		H.	7	13	7			
12.	Monmouthshire	T.	(2) 2	(11) 9	(4) 4	(17) 15	26	41
		H.	1	21	4			
	Totals for Wales	...	...	...	...	(63) 65	109	174
	Totals for England and Channel Islands	...	...	...	...	(1,428) 1,549	2,457	4,006
	Totals for England, Wales, and Channel Islands	...	...	...	...	(1,491) 1,614	2,566	4,180

In the first set of Tables I have arranged the figures for the three denominations in each county, so as most readily to obtain the total numbers of Nonconformist Teachers and Householders of whatever denomination in each who secured licences in 1672. [The seven groups are those adopted throughout this work.]

The figures inserted in parentheses are those given by Mr. Blackburne Daniell in his Tables ('Introduction to Calendar, 1672-73'). They are appended (for reason just explained) to Teachers only.

In these Tables the numbers are naturally reduced somewhat as compared with those of licence-entries.

In the lists given in the Classified Summary I have struck out duplicate and triplicate licences, relegating them to the margin of the columns for Teachers and Householders, so not including them in the numbers added up to arrive at the totals.

It will be found that the totals thus arrived at are:

(1) In England, 4,003. (2) England and the Channel Islands, 4,006; and (3) in England (including the Channel Islands) and Wales, 4,180.

This shows, in comparison with the grand total of licences entered, a falling off of 35, for the previous total was 4,215.

But that is partly accounted for by the difficulty which often arises in assigning the denomination of individual licensees; where it is not definitely given, it has become a matter for personal judgment—a judgment which had often to be risked on very insufficient data. I am not at all sure that it would not have been wiser to have reserved a separate group, IV. or V., according to the absence or presence of a group of Papists licensed in the county, for those whose denomination is not stated. In some cases, too, the same name may have been assigned to more than one denomination; and a duplication may have arisen quite unintentionally.

In the three following Tables I have presented the numbers of persons of each denomination separately for each of the counties in England and Wales:

PRESBYTERIANS.

County.	T.	H.	Total.
ENGLAND.			
1. Northumberland	(10) 11	8	19
2. Durham	(7) 7	8	15
3. Cumberland	(3) 3	11	14
4. Westmorland	(2) 2	8	10
5. Yorkshire...	(55) 60	77	137
6. Lancashire	(46) 48	98	146
7. Cheshire	(22) 25	42	67
8. Derbyshire	(28) 34	76	110
Carried forward	(173) 190	328	518

PRESBYTERIANS—*continued.*

County.	T.	H.	Total.
Brought forward	(173) 190	328	518
9. Nottinghamshire	(9) 13	27	40
10. Lincolnshire	(11) 13	14	27
11. Shropshire, or Salop	(13) 13	37	50
12. Staffordshire	(17) 21	50	71
13. Leicestershire	(27) 33	76	109
14. Rutland	(2) 2	8	10
15. Herefordshire	(11) 11	21	32
16. Worcestershire	(10) 11	23	34
17. Warwickshire	(20) 22	46	68
18. Northamptonshire	(21) 17	38	55
19. Gloucestershire	(17) 16	24	40
20. Oxfordshire	(9) 10	20	30
21. Buckinghamshire	(6) 10	17	27
22. Huntingdonshire	(5) 5	5	10
23. Bedfordshire	(4) 2	5	7
24. Cambridgeshire	(3) 3	13	16
25. Hertfordshire	(9) 13	15	28
26. Norfolk	(10) 11	23	34
27. Suffolk	(28) 28	43	71
28. Essex	(42) 47	84	131
29. Berkshire	(20) 14	24	38
30. Middlesex	(25) 29	42	71
30A. London	(61) 62	54	116
31. Kent	(17) 19	42	61
32. Surrey	(24) 20	31	51
33. Sussex	(19) 20	41	61
34. Hampshire	(24) 27	41	68
35. Wiltshire	(23) 23	45	68
36. Somersetshire	(54) 69	136	205
37. Dorsetshire	(32) 36	69	105
38. Devonshire	(83) 89	144	233
39. Cornwall	(25) 24	38	62
WALES.			
40. Flintshire	(1) 1	5	6
41. Denbighshire	(1) 1	1	2
42. Carnarvonshire	(2) 2	2	4
43. Montgomeryshire	(1) 1	2	3
44. Radnorshire	(2) 2	2	4
(Pembrokeshire)	(1) —	—	—
45. Glamorganshire	(4) 4	7	11
46. Monmouthshire	(2) 2	1	3
	(868) 936	1,644	2,580
47. Channel Islands	3	—	3
Total	(868) 939	1,644	2,583

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

County.	T.	H.	Total.
ENGLAND.			
1. Northumberland	(3) 4	8	12
2. Durham	(2) 1	2	3
3. Cumberland	(4) 5	10	15
4. Westmorland	(0) —	—	0
5. Yorkshire	(22) 28	31	59
6. Lancashire	(6) 9	19	28
7. Cheshire	(6) 7	11	18
8. Derbyshire	(8) 8	11	19
9. Nottinghamshire	(6) 6	12	18
10. Lincolnshire	(6) 5	5	10
11. Shropshire, or Salop	(8) 11	17	28
12. Staffordshire	(3) 3	15	18
13. Leicestershire	(6) 9	16	25
14. Rutland	(1) 1	3	4
15. Herefordshire	(3) 3	3	6
16. Worcestershire	(5) 7	11	18
17. Warwickshire	(3) 3	6	9
18. Northamptonshire	(15) 20	28	48
19. Gloucestershire	(21) 21	29	50
20. Oxfordshire	(3) 5	12	17
21. Buckinghamshire	(6) 5	6	11
22. Huntingdonshire	(5) 5	7	12
23. Bedfordshire	(20) 22	40	62
24. Cambridgeshire	(12) 16	22	38
25. Hertfordshire	(5) 8	10	18
26. Norfolk	(23) 30	47	77
27. Suffolk	(23) 29	46	75
28. Essex	(13) 13	14	27
29. Berkshire	(2) 2	7	9
30. Middlesex	(3) 4	7	11
30A. London	(36) 33	35	68
31. Kent	(12) 12	15	27
32. Surrey	(2) 4	5	9
33. Sussex	(11) 15	18	33
34. Hampshire	(13) 16	28	44
35. Wiltshire	(10) 10	11	21
36. Somersetshire	(6) 7	15	22
37. Dorsetshire	(13) 13	23	36
38. Devonshire	(19) 22	37	59
39. Cornwall	(0) —	—	0
WALES.			
40. Flintshire	(0) —	—	0
41. Denbighshire	(5) 6	9	15
Carried forward	(370) 428	651	1,079

CONGREGATIONALISTS—*continued.*

County.	T.	H.	Total.
Brought forward	(370) 428	651	1,079
42. Carnarvonshire	(3) 3	4	7
43. Merionethshire	(1) 1	5	6
44. Montgomeryshire	(1) 2	2	4
45. Cardiganshire	(4) 4	6	10
46. Radnorshire	(2) 3	6	9
47. Brecknockshire	(2) 2	3	5
48. Pembrokeshire	(2) 2	5	7
49. Carmarthenshire	(2) 2	3	5
50. Glamorganshire	(7) 8	13	21
51. Monmouthshire	(11) 9	21	30
Totals	(395) 464	719	1,183

BAPTISTS.

County.	T.	H.	Total.
ENGLAND.			
1. Northumberland	(0) —	—	0
2. Durham	(0) —	—	0
3. Cumberland	(0) —	—	0
4. Westmorland	(0) —	—	0
5. Yorkshire	(2) 2	2	4
6. Lancashire	(1) —	—	0
7. Cheshire	(1) —	2	2
8. Derbyshire	(0) 1	4	5
9. Nottinghamshire	(2) 4	6	10
10. Lincolnshire	(18) 18	20	38
11. Shropshire, or Salop	(0) —	—	0
12. Staffordshire	(3) 2	2	4
13. Leicestershire	(9) 8	7	15
14. Rutland	(0) —	—	0
15. Herefordshire	(1) 1	7	8
16. Worcestershire	(0) —	1	1
17. Warwickshire	(8) 7	7	14
18. Northamptonshire	(4) 4	2	6
19. Gloucestershire	(5) 5	3	8
20. Oxfordshire	(5) 4	3	7
21. Buckinghamshire	(1) 1	1	2
22. Huntingdonshire	(5) 5	5	10
23. Bedfordshire	(1) 1	—	1
Carried forward	(66) 63	72	135

BAPTISTS (ENGLAND)—*continued.*

County.	T.	H.	Total.
Brought forward	(66) 63	72	135
24. Cambridgeshire	(10) 10	11	21
25. Hertfordshire	(5) 4	3	7
26. Norfolk	(12) 12	7	19
27. Suffolk	(0) —	3	3
28. Essex	(1) 1	1	2
29. Berkshire	(9) 10	7	17
30. Middlesex	(1) 1	1	2
30A. London	(8) 7	3	10
31. Kent	(24) 24	21	45
32. Surrey	(6) 6	4	10
33. Sussex	(4) 6	4	10
34. Hampshire	(5) 6	7	13
35. Wiltshire	(17) 15	14	29
36. Somersetshire	(22) 23	17	40
37. Dorsetshire	(9) 9	7	16
38. Devonshire	(3) 3	8	11
39. Cornwall	(0) —	—	0
WALES.			
40. Flintshire	(0) —	—	0
41. Denbighshire	(0) —	—	0
42. Carnarvonshire	(0) —	—	0
43. Merionethshire	(0) —	—	0
44. Montgomeryshire	(0) —	—	0
45. Cardiganshire	(0) —	—	0
46. Radnorshire	(1) 1	—	1
47. Brecknockshire	(1) 1	0	1
48. Pembrokeshire	(0) —	—	0
49. Carmarthenshire	(1) —	1	1
50. Glamorganshire	(2) 4	7	11
51. Monmouthshire	(4) 4	4	8
Totals	(211) 210	202	412

Summarizing the totals gathered from the preceding Tables of licences entered for both Teachers and Householders for the seven geographical groups—(i) for the three denominations; and (ii) for all denominations respectively, we obtain the following results, according to my two counts.

No.	Group (Counties).	Presb.		Cong.		Bapt.		All Denom.	
		1st C.	C. S.	1st C.	C. S.	1st C.	C. S.	1st C.	C. S.
I.	Northern ...	345	341	113	117	4	4	462	462
II.	North-Midland	489	484	140	140	80	74	709	698
III.	South-Midland	302	286	160	159	42	46	504	491
IV.	Eastern ...	298	297	319	309	64	61	681	667
V.	South-Eastern	480	466	203	201	99	107	782	774
VI.	South-Western	661	673	134	138	100	96	895	907
VII.	Wales ...	32	33	126	119	22	22	180	174
	England and Wales ...	2,607	2,580	1,195	1,183	411	410	4,213	4,173
		+27		+12		−1		+40	

The total number of licences for the whole of England and Wales, then, was either 4,213 or 4,173. Of these totals the Presbyterians account for either 2,607 or 2,580; the Congregationalists, 1,195 or 1,183; and the Baptists, 411 or 410. In other words, in all England and Wales, the Presbyterians had [$\frac{26}{42}$ or] $\frac{13}{21}$ of the whole—*i.e.*, 0·6,116 or 0·6,189; the Congregationalists only $\frac{6}{21}$ or $\frac{2}{7}$—*i.e.*, 0·2,836 or 0·2,827; and the Baptists but $\frac{2}{21}$ or between $\frac{1}{11}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$—*i.e.*, 0·0,978 or 0·0,984. The Presbyterians licensed were more than twice the number of licensed Congregationalists, and between six and seven times the number of licensed Baptists.

It is true that most of those entered as Presbyterians were in no way connected with an organized* Presbyterian Church. Many of the older writers on the subject have recognized the fact; and more recent authorities have practically agreed that many so-called Presbyterians were really Congregationalists, if they could not fairly be called Independents. Rev. T. G. Crippen (Secretary of the C.H.S.) has repeatedly called attention to the fact. The late Rev. Bryan Dale, puts it thus in a letter to me on the Yorkshire licences: 'Much depended on the 'person who applied. And Presbyterians being the great majority, 'where there was any doubt, the licence was entered as Presbyterian. I 'can prove that several in Yorks entered "Pr." were certainly Congre'gational. In some instances it was a matter of perfect indifference to 'the congregation whether nominally one or the other, and only because 'the "persuasion" had to be stated, was notice taken of it.'

Of Cheshire, Dr. Powicke writes ('History of the Cheshire Congre'gational Union,' p. 5) of the Commonwealth period: 'The Bishops' 'jurisdiction came to an end for the time being; but it was not succeeded 'by the jurisdiction of the Presbytery. Cheshire, as a whole, was never 'subject to the latter. However much the ministers desired it, their 'congregations made it impracticable.'

In writing of the Churches in Berks, South Bucks, and South Oxon, about a quarter of a century later, the late W. H. Summers says: 'There was practically little difference between a Presbyterian and an 'Independent church in those days, except in one important particular. 'In the latter the minister was appointed by the whole body of the 'members; in the Presbyterian Church he was chosen by trustees.' And he shrewdly adds: 'This may have had something to do with 'the rapid spread of negative theology in the Presbyterian churches, 'and with the decadence which followed it' ('County Congregational 'History,' p. 8).

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* Organized, I mean, into classes and governed by synods.

William Urwick, in his monumental 'History of Nonconformity in 'Herts' (p. 136), writing of Job Tookey, who followed Mr. Geree as minister of the Abbey Church in St. Albans, says: 'He was a Congre'gationalist, and here he gathered a Congregational Church. It is an 'interesting fact that *the first Congregational Church was gathered in 'St. Alban's Abbey*. Mr. Geree was a Presbyterian, but Presbytery as 'distinct from Congregationalism was never set up in Hertfordshire.'

Even where the 'classical system' had been introduced it never took deep root, and did not last beyond the Restoration.

So that 'Presbyterian' mainly means that those who gave themselves that distinctive name—wished or were willing for the Re-establishment of the Presbytery—rather than actually belonged to one.

They were Presbyterian in theory and inclination, though by force of circumstances they belonged to no organized Presbyterian Church having a coherent and effectual synodical system; and therefore perforce were Congregational or Independent in their actual administration of the affairs of the Churches of which they were ministers.

So, too, of course, were the Baptists. Ritually they were separate from the Congregationalists who were all practisers of Infant Baptism. Ecclesiastically they were identical with them. Many of the more enlightened and broad-minded among them, moreover, such as John Bunyan, refused to make that ritual difference the foundation or working principle of a separate sect, so that all the 'Congregationalists' who co-operated with John Bunyan in Bedfordshire, though they were really Baptists as regards the administration of the rite, refused to call themselves by a separate name, and were called 'Congregationalists' in their licences in 1672.

And now to turn from the totals for England and Wales to those of the separate counties. The facts revealed by the figures are somewhat surprising.

(1) As regards the Presbyterians, Devon and Somerset stand far away above all the rest: Devon with 224 or 233, and Somerset with 202 or 205. Lancashire comes next with 146; and Yorkshire follows with 136 or 137, nearly 70 below Somerset. Essex next with 130 or 131. Next follows London with 118 or 116. Dorset comes close upon London with 112 or 105; and Leicester is only 3 behind Dorset (with 109). And of all the rest Derby alone calls for special mention in the 'honours list,' with 92 or 110.

(2) When we turn to the Congregationalists, however, we find the numbers so reduced that we have to make the standard of the 'honours

'list' between 45 and 90, instead of between 100 and 225 (as with the Presbyterians). Here the Eastern Counties leads the way: Norfolk with 86 or 77, and Suffolk with 80 or 75; London comes next with 67 or 68; and Bedford (reckoning Bunyan's group of Baptists in its ranks) not far behind with 63 or 62. Devon (in the south-west) and Yorks (in the north-east) follow close upon Bedford with 56 or 59, and 55 or 59 respectively; and Northampton and Gloucester are not far behind with 50 or 48, and 49 or 50.

(3) The Baptist figures are very modest. Three counties run each other very closely. Somerset comes first with 44 or 40; Kent disputes the position with 40 or 45. Lincoln comes next with 39 or 38; and of all the other counties Wilts is the only county that calls for special mention, with 28 or 29.

It is quite worth while to see how the total numbers are distributed between Teachers and Householders.

1. *Teachers.*—No doubt the teachers naturally call for more special attention as the intellectual and spiritual leaders; and Mr. Blackburne Daniell has concentrated his special numerical researches on them. In his Introduction to the Volume of the 'Calendar of State Papers' (Domestic Series) dealing with 1672-73—the first two of his four Tables deal exclusively with the ministers: Table I. showing the distribution by Counties of the Ministers of the three Denominations (pp. xxxvii-xliii); Table II. Totals, under Counties, of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists (pp. xliii-xlv).

Mr. Daniell points out that there are ten ministers about whom it is uncertain whether they were Presbyterians or Congregationalists, and two others about whom it is uncertain whether they were Baptists or Congregationalists.

The total reached by adding up his totals of the ministers of distinctly ascertained denomination is 1,459; but his final conclusion is that the number of ministers licensed was 1,481.

The total I have arrived at (by the analysis of my Classified Summary) is 1,601; which is 120 more than Mr. Blackburne Daniell's.

I give the details below for the sake of exact comparison:

I. PRESBYTERIANS.

County.	B. D.	G. L. T.
ENGLAND.		
1. Northumberland	10	11
2. Durham	7	7
3. Cumberland	3	3
4. Westmorland	2	2
5. Yorkshire	55	60
6. Lancashire	46	48
7. Cheshire	22	25
Carried forward	145	156
Brought forward	145	156
8. Derbyshire	28	34
9. Nottinghamshire	9	13
10. Lincolnshire	11	13
11. Salop	13	13
12. Staffordshire	17	21
13. Leicestershire	27	33
14. Rutland	2	2
Carried forward	252	285

PRESBYTERIANS—*continued.*

County.	B. D.	G. L. T.	County.	B. D.	G. L. T.
Brought forward	252	285	Brought forward	594	635
15. Herefordshire ...	11	11	33. Sussex	19	20
16. Worcestershire	10	11	34. Hampshire ...	24	27
17. Warwickshire ...	20	22	35. Wiltshire ...	23	23
18. Northants ...	21	17	36. Somersetshire ...	54	69
19. Gloucestershire	17	16	37. Dorsetshire ...	32	36
20. Oxfordshire ...	9	10	38. Devonshire ...	83	89
21. Buckinghamshire	6	10	39. Cornwall ...	25	24
22. Huntingdonshire	5	5			
23. Bedfordshire ...	4	2	WALES.		
24. Cambridgeshire	3	3	40. Flint	1	1
25. Hertfordshire	9	13	41. Denbigh ...	1	1
26. Norfolk ...	10	11	42. Carnarvon ...	2	2
27. Suffolk ...	28	28	43. Montgomery ...	1	1
28. Essex	42	47	44. Radnor ...	2	2
29. Berkshire ...	20	14	45. Pembroke ...	1	0
30. Middlesex ...	25	29	46. Glamorgan ...	4	4
30A. London ...	61	62	47. Monmouth ...	2	2
31. Kent	17	19			
32. Surrey	24	20	48. Channel Islands	0	3
Carried forward	594	635	Totals ...	868	939

II. CONGREGATIONALISTS.

County.	B. D.	G. L. T.	County.	B. D.	G. L. T.
ENGLAND.			Brought forward	102	107
1. Northumberland	3	4	17. Warwickshire ...	3	3
2. Durham ...	2	1	18. Northants ...	15	20
3. Cumberland ...	4	5	19. Gloucestershire	21	21
4. Westmorland ...	0	0	20. Oxfordshire ...	3	5
5. Yorkshire ...	22	28	21. Buckinghamshire	6	5
6. Lancashire ...	6	9	22. Huntingdonshire	5	5
7. Cheshire ...	6	7	23. Bedfordshire ...	20	22
8. Derbyshire ...	8	8	24. Cambridgeshire	12	16
9. Nottinghamshire	6	6	25. Hertfordshire ...	5	8
10. Lincolnshire ...	6	5	26. Norfolk ...	23	30
11. Salop	8	11	27. Suffolk ...	23	29
12. Staffordshire ...	3	3	28. Essex	13	13
13. Leicestershire ...	6	9	29. Berkshire ...	2	2
14. Rutland ...	1	1	30. Middlesex ...	3	4
15. Herefordshire ...	3	3	30A. London ...	36	33
16. Worcestershire	5	7	31. Kent	12	12
Carried forward	102	107	Carried forward	304	335

CONGREGATIONALISTS—*continued.*

County.	B. D.	G. L. T.	County.	B. D.	G. L. T.
Brought forward	304	335	Brought forward	375	416
32. Surrey	2	4	41. Denbigh ...	5	6
33. Sussex	11	15	42. Carnarvon ...	3	3
34. Hampshire ...	10	10	43. Merioneth ...	1	1
35. Wiltshire ...	10	10	44. Montgomery ...	1	2
36. Somersetshire ...	6	7	45. Cardigan ...	4	4
37. Dorsetshire ...	13	13	46. Radnor ...	2	3
38. Devonshire ...	19	22	47. Brecknock ...	2	2
39. Cornwall ...	0	0	48. Pembroke ...	2	2
			49. Carmarthen ...	2	2
WALES.			50. Glamorgan ...	7	8
40. Flint	0	0	51. Monmouth ...	11	9
Carried forward	375	416	Totals ...	405	458

III. BAPTISTS.

County.	B. D.	G. L. T.	County.	B. D.	G. L. T.
ENGLAND.			Brought forward	59	56
1. Northumberland	0	0	21. Buckinghamshire	1	1
2. Durham ...	0	0	22. Huntingdonshire	5	5
3. Cumberland ...	0	0	23. Bedfordshire ...	1	1
4. Westmorland ...	0	0	24. Cambridgeshire	10	10
5. Yorkshire .	2	2	25. Hertfordshire ...	5	4
6. Lancashire ...	1	0	26. Norfolk ...	12	12
7. Cheshire ...	1	0	27. Suffolk ...	0	0
8. Derbyshire ...	0	1	28. Essex	1	1
9. Nottinghamshire	2	4	29. Berkshire ...	9	10
10. Lincolnshire ...	18	18	30. Middlesex ...	1	1
11. Salop ...	0	0	30A. London ...	8	7
12. Staffordshire ...	3	2	31. Kent	24	24
13. Leicestershire ...	9	8	32. Surrey ...	6	6
14. Rutland ...	0	0	33. Sussex	4	6
15. Herefordshire ...	1	1	34. Hampshire ...	5	6
16. Worcestershire	0	0	35. Wiltshire ...	17	15
17. Warwickshire ...	8	7	36. Somersetshire ...	22	23
18. Northants ...	4	4	37. Dorsetshire ...	9	9
19. Gloucestershire	5	5	38. Devonshire ...	3	3
20. Oxfordshire ...	5	4	39. Cornwall ...	0	0
Carried forward	59	56	Carried forward	202	200

BAPTISTS—*continued:*

County.	B. D.	G. L. T.	County.	B. D.	G. L. T.
Wales.					
Brought forward	202	200	Brought forward	202	200
40. Flint	0	0	46. Radnor ...	1	1
41. Denbigh ...	0	0	47. Brecknock ...	1	1
42. Carnarvon ...	0	0	48. Pembroke ...	0	0
43. Merioneth ...	0	0	49. Carmarthen ...	1	0
44. Montgomery ...	0	0	50. Glamorgan ...	2	4
45. Cardigan ...	0	0	51. Monmouth ...	4	4
Carried forward	202	200	Totals ...	211	210

I. Of Presbyterian ministers licensed the total number in England and Wales is 868 according to B. D., or 939 according to G. L. T. In the separate counties—if London be included in the County of Middlesex—Middlesex held the lead with 86 or 91. But Devon did not lag far behind with her 83 or 89.

If London be counted separately, Devon stands first, and London comes doubtfully second with her 61 or 62. But Somerset strongly challenges the second position, for while Mr. Daniell credits Somerset with only 54, I find 69 Presbyterian ministers licensed in that county. Yorkshire follows with 55 or 60.

Lancashire comes next with 46 or 48, and Essex with 42 or 47. Dorset claims 32 or 36 ; and then we have two pairs of counties so evenly balanced that Mr. Daniell's figures would give precedence to the county I should place first, and *vice versa.*

Leicester and Derby, with 27 or 33 and 28 or 34 ; and Suffolk and Leicester, with 28 (according to both of us), and 27 or 33 ; Middlesex (without London), 25 or 29 ; Hampshire, 24 or 27 ; Cornwall, 25 or 24 ; Surrey, 24 or 20 ; Wilts, 23 (according to both); and Cheshire, 22 or 25—all run one another very close.

Comparing these numbers with the total licences for the several counties, one thing will at once strike the attention—viz., that in number of Presbyterian ministers Middlesex (with London) distinctly takes the palm from Devon ; while Devon's licensed Presbyterians as a whole win easily as compared with those of any other county. Nor can there be much doubt that this was due to the number of Presbyterian ministers who fled to London as their most secure asylum.

II. Of licensed Congregational ministers the totals are 402 (B. D.), or 458 (G. L. T.). Looking at the separate counties, Middlesex (if London be included) has by far the largest number—39 or 37—and London alone 36 or 33.

There is a gap of more than 10 before we come to Norfolk and Suffolk, which stand second with 23 or 30 and 23 or 29. Then follows Yorkshire with 22 or 28 ; Gloucester with 21 (according to both countings); Bedford and Devon with 20 or 22 and 19 or 22. Northamptonshire has 15 or 20; Essex and Dorset 13 (according to both); Cambridge and Kent have 12 or 16 and 12 (according to both); Sussex has 11 or 15; and Monmouth 11 or 9; and Hampshire and Wiltshire each has 10 (according to both countings).

In a Congregational licensed ministry, then, London is by far the richest; and the Eastern Counties Norfolk and Suffolk are next, though Essex, curiously enough, can claim less than half of either; and Yorkshire stands well with them.

III. In a licensed Baptist ministry, which totals 211 (B. D.), or 210 (G. L. T.), Kent is first with 24 (on both countings); and Somerset follows with 22 or 23. Then come Lincoln and Wiltshire with 18 (on both countings) and 17 or 15; and the only other counties calling for special mention are Norfolk and Cambridge, which both countings credit with 12 and 10 respectively.

By a further collation of these numbers I am able to present the numbers of ministers (of all three denominations) licensed in the several counties:

County.	B. D.	G. L. T.
ENGLAND.		
1. Northumberland	13	15
2. Durham ...	9	8
3. Cumberland ...	7	8
4. Westmorland ...	2	2
5. Yorkshire ...	79	90
6. Lancashire ...	53	57
7. Cheshire ...	29	32
8. Derbyshire ...	36	43
9. Nottinghamshire	17	23
10. Lincolnshire ...	35	36
11. Salop	21	24
12. Staffordshire ...	23	26
13. Leicestershire ...	42	50
14. Rutland ...	3	3
15. Herefordshire ...	15	15
16. Worcestershire	15	18
17. Warwickshire ...	31	32
18. Northants ...	40	41
19. Gloucestershire	43	42
20. Oxfordshire ...	17	19
21. Buckinghamshire	13	16
22. Huntingdonshire	15	15
23. Bedfordshire ...	25	25
24. Cambridgeshire	25	29
25. Hertfordshire ...	19	25
26. Norfolk ...	46	53
27. Suffolk ...	51	57
28. Essex	56	61
Carried forward	780	865
Brought forward	780	865
29. Berkshire ...	31	26
30. Middlesex ...	29	34
30A. London ...	105	102
31. Kent	53	55
32. Surrey	32	30
33. Sussex	34	41
34. Hampshire ...	39	43
35. Wiltshire ...	50	48
36. Somersetshire ...	82	99
37. Dorsetshire ...	54	58
38. Devonshire ...	105	114
39. Cornwall ...	25	24
WALES.		
40. Flint	1	0
41. Denbigh ...	6	7
42. Carnarvon ...	5	5
43. Merioneth ...	2	2
44. Montgomery ...	5	6
45. Cardigan ...	4	4
46. Radnor ...	5	6
47. Brecknock ...	3	3
48. Pembroke ...	3	2
49. Carmarthen ...	3	2
50. Glamorgan ...	13	16
51. Monmouth ...	17	15
52. Channel Islands	0	3
Totals	1,486	1,610

From this Table it appears that in the matter of a licensed ministry (of all three denominations), Middlesex stands far ahead of any other county, with 134 or 136.

If London is reckoned alone, Devon runs it very close. Mr. Daniell's figures would make London and Devon exactly equal with 105; but my countings would give Devon a decided pre-eminence, with 114 as compared with 102. Then come Somerset, with 82 or 99; and Yorkshire with 79 or 90. After these three (London, Devon, and Somerset), there is a group of six counties, whose numbers range between 50 and 61; Essex with 56 or 61; Dorset with 54 or 58; Lancashire with 53 or 57; Kent with 53 or 57; Suffolk with 51 or 57; and Wilts with 50 or 48. With between 40 and 53 comes another group of five: Norfolk with 46 or 53; Gloucester with 43 or 42; Leicestershire with 42 or 50; Hampshire with 42 or 46; and Northamptonshire with 40 or 41. With a little smaller number we have Derby (36 or 43); Lincolnshire (35 or 36); Sussex (34 or 41); Surrey (32 or 30); Warwick (31 or 32); and Berks (31 or 26); and Middlesex with Cheshire (29 or 34 and 29 or 32). And a last group of three merits mention—viz., Cambridge, Bedfordshire, and Cornwall, to each of which Mr. Daniell gives 25; but my counting assigns severally 29, 25, and 24.

As we noted before, Mr. Daniell's revised total of the licensed ministers is 1,481, whereas mine passes that figure by exactly 120, appearing as 1,601.

It is interesting to find that of these 1,601 I find 1,175 were ejected ministers, or more than three-fourths of them. Only 426 had not previously been in the ministry of the Church of England after receiving a University education, which is a little more than one-fourth of the whole.

2. *Householders.*—There is a very large proportion of those who held licences under the Declaration of Indulgence who did so simply as the owner of premises which were licensed as meeting-places. Their numbers, naturally, were much larger than those of the ministers; but the actual figures show the proportion to be far larger than might at first glance be imagined.

Indeed, in many cases there were several houses licensed in a town or village in which no one secured a licence as Teacher or Preacher. So that the services would have to be conducted by neighbours or itinerant strangers.

The numbers I have given below are arrived at by a careful analysis of the Classified Summary.

HOUSEHOLDERS (G. L. T. ONLY).

1. Northumberland ...	... 16	8. Derbyshire ...	... 91
2. Durham	... 10	9. Nottinghamshire ...	... 45
3. Cumberland ...	... 21	10. Lincolnshire ...	... 39
4. Westmorland ...	... 8	11. Salop	... 54
5. Yorkshire	... 111	12. Staffordshire ...	... 67
6. Lancashire ...	... 117	13. Leicestershire ...	... 99
7. Cheshire	... 55	14. Rutland	... 11

HOUSEHOLDERS—*continued.*

15. Herefordshire	31
16. Worcestershire	35
17. Warwickshire	59
18. Northamptonshire	68
19. Gloucestershire	56
20. Oxfordshire	35
21. Buckinghamshire	24
22. Huntingdonshire	17
23. Bedfordshire	45
24. Cambridgeshire	46
25. Hertfordshire	28
26. Norfolk	77
27. Suffolk	92
28. Essex	99
29. Berkshire	38
30. Middlesex	50
30A. London	92
31. Kent	78
32. Surrey	40
33. Sussex	63
34. Hampshire	76
35. Wiltshire	70
36. Somersetshire	168
37. Dorsetshire	99
38. Devonshire	189
39. Cornwall	38
WALES.	
40. Flintshire	5
41. Denbighshire	10
42. Carnarvonshire	6
43. Merionethshire	5
44. Montgomeryshire	4
45. Cardiganshire	6
46. Radnorshire	8
47. Brecknockshire	3
48. Pembrokeshire	5
49. Carmarthenshire	4
50. Glamorganshire	27
51. Monmouthshire	26

In every case these numbers will be found to exceed the number of ministers licensed for the county. So that in every county, taking the Nonconformist ministers as a whole, and the Nonconformist meeting-places as a whole, it would be found that there would be need for some of the ministers to 'supply' more places than one if the call of all the meeting-places was to be met.

Looking at the figures for each denomination some curious situations are revealed.

In no county are the Congregational ministers in excess of the meeting-places to be 'supplied.' There is always a competition among the latter for the services of the former.

In three counties the Presbyterian ministers are in excess. In London the excess is considerable—62 ministers to 54 meeting-places. In Northumberland there are 11 to 8; in Leicester there are 8 to 7; and in Monmouth there are two ministers to one meeting-place.

It is amongst the Baptists, however, that this excess of licensed speakers over licensed places for them to speak in is most remarkable.

This is the case in thirteen counties. The numbers are as follows: In Leicester 8 to 7; in Northants 4 to 2; in Gloucester 5 to 3; in Oxford 4 to 3, as also in Hertfordshire. In Norfolk there are 12 ministers to 7 meeting-places; in London, 7 to 3; in Kent, 24 to 21; in Surrey and Sussex, 6 to 4; in Wilts, 15 to 14; in Somerset, 23 to 17; and in Dorset, 9 to 7.

In many cases we have an exact equality, just one minister for one meeting-place. The Presbyterians are so situated in Hunts, 5 of each; in Carnarvon and Radnor counties, 2; and in Denbigh, 1.

The Congregationalists are in that happy state in Lincolnshire, 5 of each: in Hereford, 3; and in Montgomery, 2; and the

Baptists in Warwick, 7; Hunts, 5; Monmouth, 4; and in Essex and Middlesex, 1 of each.

The ministry is nearly equal to the number of meeting-places (but not quite) in the following instances. The Congregationalists in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 25 ministers to 28 'places'; and the Baptists in Lincolnshire, 18 to 20; in Cambridgeshire, 10 to 11; and Hants, 6 to 7.

The 'social status' of these men and women who are willing to throw open their doors to Nonconformist preachers and worshippers is in many cases notable.

The number of widows who exercise this noble hospitality is very large. In many, if not most, cases it was undoubtedly their way of showing their continued devotion to that cause of religious freedom for which their husbands had spent their energies in life, and in not a few cases had laid life down. For actual numbers *vide* Sect. III., Cap. I.

The number of those who belonged to the moneyed classes and titled gentry, too, will no doubt surprise many who are too apt to associate Nonconformity with poverty both of culture and purse. In Sect. III., Cap. II., I have collated what information I could about them.

So much may we learn on a broad scale from the dates and numbers of licences, registered in the Entry Books, as to the number of licences taken out by adherents of the three great Denominations in the various English counties.

We must not imagine, however, that the number of licences taken out by the Nonconformists of any one place (village, town, or district) is any reliable index of their numerical strength or spiritual effectiveness. These figures tell no more reliable a tale as to the number of Nonconformists as a whole, or of the adherents of any one Denomination, than the Reports embodied in the Episcopal Returns.

One thing, of course, we do learn from the figures in either case; and that is, that at the very least their numerical strength in the particular district rose to the figures reported on in the Episcopal Returns, or to the number of licences enumerated. We have in either case the lowest estimate. That we have already pressed home in connection with the Episcopal Returns, and it must, of course, be truer still of the numbers gathered from these licence-documents.

While the Episcopal Returns give the approximate numbers attending the several Conventicles which they report (these varying in different places from units to hundreds), in estimating the number of licences, we must bear in mind that only two licences were needed for each congregation—one for the teacher, and one for the place—and therefore each pair would represent so many tens or scores or hundreds of Nonconformists, as the case might be.

Then, again, just as we are certain that in 1669 (for some reason or other) the Episcopal Returns exaggerated the numbers attending Quaker Conventicles, and apparently reported the number of their Conventicles to the full, while they grossly underrated and underestimated the numbers (alike of Conventicles and adherents attending them) in both the Congregational or Independent and the Baptist denominations; so, with reference to the licensees belonging to the several denominations, it is transparently evident that they are only a small fraction of the actual numbers of the adherents in each denomination in 1672.

The Quakers would have no licences at all, and the ciphers which in every county represent the Quaker licensees have no significance whatever as an index of their strength in 1672. The Baptists had most of them serious qualms as to the legitimacy of accepting any authority from Charles for functions and services for which they already had plenary authority from King Jesus, and accordingly the numbers who applied for licences are no criterion of their strength in the districts where licences were granted. It is pretty evident that the same is true to a modified extent of the Congregationalists or Independents. The more resolute they were, and more reverence they had for law, even though unjust in itself and oppressive to them, the less likely were they to apply for a Royal licence which overrode the law.

Yet the figures have their value when interpreted with caution and with wisdom. One thing is abundantly clear. Little that is reliable and definite can be gathered about the church organizations, or organized churches, which are supposed to be covered by these denominational names. This is so, not only because figures gathered from these documents are singularly unreliable for the reasons just given. There is a more fundamental reason than any of these. In these very early days separate Churches were being formed, only gradually here and there, and denominational organization was almost wholly a thing yet far in the future.

This appears negatively in an almost startling way in the able book upon 'The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672,' by Frank Bate, M.A., B.Litt., which has so recently appeared. In some ill-advised moment he adopted as sub-title to his volume, 'A Study in the Rise 'of Organized Dissent,' and the result in the book is that it turns out to be no better equivalent of its main title than the old etymological definition of 'lucus'—'lucus a non lucendo.' The whole of his learned and interesting work contains scarcely a page about the 'organ-'ization of Non-conformist Churches.' Nor could it be otherwise, seeing that during that first decade following the Act of Uniformity there was little or no chance for Nonconformists to organize, because the hand of the oppressor was heavy upon them in enforcing the Penal Statutes against them, and the eyes of greedy and traitorous informers were narrowly watching their illegal assemblies.

SECTION III

THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS AND INDULGENCE DOCUMENTS

THERE still remains the question as to what may be learned from a study of these two sets of Documents as laid side by side, forming together a source of historic information which could not be gathered from each separately.

I do not suggest that in what follows I have exhausted the results which may be garnered from the study of both sets 'in combination.' I simply indicate three topics of interest which struck me as specially deserving of notice: (1) The number of widows who are mentioned in both; (2) the members of the gentry (or titled folk) who figure in them both; and (3) what is their united testimony as to the Strength and Distribution of Nonconformity in the country as a whole by the end of the third quarter of the seventeenth century. We examine each of these in three several chapters.

CHAPTER I

THE WIDOWS MENTIONED IN THEM BOTH.

I have had to content myself with the enumeration contained in the following Tables; and the few items of information about them indicated in the six columns in which they are arranged. The first and second give the county and parish in which each resided. The third gives the name of each as fully as it is furnished in the documents, and the denomination to which each belonged. The fourth and fifth give the documents in which the name of each occurs. The sixth is reserved for 'Remarks' as to anything notable about them. I had hoped to make the contents of this column much fuller. Time and space alike have precluded it. I suggest that further research may well be expended in enlarging our knowledge about these 'noble women not a few.'

TABULATED INFORMATION

CONCERNING

THE WIDOWS MENTIONED IN ORIGINAL RECORDS

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
I. Northumberland ...	Berwick-on-Tweed	Ruth Shell (P.)	—	321 (364)	Mault House, no licence
” ...	North Shields	Isabell Green (C.)	—	E (100)	—
Durham	Staindrop	Widow Pickering (Q.)	R 286	—	—
Cumberland ...	Carlisle	Barbary Studholm (C.)	—	E (288)	—
” ...	Whitehaven	Isabella Dixon (C.)	—	E (281)	—
Yorks :					
North Riding ...	Mount Grace	Mrs. Lassells (P.)	—	E (283)	—
” ” ...	Aulne	Ursula Wrightson (P.)	—	E (215)	—
” ” ...	Aulne	Lady Bethell (P.)	—	321 (281)	No licence
West ” ...	Cawood	Mrs. Francis Richardson (P.)	—	E (146)	Appl., T. Cloudsley
” ” ...	Leeds	Sibell Dawson [widow] (C.)	—	E (161)	—
” ” ...	Brodsworth	Eliz. Wentworth (P.)	—	E (151)	—
” ” ...	York	Lady Watson (C.)	—	E (149)	Appl., Dorman Newman, in Saviour Gate
” ” ...	Guiseley	Sarah Grimshaw (C.)	—	E (264)	? Widow

,, ,, ...	Heckmondwike	Widow Reyner (C.)	—	**E** (59)	Appl., T. Cloudsley
,, ,, ...	Houghton	Lady Rhodes (C.)	**R** 284	**E** (57)	Appl., T. Cloudsley
East ,, ...	Lissett	Grace Barrett (Q.)	**R** 284*b*	—	? Widow
,, ,, ...	Hollym	Anne Nichelson (Q.)	**R** 284*b*	—	? Widow, favoured by Sir Robert Hilliard
Lancs	Bury	Margaret Hoult (P.)	—	**E** (248)	—
,, ...	Rochdale	Jane Eckersall (P.)	—	**E** (268)	—
,, ...	Ormskirk	Widow Ashurst (P.)	—	**E** (199)	—
,, ...	Bickerstaffe	Lady Stanley (P.)	—	**E** (266)	'Bickerstaffe Hall,' a gentleman's house
,, ...	Wigan	Margaret Ford (P.)	—	**E** (249)	—
,, ...	Prescot	Mary Lyon (P.)	—	**E** (246)	Ancestress of G. L. T.
,, ...	Warrington	Rebecca Nield (P.)	—	**E** (276)	—
,, ...	Golborne	Jane Taylor [widow] (P.)	—	**E** (64)	Agent, John Hickes
,, ...	Manchester	Jane Hide [Hyde] (P.)	—	**E** (252)	Hyde Hall ('Hide holle')
,, ...	Eccles	Alice Tonge (P.)	—	**E** (225)	In Waldenmore
,, ...	Middleton	Widow Dickenson (P.)	—	**E** (177)	—
II. Cheshire	Chester	Catherine Booth (P. and C.)	—	**E** (197) **E** (282)	'Mrs. Booth' (C.) **E** (62)
,, ...	Prestbury	Elizabeth Skrimshire (P.)	—	**E** (264)	—
,, ...	Chester	Mrs. Harvie (C.)	—	320 (248)	No licence
,, ...	Chester	Dame Home [Hames] (C.)	—	**E** (62)	Implied
Derby	Duffield	Margery Pegg (P.)	—	**E** (185)	—
,, ...	Little Eaton	Elizabeth Heywood (P.)	—	**E** (185)	—
,, ...	Derby	Anne Burne (P.)	—	**E** (262)	—
,, ...	Caldwell	Sarah Burton (P.)	—	**E** (201)	—
,, ...	Dale	Widow Minonott (C.)	—	**E** (188)	—
Notts	Nottingham	Mrs. Margery Derry (P.)	—	**E** (72)	R. Blayney rec^{d}.(?'Derries')
,, ...	Marnham	Anne Deane (C.)	—	**E** (174)	—
,, ...	Skegsby	Elizabeth Lindsay (C.)	—	**E** (116)	Agent, Owen Davies

WIDOWS IN ORIGINAL RECORDS—*Continued.*

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
Notts	Flintham	Elizabeth Hubbman (C.)	—	E (191)	—
,, ...	Nottingham	Widow Elizabeth Read (C.)	—	E (116)	Agent, Owen Davies, Bridlesmith Gate
,, ...	Cottgrave	Widow Ann Bendall (C.)	—	E (174)	? 'Brendall'
,, ...	Collingham	Mary Scrimthaw (B.)	R 280	—	—
,, ...	Skegsby	Mrs. Lindley (B.)	R 279*b*	—	—
,, ...	Skegsby	Elizabeth Hutton (Q.)	R 279*b*	—	—
Lincs	Linwood	Lady Jane Bury (P.)	—	E (128)	Agents, Lord Holles and W. Thompson
,, ...	Houghton	Apnilla Wildbore (P.)	—	E (254)	—
,, ...	Horbling	Elizabeth Toller (P.)	—	E (158)	—
,, ...	Thoresby	Widow Peck (B.)	—	E (268)	—
,, ...	Lincoln	Elizabeth Lylby (B.)	—	E (224)	—
,, ...	Cherry Willingham	Widow Brumpton (B.)	—	E (224)	—
,, ...	Stamford	Widow Cooke (B.)	—	E (259)	—
Salop	Oswestry	Elizabeth Griffiths (P.)	—	E (282)	—
,, ...	Wem	Elizabeth Richardson (P.)	—	E (258)	—
,, ...	Newport	Katherine Ashenhurst (P.)	—	E (278)	—
,, ...	Shrewsbury	Widow Elizabeth Hunt (P.)	—	E (152)	Agent, R. Steele
,, ...	Wixhill-in-Weston	Ann Hatsold (P.)	—	E (244)	—
,, ...	Ludlow	Margery Botfield (P.)	—	E (157)	'The Old Street Ward'
,, ...	Moor Park	Jane Littleton (P.)	—	E (29)	'The More'
,, ...	Braginton	Elizabeth Owen (P. and C.)	—	E (264) E (269)	—
,, ...	Church Stretton	Widow Zanchey (C. and B.)	—	E (210)	Widow of Jerome Zanchey

Staffs ...	... Betley	Elizabeth Latham (P.)	—	E (152)	Agent, R. Steele
,, ...	... Newcastle-under-Lyne	Susannah Sond (P.)	—	E (284)	—
,, ...	... Stoke	Mrs. Jane Machin (P.)	—	E (106)	Agent, R. Steele
,, ...	... Seabridge	Mrs. Jane Machin (P.)	—	E (231)	—
,, ...	... Eccleshall	Margaret Perkins (P.)	—	E (203)	—
,, ...	... Stafford	Frances Sound (P.)	—	E (260)	—
,, ...	. Stafford	Ellinor Mort (P.)	—	E (260)	—
,, ...	... Burton-on-Trent	Widow Honworth (P.)	R 196	—	—
,, ...	... King's Bromley	Widow Mott (P.)	—	E (270)	—
,, ...	... Lichfield	Alice Nickins (P.)	—	E (257)	—
,, . .	... Walsall	Mrs. Pearson (P.)	R 197*b*	—	—
,, ...	... Walsall	Mrs. Eliz. Deakes [Deale] (P.)	—	E (91)	Agent, R. Steele
,, ...	... Wolverhampton	Barbara Hinks (P.)	—	E (256)	—
,, ...	.. Wednesbury	Elliner Hopkins (C.)	—	E (274)	—
,, .	... Hanbury	Anne Cotten (C.)	R 197*b*	—	—
Leicester	... Loughborough	Mrs. Mary Statham (P.)	—	E (153)	Mother of Rev. Sam. Statham
,,	... Leicester	Eliza Stirrup (P.)	—	321 (364)	Mistake for Worcester. See p. 746(*)
,,	... Stoke Golding	Abigail Dowell (P.)	—	E (144)	Agent, J. Proctor
,,	.. Stoke Golding	Jane Machin (P.)	—	E (106)	—
,,	... West Langton	Mrs. Pheasant (P.)	—	E (118)	Agent, Nath. Ponder
,,	... Bitteswell	Widow Harrison (P.)	—	E (282)	—
,,	... Thornton	Elizabeth Brotherhood (B.)	—	E (278)	—
,,	... Harby	Elizabeth Hooton (Q.)	R 210*b*	—	? Widow
,,	.. Garthorpe	Widow West (Q.)	R 211	—	—
Rutland ...	.. Oakham	Margaret Wilks (P.)	—	E (202)	—
III. Hereford	... Eyton	Katherine Bowen (P.)	—	E (259)	—
,,	... Ledbury	Jane Hall (P.)	—	E (180)	—
,,	... Leominster	Mrs. Frances Prichard (B.)	—	E (252)	—

WIDOWS IN ORIGINAL RECORDS—*Continued.*

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
Worcester	Dudley	Margery Milward (P.)	—	E (216)	—
,,	Worcester	Elizabeth Stirrop (P.)	—	E (200)	See p. 745 (*)
,,	Worcester	Anne Gworle (P.)	—	E (281)	—
,,	Bromsgrove	Widow Westwood (C.)	—	E (243)	—
,,	Eckington	Widow Rickett (C.)	—	E (193)	—
,,	Evesham	Widow Smirt (C.)	—	E (212)	—
,,	Inkborough	Widow Stanley (Q.)	R 274	—	—
,,	Eckington	Dorothy Lucas (Q.)	R 273*b*	—	—
Warwick	Shuttington	Widow Allen (P.)	—	E (133)	—
,,	Bordsley	Mrs. Yarrington (P).	—	320 (259)	No licence
,,	Mancetter	Widow Thornton (P.)	—	E (152)	Agent, R. Steele
,,	Hartshill	Sarah Grascomb (P.)	—	E (253)	—
,,	Anstey	Hannah Horne (P.)	—	E (217)	—
,,	Lapworth	Widow Rogers (P.)	R 272*b*	—	—
,,	Nether Whitacre	Viscountess Wimbledon (C.)	—	E (47)	Agent, Matt. Leadbeater
,,	Long Lawford	Widow Onely (B.)	—	E (211)	—
,,	Harbury	Anne Sabine (Q.)	R 195	—	? Widow
Northants	Warmington	Mrs. Anne Elme (P.)	—	E (118)	Agent, Nath. Ponder
,,	Oundle	Mary Briton (P.)	—	E (243)	—
,,	Oakley Magna	Mrs. Margaret Brooks (P.)	—	E (108)	Agent, Nath. Ponder, 'Mansion House'
,,	Daventree	Widow Hannah Manley (P.)	—	E (169)	Agents, R. Steele and Nath. Ponder
,,	Northampton	Mrs. Molsoe—*i.e.*, Elizabeth Mulsoe (P.)	—	321 (57)	Agent, Nath. Ponder, in Twywell. No licence

”	Rothwell	Susanna Ponder (C.)	—	E (82)	Agent, Nath. Ponder. ? Widow
”	Kettering	Widow Cooper (C.)	—	E (63)	—
”	Twywell	Mrs. Elizabeth Mulso (C.)	—	E (109)	Agent, Nath. Ponder
”	Tichmarsh	Lady Pickering (C.)	—	E (82)	Agent, Nath. Ponder, ‘Mansion House’
”	Green's Norton	Rebecca Mulsoe (C.)	—	E (202)	—
Gloucester	Longhope	Hannah Weale (P.)	—	E (195)	—
”	Finchcome	Mary Parnell (P.)	—	E (233)	—
”	Berkeley	Elizabeth Bayly (P.)	—	E (282)	—
”	Uley	Mary Torry (P.)	—	E (282)	—
”	Tetbury	Mary Cradock (P.)	—	E (200)	—
”	Hors(l)ey	Widow Elizabeth Bird (C.)	—	E (165)	Agent, Owen Davies
”	Cirencester	Widow Joane Palteere (B.)	—	E (281)	—
Oxford	Adderbury	Widow Swift (P.)	R (Oxon)	—	—
”	Radeot	Ann Beck or Derk (C.)	—	E (230)	W. H. S. (reads ‘Peck’)
”	Kingston	Mrs. Mary North	R (Oxon)	—	—
”	Watlington	Mary East (B.)	R (Oxon)	—	—
Bucks	Castle Thorpe	Lady Terrill (P.)	—	E (277)	—
”	Aylesbury	Widow Babham (P.)	R 213*b*	—	—
”	High Wycombe	Alice Westall (P.)	—	E (259)	—
”	Chalfont St. Giles	Mrs. Anne Fleetwood (C.)	R 212*b*	E (121)	Agent, Mr. Radcliffe
”	Olney	Widow Tears (B.)	R 215	—	—
”	Missenden Parva	Widow Paine (B.)	R 214*b*	—	—
”	Missenden Parva	Widow Peirce (B.)	R 214*b*	—	—
”	Simpson	Widow Perry (Q.)	R 215	—	‘Abettor’
”	Radcliffe	Mary Armalt (Q.)	R 214	—	—
”	Horton	Widow Atler (Q.)	R 213	—	—
”	Colebrooke and Wraysbury	Widow Stile (Q.)	R 212	—	—

WIDOWS IN ORIGINAL RECORDS—*Continued.*

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
Bucks	Amersham	Sarah Grimsell	**R 214**	—	'Jew'
IV. Hunts	Godmanchester	Widow Weeden	—	**E** (122)	Agents, John and Thomas Denne
Beds	Potton	Widow Cobble	—	**E** (260)	—
,,	Radwell (? Herts)	Elizabeth King (C.)	—	**E** (287)	Implied. No separate licence entered
,,	Maulden	Widow Sarah Tomkins (C.)	—	**E** (119)	Agent, Thomas Taylor
,,	Fleethaven	Elizabeth Hawkins (C.)	—	**E** (198)	—
,,	Caddington	Widow Rotheram (B.)	**R 204**	—	Teacher
Cambs	Chippenham	Ann Sleghton (C.)	—	**E** (270)	—
,,	Cambridge	Elizabeth Pitt [Pettit] (C.)	**R 182**	**E** (80)	Agent, Fr. Holcroft
,,	Meldreth	Widow Evans (C.)	—	**E** (81)	Agent, Fr. Holcroft
,,	Ely	Widow Sherwood (B.)	—	**E** (124)	Agents, John and Thomas Denne
,,	Harston	Widow Pate (B.)	—	**E** (124)	Agents, John and Thomas Denne
,,	Wittlesford	Dinah Thorby (Q.)	**R 181*b***	—	—
,,	Wittlesford	Mrs. Anthony Cornehill (Q.)	**R 181*b***	—	? Widow
,,	Castle Camps	Barbara Bunyard (Q.)	**R 181**	—	—
Herts	Little Hadham	Elizabeth Madison (P.)	—	**E** (166)	—
,,	St. Albans	Mrs. Bachelor (P.)	**R 223**	—	—
,,	Radwell (? Beds)	Elizabeth King (C.)	—	**E** (287)	Implied. No separate licence entered
,,	Hitchin	Sarah Adams (C.)	—	**E** (201)	—
,,	Preston	Widow Heath (C.)	—	**E** (70)	Appl., Capt. Jno. Cresset

,, ...	... Redbourne	Elizabeth Humble (Q.)	R 223	—	Teacher
Norfolk ...	... King's Lynn	Ann Withers (P.)	—	E (202) E (240)	—
,, ...	... Emneth	Widow Claxton (C.)	R 178*b*	—	—
,, ...	... Guestwick	Mary Hastings (C.)	R 228	E (157)	Agent, Jno. Sheldrake
,, ...	... Hanworth	Widow Rogers (C.)	R 228*b*	—	—
,, ...	... Ingham	Catherine Cubitt (C.)	—	E (165)	Agent, Jno. Sheldrake
,, ...	... Norwich	Widow Mors	R 227	—	—
,, ...	... Denton	Widow Leman (C.)	R 229*b*	—	—
,, ...	... Diss	Mary Blomfield (C.)	—	E (213)	—
,, ...	... Walcot	Widow Anne Thompson (B.)	R 229	—	—
,, ...	... Lessingham	Widow Kidbald (B.)	R 229	—	—
,, ...	... East Ruston	Elizabeth Becker (B.)	—	E (209)	—
,, ...	... Norwich	Widow Whitlock (Q.)	R 227	—	—
Suffolk ...	... Wattisfield	Mrs. Osburne (P.)	R 231	—	—
,, ...	... Wattisfield	Widow Spinke (P.)	R 231	—	—
,, ...	... Spexhall	Widow Craine (P.)	—	E (191)	Implied. No separate licence entered
,, ...	... Stowmarket	Widow Elizabeth Nelson (P.)	—	321 (212)	Appl., Mr. Turpin. No licence
,, ...	... Needham Market	Margaret Rogers (P.)	—	E (156)	Appl., Turpin (Rozer)
,, ...	... Stoke-by-Nayland	Mrs. Mary Groome (P.)	R 230	—	—
,, ...	... Cookley	Lidia Woodward (C.)	—	E (218)	—
,, ...	... Rickinghall	Widow Elizabeth Rust (C.)	—	E (167)	Agent, R. Binnley
,, ...	... Bury St. Edmunds	Mrs. Susan Adams (C.)	R 231	E (67)	Agents, John Hickes and Sam. Balding
,, ...	... Framlingham	Ann Fenn (C.)	—	E (192)	—
,, ...	... Dunwich	Mrs. Dunnington (C.)	—	E (155)	Agent, Thomas Danson
,, ...	... Bradfield Combust	Widow How (Q.)	R 230*b*	—	—
Essex ...	... Littlebury	Anne Browne (P.)	—	E (187)	—

WIDOWS IN ORIGINAL RECORDS—*Continued.*

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
Essex	'Boyles' (? Coggleshall)	Sarah Hight (P.)	—	E (256)	—
"	Dedham	Elizabeth Thompson (P.)	—	E (172)	Agent, R. Brinley
"	Witham	Elizabeth Trew (P.)	—	E (155)	—
"	Prittlewell	Mrs. Fareborne	—	321 (183)	No licence
"	{Hanwell Hanvill} Middlesex	Widow Suttle (P.)	—	E (233)	—
"	Hatfield Regis	Anne Barker (C.)	—	B (31)	—
"	Matching	Anne Boreham (B.)	—	B (34)	—
V. Berks	Abingdon	Mrs. Hancock (P.)	R 240*b*	—	'Abettor'
"	Abingdon	Catherine Peck (P. and B.)	—	E (149)	—
"	Cholsey	Mary Hans (P.)	—	E (255)	—
"	Newbury	Mrs. Roger Knight (P.)	R 239*b*	—	'Abettor'
"	Newbury	Elizabeth Cottle (P.)	R 239*b*	—	—
"	Newbury	Hesther Gearing (P.)	R 239*b*	—	—
"	Wokingham	Elizabeth Hawe (P.)	R 248*b*	E (55)	—
"	Wokingham	Alice Hawe (P.)	R 248*b*	E (99)	Agents, John Hickes and William Carslake
"	New Windsor	Jane Price (P.)	—	E (159)	Agent, Owen Davies. Widow of Sam. Price, Frogmore. R 240
"	Longworth	Jane Tuckwell (B.)	—	E (250)	—
"	Abingdon	Mrs. Katherine Pecke (B.)	—	E (149)	Agent, Owen Davies
"	Reading	Widow Mary Kenton (B.)	—	E (247)	—
"	Shrivenham	A woman from Cirencester (Q.)	R 241	—	? Widow
"	West Charlow	Joane Vokins (Q.)	R 241*b*	—	? Widow (Teacher)

Middlesex ...	Stoke Newington	Widow Stock (P.)	—	E (32)	Agent, Mr. Vernon
,, ...	Willesden	Lady Roberts (C.)	—	E (52)	—
London ...	Strand	Widow Lloyd (P.)	—	E (120)	Signs herself Katherine 'Floyde'
,, ...	Little Britain	Countess of Exeter (P.)	—	E (41)	—
,, ...	Cherry-Tree Alley	Mary Wood (P.)	—	E (286)	—
,, ...	Montague Close, Southwark	Widow Souton (P.)	R 264*b*	—	—
,, ...	Exchange Alley	Mrs. Kemp (C.)	—	E (235)	—
,, ...	White's Alley, Little Moorfields	Widow Holmes (C.)	—	E (164)	Agents, Robert Mascall and Thomas Crundall
Kent ...	Lower Deale	Mrs. Anne Harris (P. and C.)	—	E (94)	—
,, ...	Upper Deale	Mrs. Constant Woodman (C. and P.)	—	E (94)	—
,, ...	Wye	Mrs. Bunbury (P.)	—	E (87)	Agents, Edward Veale and Robert Mascall
,, ...	Ashford	Agnus (Agnes) Young (B.)	—	E (278)	—
,, ...	Goudhurst	Elizabeth Hopden (P.)	—	E (280)	—
,, ...	Cranbrook	Lady Bridget Roberts (P.)	—	E (34)	'Glassenbury.' Agent, Thomas Brond
,, ...	Benenden	Joanna Newden (P.)	—	E (64)	Agent, John Hickes
,, ...	Sevenoaks	Lady Boswell (P.)	—	E (285)	—
,, ...	Lamberhurst	Mrs. Porter (C.)	—	E (66)	'Court Lodge.' Agent, Thomas Blood
,, ...	Shipborne	Lady Vane (C.)	—	E (279)	'Fairlawn.' Implied. No separate licence entered
,, ...	Lower Deale	Joane Colemar (B.)	—	E (223)	Implied. No separate licence entered
,, ...	Boughton Monchelsea	Widow Lauders (B.)	R 159*b*	—	—
,, ...	Chatham	Eliz. Rebecca Morecock (B.)	—	E (88)	Agent, John Hickes

WIDOWS IN ORIGINAL RECORDS—*Continued.*

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
Surrey	Ewell	Widow Holmes (P.)	R 265*b*	—	—
,,	Esher	Widow Coles (P.)	R 265*b*	—	‘Abettor’
,,	Bagshot Park	Lady Lisle (P.)	—	E (265)	—
,,	Newdigate	Mrs. Richard Bax (Q.)	R 266	—	‘Widow of Smallpiece’
,,	Newdigate	Widow Lee (Q.)	R 266	—	‘Abettor’
Sussex	Lewes	Widow Swan (P.)	—	B (34)	—
,,	Funtington	Elizabeth Bridger (P.)	—	E (172)	—
,,	Heathfield	Widow Grover (B.)	R 174*b*	—	—
Hants	Farnborough	Mrs. Bradshaw (P.)	—	E (44)	Agent, Dorman Newman
,,	Basingstoke	Mrs. Kerchener (P.)	—	—	‘Abettor’
,,	Ealing (or Eeling)	Hesther Oviett (P.)	—	E (175)	—
,,	Winchester	Ann Complin (P.)	—	E (20)	Agents, Samuel Tomlins and William Carslake
,,	[Horsley	Lady (Mrs.) Richard Cromwell	R 263	—	Not a widow]
,,	Ellingham	Lady Lisle (P.)	R 263*b*	E (278)	‘Moyles Court’
,,	Sopley	Widow Sanders (P.)	—	E (259)	—
,,	Southampton	Widow Knight (P.)	—	E (92)	Agent, John Hickes
,,	Southwick	Dorothy Phillips	—	E (231)	—
,,	Gosport	Widow Hankesford (P.)	—	B (30)	—
,,	Whitchurch	Elizabeth Poynter (C.)	—	E (285)	—
,,	South Stoneham	Mrs. Hurd (C.)	—	E (18)	‘Eastly Farm’
,,	Southampton	Anne Knight (C.)	—	B (31*b*)	—
,,	Tichfield	Mary Gaywood (C.)	—	E (231)	—
,,	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	Grace Byle (C.)	—	E (109)	Agents, John Hickes and Richard Davies

,, ...	Hoath	Margaret Durant (C.)	—	E (260)	—
,, ...	Alton	Widow Gates (Q.)	R 263	—	—
VI. Wilts	Sharston	Widow Millard (P.)	R 238	—	‘Abettor’
,, ...	Damerham	Mary Harris (P.)	—	E (259)	—
,, ...	Hilmarton (‘Martin’)	Dorothy Harris (P.)	—	E (259)	—
,, ...	North Bradley	Widow Randall (P.)	—	E (215)	—
,, ...	Durnford	Elizabeth Reeve (P.)	—	E (173)	—
,, ...	Nunton-with-Bodenham	Elizabeth Clerke (P.)	—	E (173)	—
,, ...	Trowbridge	Widow Davis (P.)	R 242	—	—
,, ...	Newton Tony	Hon. Frances Fiennes (C.)	—	E (101)	—
,, ...	West Port	Ann Smith (B.)	—	E (249)	—
,, ...	Malmesbury	Ann Smith (B.)	—	E (246)	—
,, ...	Calne	Jane Stretton (B.)	R 239	—	—
,, ...	Devizes	Widow Fisdall (B.)	R 242*b*	E (258)	Implied. No separate [licence
,, ...	South Newton	Widow Blake (B.)	—	E (67)	—
,, ...	Farley	Widow Payne (B.)	R 244	—	—
,, ...	Broadchalk	Widow Randall (B.)	—	E (173)	—
,, ...	Bremhill (‘Bremble’)	Widow Hales (Q.)	R 239	—	—
,, ...	Ditcheridge	Sarah Chilton (Q.)	R 238	—	—
,, ...	Horton (‘Haughten-ford’)	Widow Elizabeth Wallis (Q.)	R 238	—	—
Somerset ...	Monkton Combe	Widow Cisley Poole (P.)	R 147	E (259)	Widow of Francis Poole
,, ...	Stoford (‘Hurford’)	Elizabeth Burnoll (P.)	R 146	—	—
,, ...	Bicknoller	Widow Hannah Safford (P.)	—	E (87)	Agents, Walter Payne and Thomas Stone
,, ...	Wiveliscombe (‘Oblise Combe’)	Elizabeth Morrice (P.)	—	E (208)	—
,, ...	Wiveliscombe (‘Ollis-combe’)	Mrs. Alice Serle (P.)	—	E (30)	Agent, John Hickes
,, ...	Oake	Joane Baker (P.)	—	E (170)	—

WIDOWS IN ORIGINAL RECORDS—*Continued.*

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
Somerset	West Monkton	Widow Joane Bult (P.)	—	E (158)	Agent, Walter Payne
,,	Bishopshill, Taunton	Dorothy Cooper (P.)	—	E (182)	—
,,	Wellington & Buckland	Widow Mar (P.)	R 142*b*	—	—
,,	Ilchester	Hester Dawe (P.)	R 149	—	—
,,	Ilchester	Mary Moore (P.)	—	E (212)	—
,,	White Lackington	Dorcas Standerwick (P.)	—	E (86)	Agents, Walter Payne and Thomas Stone
,,	Wayford	Widow Darby (P.)	R 144	—	—
,,	Chard	Mrs. Bond (P.)	R 145	—	—
,,	Whitehill	Alice Hawker (P.)	—	E (113)	Agent, Barnaby Hallett
,,	Castle Cary	Elizabeth Butcher (C. and P.)	R 149	—	—
,,	Witham Friary	Joane Richards (B.)	R 149*b*	—	—
,,	Nailsea & Flax Bourton	Winifred Cox (Q.)	R 147	—	—
,,	Mallet Moorlinch	Mary Wallis (Q.)	R 150	—	—
,,	Limington	Mary Adams (Q.)	R 149*b*	—	—
Dorset	Stalbridge	Widow Ruth Rookelife (P.)	—	E (126)	Agent, Mr. R. Prowse
,,	Winterborne-Kingston	Dame Woolfrey (P.)	—	E (117)	Agents, James Hodder and James Innes junior
,,	Maiden Newton	Mrs. Joan Troop (P.)	—	E (163)	—
,,	Wareham	Mrs. Dorothy Chaplain (P.)	—	E (117)	Agents, James Hodder and James Innes junior
,,	Weymouth and Melcomb Regis	Mrs. Esther Churchey [widow] (P.)	—	E (163)	'House now rented by Mr. Jonathan Edwards'
,,	Sherborne	Widow Catherine Chafe (P.)	—	E (182) E (228)	—
,,	Sherborne	Elizabeth Cooth (P.)	—	E (268)	—

,,	Leweston	Margaret Fitzcame (P.)	—	E (271)	—
,,	Whitchurch Canonicorum	Eleanor Floyer (P.)	—	321 (364)	Appl., but no licence
,,	Wootton Fitzpaine	Mrs. Sarah Kerridge (P.)	—	E (78)	—
,,	Bridport	Mrs. Elizabeth Hallett (C.)	—	E (171)	—
Devon	Colyton	Mrs. Alice Drake (P.)	—	E (178)	—
,,	Sidmouth	Jane French (P.)	—	E (97)	—
,,	Awliscombe ('Olliscombe')	Mrs. Alice Serle (P.)	—	E (30)	Agent, John Hickes
,,	Talaton	Widow Margaret Pyle (P.)	—	E (132)	Agent, Mr. Prowse
,,	Otterton	Martha Slade (P.)	—	E (204)	—
,,	Collumpton	Anne Pullman (P.)	R 185	—	'Abettor'
,,	Netherex	Widow Martyne (P.)	—	E (204)	—
,,	Uplowman	Philippa Hill (P.)	—	E (288)	—
,,	Crediton	Mrs. Katherine Norcot (P.)	—	E (42)	Agent, John Hickes
,,	Crediton	Widow Alice Shute (P.) ('Anne Strutt')	—	E (150)	Agents, John Hickes and William Carslake
,,	Exeter	Susanna Marshall (P.)	—	E (233)	—
,,	Cofton	Mrs. Mary Kendall (P.)	—	E (40)	Agents, John Hickes and R. Prowse
,,	Brixham	Widow Eleanor Crute (P.)	—	E (155)	—
,,	Brixham	Elizabeth Upton (P.)	—	E (270)	—
,,	Salcombe	Mrs. Elizabeth Isaacke (P.)	—	E (137)	Agent, William Carslake
,,	Salcombe	Joane Bastone (P.)	—	E (137)	Agent, William Carslake
,,	Westleigh	Elizabeth Loveman (?)	R 306	—	Teacher, unlicensed and excom̃.
,,	Little Modbury	Widow Skynner (P. and C.)	—	E (159)	Agent, Edward Seaman
,,	Plympton St. Mary	Mary Davis (P.)	—	E (227)	—
,,	Stonehouse	Widow Merrin (P.)	—	E (271)	—
,,	Tavistock	Mary Mollins (P.)	R 306	—	Unlicensed school teacher
,,	Rose Ash	Widow Dorothy Heard (P.)	—	E (178)	—

WIDOWS IN ORIGINAL RECORDS—*Continued.*

County.	Place.	Name.	R.	L.	Remarks.
ENGLAND.					
Devon	Barnstaple	Margaret Underdon	R 306	—	Unlicensed school teacher
,, ...	Sidmouth	Jane French (C.)	—	E (97)	Agent, John Hickes
,, ...	Topsham	Mrs. Drake (C.)	—	E (129)	Agent, Richard Prowse
,, ...	Netherex	Mary Barton (C.)	R 185	—	—
,, ...	Biddeford	Mrs. Joane Strang (C.)	—	E (83)	Agent, John Hickes
,, ...	Frithelstock	Widow Lambe (C.)	—	E (282)	—
Cornwall ...	Bodmin	Mrs. Anne Silly (P.)	—	E (44)	'House called "Helligan"'
WALES.					
VII. Merioneth ...	Cynfal	Mary Lloyd (C.)	—	E (201)	—
Montgomery ...	Llandyssil	Margaret Evans (C.)	R 139	—	—
Cardigan ...	Cardigan	Widow Gwyn	—	E (266)	—
Radnor	Llanbister	Ann King	—	E (273)	—
Carmarthen ...	Penkader	Widow Jenkins (C.)	—	E (26)	Agent, Richard Steele
Glamorgan ...	Cowbridge	Eve Christopher (P.)	—	E (254)	—
,, ...	Neath	Elizabeth Morgan (P.)	—	E (273)	—
,, ...	Merthyr Tydfil	Joan J. Morgan (C.)	R 187	—	—
Monmouth ...	Henllys	Margaret Jones (C.)	—	E (231)	—
,, ...	Newport	Barbara Williams (C.)	—	E (231)	—
,, ...	Marshfield	Jane Reynolds (C.)	R 188	E (231)	'Relict of Henry William, a Lieutenant in the late Rebellion'
,, ...	Christchurch	Mrs. Joan Jones (C.)	—	—	House called 'Milton'
,, ...	Usk	Mrs. Mary Jones (C.)	R 188*b*	—	'Relict of William Jones, Esq.'

NUMBERS IN SEVERAL COUNTIES.

ENGLAND.

I.	Northumberland		2	
	Durham		1	
	Yorks:			
	North Riding	3		
	West Riding	7		
	East Riding	2	12	
	Lancs		11	
				28
II.	Cheshire		4	
	Derby		5	
	Notts		9	
	Lincs		7	
	Salop		9	
	Staffs		15	
	Leicester		9	
	Rutland		1	
				59
III.	Hereford		3	
	Worcester		8	
	Warwick		9	
	Northants		10	
	Gloucester		7	
	Oxon		4	
	Bucks		12	
				53
IV.	Hunts		1	
	Beds		5	
	Cambs		8	
	Herts		6	
	Norfolk		12	
	Suffolk		12	
	Essex		8	
				52
	Carried forward			192
	Brought forward			192
V.	Berks		14	
	Middlesex		2	
	London		6	
	Kent		13	
	Surrey		5	
	Sussex		3	
	Hants		17	
				60
VI.	Wilts		18	
	Somerset		20	
	Dorset		11	
	Devon		28	
	Cornwall		1	
				78
	Total for the whole of England			330

WALES.

VII.	Merioneth	1	
	Montgomery	1	
	Cardigan	1	
	Radnor	1	
	Carmarthen	1	
	Glamorgan	3	
	Monmouth	5	
	Total for Wales		13
	Total for England and Wales		343

Of these 343 widows, 16 were titled ladies, of whom such information as I have been able to gather is given in the following chapter.

Three of them belonged to Yorkshire: Lady Bethell, Lady Watson, and Lady Rhodes.

Lady Stanley lived in Lancashire, Lady Jane Berry in Lincolnshire, and Viscountess Wimbledon in Warwickshire.

Lady Pickering belonged to Northamptonshire, and Lady Terrill to Bucks. Middlesex claimed Lady Roberts and the Dowager-Countess of Exeter (London); and Kent claimed three: Lady Bridget Roberts, Lady Boswell, and Lady Vane.

Two belonged to Hampshire—Lady Lisle and Lady Richard Cromwell—and the Hon. Frances Fiennes had her home in Wilts.

I doubt not that the story of many of the untitled widows whose names appear in the previous list would reveal elements of heroism and romance, amply repaying the research needed to discover them.

CHAPTER II

THE GENTRY, OR TITLED FOLK, WHO FIGURE IN BOTH

1. NORTHUMBERLAND.

IN **E. (285)** is entered the licence for :

'The house of S^r^ W^m^ Middleton of Pelsam Northumberland. Pr.'

This 'Pelsam' must be Belsay, a township in Bolam district, on the River Blyth, nine and a half miles south-west of Morpeth. Belsay Castle was the 'ancient seat of the Middletons,' consisting of an old tower, with additions made by Sir C. Middleton, 1628.

William Middleton was the third and only surviving son of Ralph Middleton, of Trewick. Born about 1625, he succeeded to the family estate of Belsay Castle, on the death of his cousin, Robert Middleton, in 1656.

He was created Baronet, by Charles II., in 1662 (on October 24), and was made Sheriff of Northumberland in 1666-67.

It was then, as ex-Sheriff of the county, as well as Baronet, that he showed his sympathy with (Presbyterian) Nonconformity, by licensing the Castle for Presbyterian worship in 1673. [Though the entry is undated, the nearest dates entered are January 13, 1672-73.]

2. DURHAM.

In **R. (286)** we find the following:

'In the Diocese of Durham . . . the numbers of psons that continue to keepe meeting & Conventicles of pretended Religious worship contrary to the Law, are as followeth—viz. :

'Within the Arch-Deaconry of Durham

. . . . . .

'Att Norton

'1 Ringleader—a Scotchman, called the Laird Swinton.

'100 persons that frequent Conventicles there.'

This Norton is two miles north of Stockton-on-Tees, near the sea.

The 'Scotchman, called the Laird Swinton,' was John Swinton, born in Berwickshire, 1621. [His father was sheriff of Berwickshire, 1640: was M.P. for Berwickshire, 1644-45 ; and died 1652.] From 1640 to 1647 he served on the Committee of War for Berwickshire. In 1649 he was elected M.P. for the Merse, and opposed the deputation to young Charles (II.) at Breda. Soon after the final defeat of the Scots, at Dunbar, young Swinton joined Cromwell. On January 30, 1650-51, the Scotch Parliament at Edinburgh passed sentence of death and forfeiture upon him, and he was excommunicated by the Kirk.

In September, 1651, he was present at the Battle of Worcester, and rejoiced at its 'Crowning Mercy,' though he took no part in the actual encounter. He was reinstated in his property and influence in Scotland, and was all through his Protectorate the man of all Scotland most trusted and employed by Oliver Cromwell. In 1652 he was appointed a Commissioner of Justice for Scotland, and in 1655 was made member of the Council of State for Scotland. He sat as Member in all Oliver's Parliaments for Scotland. In 1656 the sentence of 'forfeiture' was definitely and formally revoked, and he received compensation by having assigned to him part of Lauderdale's forfeited estates. The following year, 1657, Swinton became a Quaker.

'George Fox entered Scotland on the 5th day being the 10th of this 7^{o} month 1657 [*i.e.*, Thursday, September 10] accompanied by Widders, Lancaster and others.' 'The chief of Fox's disciples in the 'borders were John (otherwise Judge) Swinton of Swinton &c.' [*vide* 'Cambridge Journal,' i. note 3, page 451].

In July, 1660, he was arrested in London, and in 1661 was condemned by the Edinburgh Parliament for high treason, to self-exile from Scotland. And here in 1669 he is reported as conventicling a Ringleader of one hundred persons that frequent Conventicles at Norton.

Among the 'Spiritual Shipwrecks' noted in Fox's 'Journal,' vol. ii., 315, he notes: '1667. And Jo: Swinton & some others '"runn out"' (*i.e.*, fell out of the ranks of Friends) 'and many followed 'him ; but' (he adds) 'hee and most of y^{m} came in againe & condemned 'there goenge foorth.' In 1668 it seems he returned. For George Fox writes : 'After I had stayde awhile in London : I visited ffrendes 'uppe & doune in y^{e} Country [& Jo: Swinton & many others y^{t} had 'been out came in this yeere].'

So that, when as here [**R**. (**286**)], he is reported by the Bishop of Durham as continuing to keep Conventicles as 'a Ringleader' of '100 persons that frequent Conventicles' at Norton, in Durham, under the name of Laird Swinton, it must have been as a Quaker ministering to a company of Friends. And this seems quite probable, for Quaker Conventicles are reported at Easington, at St. Nicholas in Durham, and at Staindrop—all in the County of Durham.

His last days were 'clouded,' and he died in 1679 in Borthwick, or Borwick in Lancashire, three miles from Carnforth.

3. YORKSHIRE.

(1) *Beverley—Sir Henry St. Quintine.*

In early days it belonged to the Kingdom of Deira, and was a port with a considerable trade up the Hull river, when Kingston (upon-Hull) was only a marsh.

Of the Quintines, we learn from the 'Complete Baronetage of England,' that Sir William, first baronet, was born 1579, and died 1649 ; and that his successor, our Sir Henry, was born $160\frac{5}{6}$, and died 1695.

Allen, too, in his 'History of the County of York' (II. 104), tells us that in Harpham (about six miles south-west of Bridlington) is a Chapel of Ease to Burton Agnes, the chancel of which was the property and ancient burial-place of the St. Quintin family. The window in it has the shields and armorial bearings of the family from 1080-1770.

Of Sir Henry Quintine's house, I have come upon illuminative mention in a Hearth-roll (in booklet form) devoted entirely to Beverley. It is calendared 'York $\frac{205}{525}$,' and is entitled 'East Riding. Com Ebor.'

Under 'Beverley cum Membris,' we have as a subdivision, Newbey in Kargate Ward, and this line:

'S^{r} Henry St. Quintine ... ... 12'

which shows that the house was a commodious, but a modest, mansion.

Sir Henry's Puritan sympathies come out in connection with Charles's Indulgence. Though so late in applying for it, that he would hold its authority scarcely a month, he sought and obtained a licence. It is entered on **E. (285)**:

'The house of S^{r} Henry Quintine of Beaverley in Yorksh̄. Pr.'

Allen tells us (page 136) that 'in Lairgate, Beverley,' is a chapel built in 1704 on a site purchased by the Presbyterians, now belonging to the Independents.

(2) *Hickleton—Sir John Jackson.*

In **R. (284)**, a Conventicle of '60 or 80' 'Presbyterians' is reported as held 'formerly at the house of S^{r} John Jackson, but now at the 'house of W^{m} Smyth'; the chief Abettor, in the column headed 'Quality,' being 'the Daughter of S^{r} John Jackson, M^{rs} Everett,' the teacher being 'one Denton of Bolton a Nonconf. minister.'

Hickleton is on the high road between Doncaster and Barnsley, about half-way between Doncaster and Darfield.

John Jackson, of Hickleton, co. York, Esq., was born about 1631, the first son and heir of Sir John Jackson, of Edderthorpe, by his second wife, Fiennes, daughter of Sir Thomas Waller (governor of Dover Castle in 1641). In 1653 he married Katherine, daughter of William Booth, of Dunham, County of Chester, and sister to Sir G. Booth, and on the last day of 1660 was created baronet by Charles II.

So that Sir John Jackson had been a baronet only a few years when, spite the penal laws, he harboured a Presbyterian Conventicle in Hickleton Hall, and a Presbyterian Nonconformist minister, Nathan Denton [who had been ejected from Bolton-upon-Dearne, quite near to Hickleton; but through Lady Jackson's influence (Sir John's wife) had continued to preach in Hickleton parish church for a year after his ejectment]. Evidently his wife was the strong personality in this case; and as clearly (from this 1669 Return) her daughter, Mrs. Everett, continuing to attend the meeting, under the ministry of Mr.

Denton, after it had been transferred from Hickleton Hall to the house of Mr. William Smyth, in the same village.

Sir John died in 1670, and his son and namesake succeeded to the baronetcy when quite a lad, matriculating at University College, Oxford, this very year.

Their friend the minister seems to have left the neighbourhood on the death of Sir John, and to have migrated west to Penistone ; for in 1672 he was licensed, on the application of James Innes junior [**321 (20** margin)], to preach in the house of Silvanus Rich, Esq., in Penistone [**E. (84), (85)**], on May 8.

(3) *York—Lady Rhodes, of Houghton.*

Query.—Was she widow of Godfrey Rodes, of County York, who was knighted July 13, 1645, by Charles I. at Havering? (Shaw's 'Knights').

Or was she some relative of Sir Francis Rhodes—who married Anne da: of Sir Gervase Clifton or Clifton Rhodes Esq ?

From **R. 284**, we learn that in 1669 a Conventicle of Presbyterians and Independents, about sixty in number, was held 'Att the house of 'the Lady Rodes in great Houghton'—one of three held in Darfield parish—ministered to by William Benson, of Thurnsco, and Mr. Clayton, of Rotherham.

[Darfield is five miles east of Barnsley, and Great Houghton is about two miles north-east of Darfield parish Church.]

In 1672 Lady Rhodes's house in Houghton was licensed for Jeremiah Milner, the Congregationalist minister ejected from Rothwell (south-east of Leeds), to preach in. It was on the twice-repeated application of Timothy Cloudsley, the first being made April 24 [**320 (187)**], and the second April 30 [**320 (203)**], that he secured a licence, which was issued May 1, 1672. Cloudsley spells her name 'The Ladye Roades,' and the name is so spelt in the licence-entry.

(4) *Barwick-in-Elmett--Sir Thomas Gascoyne.*

In 1669 Sir Thomas Gascoyne, Bart. (a Papist), is reported as entertaining a Conventicle of 'Romanists' in his house ('Att the house 'of S^r Thomas Gascoyne Barr^t' [**R. 284***b*]), consisting of 'nigh 20 'families of the towne besides strangers.'

This Sir Thomas had three brothers—John, Francis, and Michael—who all entered orders in the Roman Catholic Church. He lived the life of a country gentleman in Barwick-in-Elmett, on the high road between Leeds and York—half-way between Leeds and Tadcaster. [Thorner is quite near it, north-west.]

In 1679 he was falsely accused of complicity in a plot to murder Charles II., and went into exile, joining the fraternity of Cambspring, dying there in 1686.

4. LANCASHIRE.

Lady Stanley, of Bickerstaffe Hall.

In 1672 licences were sought [**321** (**20** back)] by James Innes junior, for

'Mr Zachary Taylour of Rachdale Presb.
'a Gentleman's house called Bickerstaffe hall there,

and the application is repeated by him [**321** (**21**)] in a list of 'Meeting 'places for Presbiterian Ministers who have taken out Licenses for their 'persons already'—where it is described as 'a dwelling house called 'Bickerstaff hall in the parish of Rachdale in Lancaster. for Presbi'terians.'

It is clear that the form of the first application produced such perplexity at Whitehall that no licence was issued for some time.

Zachariah Taylour was ejected from Turton (Cal. II. 378), and had retired to Rochdale. What Taylor wanted was either a general licence or a licence to preach in Lady Stanley's mansion at Bickerstaff (southeast of Ormskirk, near Aughton). The unfortunate addition of the word 'there' to the description of the house as 'Bickerstaffe Hall' (through Innes's misunderstanding of his instructions), led him in his further application to blunder with still greater emphasis and assurance, and to describe 'Bickerstaff Hall' distinctly as '*in the parish of Rachdale* 'in Lancaster.' This, of course, it was not. The Whitehall officials must apparently have known enough of the topography of Lancashire to have withheld their hands. Probably Innes had to refer back to his principals, and was put straight, so that he was able to put matters right at Whitehall. The result, at any rate, was that two licences were issued, quite unconnected with each other.

Zachariah Taylor got his licence as a general Presbyterian Teacher on August 10 [**E.** (**225**)] :

> 'Licence to Zacariah Taÿlor to be a pr. Teacher att Ratchdall in Lancash Augt 10th'

and some two months or more later a licence was issued for Bickerstaff Hall, in which it is described neither as 'a Gentleman's house called 'Bickerstaffe hall,' nor as 'a dwelling house called Bickerstaff hall &c.,' but by its owner's name, and assigned to its proper locality [**E.** (**266**)] :

> 'The house of the lady Stanly of Bickerstaff of Ormschurch Lancash. Pr.'

The Stanleys of Bickerstaff are the Stanleys who ultimately became the Earls of Derby—*i.e.*, from 1735-36 onwards.

This 'Lady Stanley' who secured a licence for her house may have been the widow of the second baronet, or of the third.

The second baronet was Sir Thomas Stanley, who was born at Ormskirk and succeeded to the baronetcy in 1640 ; in 1643 married Mary, daughter of Peter Egerton, of Shaw, and died in 1653; though the fact that she afterwards married a certain Captain Henry Hopton makes it unlikely, as in 1672 she would have been a widow nineteen years, and it is unlikely that her house was incorrectly described as Bickerstaff Hall.

The third baronet was Sir Edward Stanley, who had been born at Bickerstaff Hall in 1643—within the year of his parents' marriage; and on the death of his father in 1653 succeeded to the baronetcy at the age of ten. He matriculated at Brazenose College, Oxford, December 4, 1660, at the age of seventeen, and proceeded M.A. in September, 1661. On Christmas Day, 1663, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Bosville, of Warmsworth (south-west of Doncaster), in Yorkshire, and died in 1671 (October 16), when only twenty-eight. The Lady Stanley who licensed the Hall for Presbyterian worship must have been his young widow, who had been widowed only twelve months, and had been married only eight years.

5. LINCOLNSHIRE.

Lady Jane Berry (Bury), of Linwood Grange.

Linwood Grange is probably the same as Lingwood Hall in Blackney (Blankney) Parish, about nine or ten miles south-south-east of Lincoln City. Lady Bury sought and secured a licence for it, as a meeting-place for John Wright to preach in. In the first application [**321** (**140**)] the house is described as 'in Linwood' in Lincoln County. In the second [**321** (**166**)] it is 'in Linwood Grange.' It is as 'in Linwood 'Grange, Lincoln,' that the licence is entered as granted May 16 on **E.** (**128**).

John Wright had been ejected from Edmondthorpe, Leicestershire (Cal. II. 386), and had retired to Leasingham, which is only some seven or eight miles south-west of Linwood (on the high road from Sleaford to Lincoln, at the point where the road to Newark branches off west-north-west). The licences for Linwood and for John Wright were applied for by Wm. Thompson, at first fruitlessly; but on being put in by Lord Holles, with immediate success, being granted May 16, and taken away the same day by William Thompson.

Of Lady Bury I could find no trace either in the 'Complete Baronetage' or in Shaw's 'Knights.' In the key to a long letter* written to Mrs. Anne Hutchinson by one of Lady Vane's daughters, she mentions three members of the family. The letter was written in November, 1663, and at that time Lady Bury's husband was living. We find his name was Sir William Bury [referred to in the letter under the classic name of Polimander; Lady Bury is called Clemene; and Elizabeth Bury (I suppose their daughter) is Amarantha]. It is a very natural thing, of course, to find Albinia Vane inquiring from Mrs. Hutchinson (who is staying at Stragglethorpe, and whose letter from her daughter is sent to the care of a Mr. Sympson, of The Grange, near Grantham) about this other Lincolnshire family, whose home is at Lingwood Hall, in Blankney parish. Her words are: 'I long much to

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* I refer to this letter more at length in the article on Lady Vane.

'heare how Polimander (Sir Wm. Bury) & Clemene (Lady Bury) treat 'Eumenia (Mrs. Hutchinson) whether as formerly or noe: w^{ch} I thinke 'used to be in a very particular mañer. And therefore I should be glad 'to heare some account of it.' For this reason. The Vanes had a country house in Belleau, near Alford, as well as their ancestral home in Raby Castle (Durham), and Fairlawn, Shipborne, Kent; and Alford was the home of the Hutchinsons.

Evidently Sir William Bury has died since 1663, and Lady Bury is now his widow.

It is interesting to note the friendly relations between Lady Vane, Mrs. Hutchinson, and Lady Bury.

I do not write with certainty as to the identification of this 'Linwood' or 'Linwood Grange,' for there is another Lincolnshire Linwood beside the 'Lingwood Hall' in Blankney Parish—viz., 'Linwood,' a parish, much nearer to Belleau and Alford—viz., Linwood, a village and parish between Market Rasen and Wragby (which Wragby is referred to in the cipher which I have already cited under the curious spelling 'Ragby').

Detailed local knowledge is required satisfactorily to solve the problem.

6. WARWICKSHIRE.

Nether Whitacre.

Here 'Sophia Viscountess Wimbaldon' had her house licensed for Congregational worship.

She was the wealthy widow of Sir Edward Cecil, who took his title when created Viscount from Wimbledon, because the Cecils who were Earls of Exeter had a residence there.

Sir Edward Cecil was the third son of Sir Thomas Cecil, the lord of Burghley and first Earl of Exeter. Sir Thomas was born in 1572, and so was thirty-one when James I. came to the throne; but it was not till the reign of Charles I. that he was advanced to any position of prominence and power. [He had been with Charles as Prince of Wales on his ill-starred visit to Madrid as a suitor of the daughter of the King of Spain.] From the moment of Charles's accession he began to rise, and by the influence of Buckingham was advanced with indecent haste to the highest posts. In 1625 he was appointed Lord Marshal and Generalissimo of the sea and land forces of the kingdom, though he had had no previous experience and had shown no gifts for either service.

The same year he was proclaimed Viscount Wimbledon; and though he failed miserably in the expedition against Cadiz, he did not thereby lose the favour either of his patron Buckingham or of Charles, his Royal Master—being actually created Viscount Wimbledon in 1626, after his return from that ill-starred enterprise.

In 1630 he was appointed Governor of Portsmouth, and he held that position till his death in 1638, when he was sixty-six years of age. He was three times married, but left as issue only four daughters, *all* by his first wife, Theodosia, the daughter of Sir Andrew Noel. His second wife was Diana, the daughter of Sir William Drury.

His last wife was the lady who stood out so bravely as the champion of Congregational Nonconformity in Nether Whitacre. She was Sophia, the daughter of Sir Edward Zouch. She was very much her husband's junior when she married him in 1636, when therefore he was already sixty-four. She had only two years of wedded life, for Viscount Wimbledon died in 1638. She was described by some one who saw her then as 'a rich young widow, who lived to a ripe old age.'

She married again, becoming the second wife of Sir Robert King, of Boyle, co. Roscommon; but was widowed a second time by his death at Cecil House in the Strand, in 1667. After the death of her second husband she remained a widow till her death in November, 1691. In this year of the Indulgence, then, she had been some five years a widow.

Spite the natural tendencies of such a history, however, she seems to have espoused and maintained Puritan views, and to have made no disguise of her opinions. She was residing at Nether Whitacre in 1668, the year after her second husband's death, for her name appears in a Lay Subsidy for 15 Car. II. ($\frac{194}{328}$) as 'The Lady Sophia Wimbledon 'wiđđ.'

Viscountess Wimbledon was widely known for her piety and Puritanism. Calamy calls her 'the pious Lady Wimbledon' in his notice of Thomas Leadbeater (II. 388), who was ejected from Hinckley, in Leicestershire. His first appointment, after completing his curriculum at Cambridge, had been as chaplain to Lady Wimbledon (doubtless at Nether Whitacre). Calamy does not give us dates. But as he tells us it was in '*his younger days*,' it was probably some time in the decade 1640-1650.

There were Leadbeaters in Gawsworth parish, who were strong for Parliament and Puritanism. Both a William Leadbeater and Captain John Leadbeater were keen in raising sums of money from the delinquent 'Lady Felicia Fitton of Gosworth' (at one time £22 and at another £20) in 1645-1647. The latter, 'John Leadbeater capt.,' is among 'the males of the Towneship of Gosworth,' who in November, 1644, took the 'Nationall Covenant' within the Church of Gosworth. In 1631 a Ralph Leadbeater had been presented to the living of Taxal Parish Church (June 27, 1631).

Thomas Leadbeater was evidently of a substantial Cheshire family, and when he was ejected he retired to his native county, in the Nantwich district; and in 1672 took out a licence to preach in his own house, which was near Church Holme (often called Holmes Chapel), in the large parish of Sandbach. Calamy says it was in the large hamlet of Armitage. His licence calls the house itself 'The Hermitage.' This he did as a Presbyterian.

Lady Wimbledon had not lost sight of him, his kindred, or his friends. It is in close connection with another 'Leadbeater' that she takes out a licence for her own house at Nether Whitacre. This is a Matthew Leadbeater, who does not figure in Calamy's lists as one of the ejected. Probably he was a younger brother of John,* or even his nephew (?) who had not finished his education when the Act of Uniformity was passed; but is evidently living in Nether Whitacre, the terms of his activity suggesting that he was starting his ministerial activity (as John Leadbeater had done) as 'chaplain to the pious Lady 'Wimbledon.' At any rate, he puts in an application [**320 (214)**] for three houses in Warwickshire—one in Coleshill, one in Kingsbury, and the third for 'The House of Sophia Viscountesse Wimbaldon in y^e^ parish 'of Nether-Whitacre,' as well as for a 'general licence for himself.' The three licences for houses are all issued on April 30; and the very next day James Innes junior called at Whitehall and took them away. For his own, Matthew Leadbeater had to call the following day, May 2. Probably it was made out while he waited, for the entry [**E. (71)**] is dated the same day (May 2) as his receipt for it. This is **320 (284)**, which also shows that he took away at the same time a licence for John Leadbeater's friend and neighbour, George Moxon, of Astbury, Cheshire.

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* *Cf.* the article on Matthew Leadbeater (pp. 289-290).

One thing is quite noteworthy about the licence for Lady Wimbledon's house, and that is that while the other two houses are for Presbyterians, and Matthew Leadbeater's own licence is 'to be a 'General Presbyterian Teacher,' hers is 'licensed' to be a Congregational meeting-place. Thomas Leadbeater, too, is licensed as a Presbyterian. See, then, the large-heartedness, as well as the independence of judgment, of Lady Wimbledon: she has advanced to the broader and freer position of a Congregationalist, though her ministerial protégés, John and Matthew Leadbeater, had remained Presbyterians.

7. HEREFORDSHIRE.

Kingston—Sir John Holman.

In 1672, probably in December, Sir John Holman's house was licensed [**E. (277)**]: 'The house of S^r^ John Holman of Kington in Herefordsħ.'

This house was surely the property of Sir John Holman of Banbury, county of Oxford, and of Weston Flavel, Northants, who was the second son of Philip Holman of Warworth, Northants, was created baronet in 1663 (June 1). Sir John sat in Parliament for Banbury from 1661-1679, and died in 1700, the baronetage becoming extinct with his decease. His daughter was the third wife of Sir William Portman (of Orchard Portman, Somerset), who, like Sir John Holman, died without male issue, his baronetcy perishing with him.

How Sir John came to be connected with Kingston, Hereford, I do not know.

8. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Titchmarsh—Lady Pickering.

Titchmarsh is only a little over a mile from Thrapston on the road to Oundle.

The Lady Pickering whose house was licensed for Presbyterian worship, 8 May, 1672, was the widow of Sir Gilbert Pickering of Titchmarsh.

Sir Gilbert was son of Sir John Pickering, Knt., of Titchmarsh, Northants; was born 1613, was admitted to Gray's Inn, November 6, 1629 (when only sixteen years of age), and was created Knight of Nova Scotia. In the short Parliament of 1640, and throughout the Long Parliament, which was elected later the same year, he represented the County of Northampton. At the very beginning of the Civil War he espoused the cause of Parliament, and was active in raising troops and money in his county, as a deputy-lieutenant and one of the Parliamentary Commission. He is described by a Northants clergyman as first a Presbyterian, then an Independent, then a Brownist, and afterwards a Baptist (Anabaptist), most furious, fierce, and implacable, a principal agent in casting out the most learned clergy [Walker's 'Suffer-'ings']. He was elected member of each of the five Councils of State of the Commonwealth period, and sat for Northampton in each of Oliver's Parliaments. In 1655 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the advancement of trade. In December, 1657, he was summoned to Cromwell's House of Lords, and was appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Protector. John Dryden was his cousin, and Sir Gilbert Pickering appointed Dryden his secretary. After Oliver's death, Sir Gilbert continued in office under Richard Cromwell. In October, 1659, he was appointed one of the Committee of Public Safety; and in December, one of the Conservators of Liberty.

At the Restoration he would certainly have been put on the list of the 'excepted' but for the influence and interposition of Edward Montague (Earl of Sandwich), his wife's brother, which saved him from proscription and secured him the Royal Pardon. He died October, 1668.

Lady Pickering had therefore been widowed but four years when she so boldly espoused the unpopular cause of the Nonconformists.

She secured the licence for her house through two applications. The first—calendared **320** (**41**)—is in 'A Catalogue of y^e^ Names of 'divers Nonconforming Ministers now or late inhabiting the County of 'Northampton who desire the Allowance of theire Persons for y^e^ 'exercise of their Ministry according to his Ma^ties^ late Declaration, 'together w^th^ the Places wherein they desire to be allowed such 'exercise.'

The tenth in this Catalogue is as follows:

> 'M^r^ Henry Searle, in y^e^ Mansion house of y^e^ Lady Pykering in Tichmersh.'

The second application was put in by Nathaniel Ponder, the London Printer [**321** (**57**)]—which is endorsed, 'Ponder's note, Northampton.' It is the last of the seven items on the paper.

> psbi: M^r^ Hennry Searle, in the Mantion house of y^e^ Lady Pickering at Tichmarsh'

and the paper concludes—

> 'These are all in Northamptonshire, ffor Nathaniel Ponder.'

The licences were granted on the 8th of May—and are entered on **E.** (**82**):

'Licence to Henry Searle to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of the Lady Pickering in Tichmarsh Northamptoñ 8 May'

'The howse of the Lady Pickering at Tichmarsh Northampton Pr. Meeting Place. 8 May'

Nathaniel Ponder called for them and took them away two days later, as is witnessed by **321 (86)**:

'Rec^{d} y^{e} 10th May 1672: these Lycens

. . . .

M^{r} Henry Searle in Tichmarsh

'per ꝑ me

'NATH. PONDER.'

It was as a 'Place' for the exercise of Mr. Henry Searle's ministry, then, that Lady Pickering had her mansion licensed.

This Henry Searle (Cal. III. 29) had been ejected from Cranford, which is five miles west of Thrapston on the road to Kettering.

9. BUCKS.

Castle Thorpe—The Lady Terill.

Castle Thorpe is on the River Ouse, where it divides Bucks from Northants, in the former county a couple of miles north of Stony Stratford. Her house in Castle Thorpe was licensed for Nonconformist worship in December, but the denomination of the worshippers is not mentioned. It is entered on **E. (277)** thus:

'The house of the Lady Terill widđ. of Castle Thorp in Buckš.'

The Terill (or Tyrell) family were of Thornton of the same county, Bucks, but a few miles south-west of Castle Thorpe just south of the extreme southern point of a protruding portion of Northants.

Almost certainly 'the Lady Terill' whose house was licensed was the quite newly-made widow of Sir Toby Tyrell of Thornton, Bucks—(who was the first surviving son of Edward Tyrell) who was created baronet twice—the first time in 1627, October 3; and the second time in 1638-39, February, on his surrendering the first, because of the imbecility or insanity of his eldest son and heir, and barring that son's succession to the baronetcy.

Sir Toby twice married. His first wife was Edith, daughter of Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State to Charles I., who died 1644-45; and his second, whom he married 1645, was Lucy, daughter of Sir Thomas Barrington of Waresby, County Hunts, and widow of William Cheney of Chesham, Bucks. Sir Toby Terill (or Tyrell) died in 1671 at his wife's home in Waresby, but was buried at Thornton, Bucks. 'The lady Terill,' therefore, in 1672 (when she took out this licence), was doubly a widow, and had retired to Castle Thorpe on the death of Sir Toby. She lived nearly twenty years after this—died in 1691, and was buried at Chesham, the home of her first husband.

10. MIDDLESEX.

Willesden—The Lady Roberts.

Her sympathies were clearly with Nonconformity of the Congregational or Independent type—for the licence she secured for her house was applied for on **320 (258)** in these terms:

'Middlesex. The Lady Roberts howse in Wilsdon. Midd: Indep.'

It was issued on May Day, and is entered on **E. (52)**:

'Wilsden
Ind.
Roberts howse

'The howse of the Lady Roberts in Wilsdon, Middl. licensed for an Indep. Meeting Place. 1 May 72.'

Singularly enough in his incomplete Index **I.**—(Vol. I., p. 607), it is 'entered up' under the Presbyterian licences for Middlesex, though quite correctly described as Independent:

'Wilsdon

'Lady Roberts howse for Independents. 1 May $\overline{72}$.'

This Roberts is quite distinct from the Lady Roberts whose house in Cranbrook is also licensed.

This is Eleanor, the widow of Sir William Roberts, the second son of Barne Roberts, Esq., of Willesden, and Mary, the daughter of Sir William Glover, alderman of London.

Sir William was born 1605; entered Gray's Inn at the age of seventeen, August 7, 1622. In 1624, on May 18, he was knighted by James I. at Greenwich, when not twenty. He was made deputy-lieutenant of Middlesex. On the outbreak of the Civil War he sided with the Parliament. He received the money collected for the relief of Brentford. In 1644 he 'drew out' 300 men of the Trained Bands to suppress the rising at Windsor. Though strong for Parliament against the King, and one of the 135 Commissioners appointed to try Charles, he never acted, and so he was not actually a 'Regicide.' In 1650 he was made head of the Middlesex militia. In 1652 he was placed on the Commission for removing obstructions in the sale of Episcopal and Crown lands; and personally bought the manor of Witherington, Northants, which belonged to Peterborough, and the prebendal manors of Needsden and Chamberlain Wood, Willesden. In 1653 he was authorized by the Committee of Plundered Ministers to provide a minister for the Church of Kingsbury in Middlesex; and in November of that year (1653) he was made member of the Council of State.

He was also made a Commissioner for Appeals in Excise, and for the Sale of Church lands. From 1656 to 1660 he held the office of auditor of the Exchequer, and sat in Parliament as member for Middlesex.

In 1657 Oliver called him to the House of Lords. Spite his pronounced Commonwealth services, he was not prosecuted at the Restoration; but in 1661, November 8, was actually created a baronet by Charles II.

He died the following year, 1662 (the year of the Great Ejectment), and, September 27, was buried in Willesden Church.

He had married Eleanor, the daughter and heiress of Robert Atye, Esq., of Kilburn. The Lady Roberts, then, had been a widow for ten years, when she secured a licence for her husband's ancestral mansion house for 'Independent' Nonconformist worship.

11. LONDON.

(1) *West Smithfield, Cow Lane—Sir Heneage Featherston.*

Sir Heneage Featherston was born at Blakesware in Ware, county of Hertford, in 1628. He was the only son of Henry Featherston of Blackfriars, London, and of Hassenbrooke Manor and Stanford-le-Hope, Essex (ten miles south-south-east of Brentwood), and Katherine, daughter of Michael Heneage, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. He succeeded to his father's estates in 1647, when only nineteen. In 1650 he was admitted to Gray's Inn. In 1660 he was created baronet for loyalty to the cause of Monarchy during the Commonwealth.

He seems to have been no Episcopalian; but one of the many wealthy Presbyterians who was strongly in favour of Monarchy as against a Republic. In 1665-66 he was made Sheriff of Essex.

His connection with Nonconformity was that in 1672 he secured a licence for a house of his in Cow Lane, West Smithfield, as a meeting-place for Presbyterians. This was scarcely more than a month after the Declaration of Indulgence was issued.

It was obtained from Sir John Trevor—not (as most) from Lord Arlington—as is clear from its being entered in Sir John's Entry Book [**B.** (**31***b*)]. It was for William Cornish to preach in:

> 'W^m^ Cornish
> 'W^m^ Cornish to teach at Sir Heneage Featherston's in Cow Lane London Presbyterians April y^e^ 17^th^ 72
> 'The s^d^ S^r^ Heneage Featherston's house Licensed.'

Was William Cornish a relative of Dr. Henry Cornish? Henry Cornish was born in Ditchett (Ditcheat), Somerset, in 1610; matriculated from New Inn Hall, Oxford in 1630; graduated M.A. in 1637; was one of the Seven Preachers in 1646; was appointed Delegate from Jesus College to the Visitors in 1647; was appointed Canon or Prebend of Christ Church College in 1648 (first in place of Dr. Wall, and then, on Dr. Wall's submission, in place of Dr. Sanderson); and the same year was appointed one of the Examiners of Candidates for Fellowships and Scholarships in Oxford University. He was created D.D. in 1649. So, at least, Montague Burrows asserts in his 'Register of the Visitors, '&c.' (p. 568); though Calamy (I. 215) gives him as merely B.D., adding, 'He might have been created D.D., but refused.' He was displaced by King Charles's Commissioners, and 'afterwards lived with 'the pious Sir Philip Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire, preaching occasionally about the country and in Oxford.' In 1669 he was reported (**R.** 'Oxon') as ministering to a Conventicle of 'about

'200' 'Presbyterians & Independents' in Coggs' (near Witney) 'In the 'howse of one M^{r} Blake of y^{e} Fine Office, once and sometimes twice 'every Lord's Day'; the Bishop reporting: 'The Teachers are a 'combination of Non-Conformist Ministers; viz., D^{r} Langley, M^{r} 'Cornish, M^{r} Dod, M^{r} Troughton, & M^{r} Connoway.'* In 1672, evidently while still living with Sir Philip Harcourt, he very early secured a 'general' licence as a Presbyterian teacher, 'dwelling at 'Stanton Harcourt in Oxoñ,' on April 18, 1672. This was through the agency of John Hickes; for the note is added to the entry—'delivered 'to M^{r} Hickes.' A second licence was issued to him June 29 [**E.** (**191**)]; and yet a third on August 10 [**E.** (**228**)].

Eighteen years later, at the advanced age of seventy-nine, he settled at Bicester [where, in 1669, a Conventicle of '100 or 200' 'Separatists 'of all sorts' had been reported as held 'In y^{e} house or Barne of 'Thomas Harries, Baker,' ministered to by six Nonconformist Ministers (Henry Cornish, *not* one of them); and about which the Return adds: 'In this Place they have a Pulpit, Seats, & Galleries erected, & are said 'by reason of their impunity to encrease'].

For eight years he ministered to them (not for profit, but out of love to his people), and died December 18, 1698.

Surely this 'William' Cornish who is licensed to preach in Bow Lane, London, must be the William Cornish who (living at Henley-on-Thames) had his house there licensed in October, 1672 [**E.** (**267**)].

(2) *Little Britain—Countess of Exeter's House.*

The Dowager Countess of Exeter was a devoted friend of Dr. Jacomb's, who had been ejected from St. Martin's, Ludgate.

Indeed, she gave him a home in her house in Little Britain after his ejectment; and the informers report many Conventicles held in his house as early as 1663-64.

'On March y^{e} 30' (1663) a Conventicle is reported [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 71, 48], 'At y^{e} Countess of Exet^{rs} all day by Doct^{r} Jacomb, 'Docto^{r} Bates, M^{r} Baxter, & old Jackson' (*i.e.*, Arthur Jackson, ejected from St. Faith's, under St. Paul's).

'On January y^{e} 26: 166$\frac{3}{4}$,' the Countess of Exeter was reported as present (with several other titled persons) at an all-day Fast held at Mr. Arthur Jackson's in Whitefriars; and the same informer reports [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 93, 3]:

'Every Thursday there is ordinaryly A Conventickell held att the Countess of Exeter's house *In Little Brittayne* about five off the Clock In the Afternoone.'

In a further paper [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 109, 56] belonging to the end of 1664 or the beginning of 1665, devoted to the Presbyterians, their

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* As he is here called merely 'M^{r}' Cornish side by side with 'D^{r}' Langley, it looks very much as though Calamy was right and Montague Burrows was wrong. As Foster also has the D.D., however, the fact which led to Calamy's statement was probably that Henry Cornish never 'used' his Doctorate.

Preachers and Meetings, one paragraph begins: 'These often preach at 'their Conventicles,' and contains the following: 'M^{r} Jacomb at y^{e} 'Countess of Exeter's: there also M^{r} Whittaker & M^{r} Poole who ad'vised that every one of the ejected presbyters should take his owne 'pulpitt againe, & trye if y^{e} people will not stand by them.'

The last reference is in May, 1665 [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 121, 38]: 'An Accompt off Conventicles since this moneth began.'

May 15 ('Callymy is come home & has a meeting tomorrow att his 'own house. . .') 'Countis of Exeter att her' (house), etc., etc.

There are two application-memoranda for a licence for her house. The first is calendared **320** (**88**), and contains a list of so many public places that it looks remarkably like a test list challenging licences, when there was a dead set on the part of many in high places both in Church and State against allowing them, for any buildings except private houses.

The Countess's house is added as a second meeting-place to the Haberdashers' Hall, which the Haberdashers' Company had already declared by resolution they were willing to place at Dr. Jacomb's disposal, subject to the approval of the King [*vide* **320** (**1**)]. It is the last item but one on the paper:

> 'Tho: Jacomb, D.D. of the Presbyterien Perswasion desires to preach at Haberdashers hall London, & at the Countesse of Exoñ's howse in little Brittaine'

The second application is on a paper solely concerned with Dr. Jacomb, and may have been drawn up by himself. It is calendared **320** (**88**B), and reads:

'Tho: Jacomb D.D. humbly desires the benefitt of his Ma^{ties} late gracious Declaration to bee approved of and allowed to preach at
[not allowed]
Haberdashers Hall Lond:, and at the Countesse of Exeters House in little Brittaine. Presb.'

As is intimated by the phrase 'not allowed,' written in another hand above the words the 'Haberdashers Hall,' was refused a licence; but a licence for the Countess of Exeter's house was issued, and one for Dr. Jacomb to preach in it on the 22nd of April. The licences are entered on **E.** (**41**):

'London Pr. Csse of Exon's howse	'The Countesse of Exeters howse in Little Brittaine licensed to be a Presb. Meeting Place. 22. Apr. 72.
D^{r} Jacomb Pr. London	'License to D^{r} Thomas Jacomb to be a Presb. Teacher in the Countesse of Exon's howse little Brittaine, Londoñ. 22. Apr. 72.'

The Countess was daughter to the Earl of Bridgewater; is described by Calamy as 'that excellent, pious, and devout lady' (I. 160).

After the death of her husband, she lived in Little Britain, and engaged Dr. Jacomb as her domestic chaplain in 1647. He was then

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, having migrated to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, from Oxford as soon as he had graduated B.A. in Magdalen Hall there. While residing in the Countess-dowager's house, he preached often in the City; and at a General Vestry of St. Martin's, Ludgate, held February 10, 1649-50, 'with a Generall Concente,' he was elected Rector; the Vestry Minute adding, 'the vote was carried for 'M^r^ Jecombe, ther nott beinge one hand in the Negative.' Of course, while he was Rector of St. Martin's, Dr. Jacomb lived in the Rectory. At the Restoration, as his predecessor, Dr. Jermyn, was dead, his appointment as Rector was confirmed by Charles II. by the great seal of England, 'to the satisfaction of the parish.' But the Act of Uniformity ejected him; and 'he met with trouble,' says Calamy, 'after his ejecttion: but 'the divine providence secured him by disposing of him into the family 'of the hon. lady above mentioned. Her respect for the Dr. was peculiar, 'and her favours conferred upon him extraordinary.'

He died in her house, March 27, 1687, leaving an incomparable library of the most valuable books in all kind of learning, which were sold by auction for £1,300.

12. KENT.

(1) *Cranbrook*, *Glassenbury—Lady Roberts.*

This Lady Roberts was Bridget, daughter of Sir Robert Jocelyn, Knt., of Hyde Hall, Herts. Born August 23, 1626, she married Sir Howland Roberts, Bart., of Glassenbury. He died November, 1661, so that in 1672 she had been a widow eleven years.

'Glassenbury,' the writer in the *Imperial Gazetteer* describes as 'an old moated seat in Cranbrook parish, Kent, 2¼ miles west by north 'of Cranbrook. It belonged to the Robertses or the Rookhersts. A 'chalybeate spring is in its neighbourhood.'

The references to it in 'Original Records' are specially full and interesting. They occur in connection with the applications made for licences for her mansion as a Presbyterian meeting-place and for Thomas Brand her chaplain. Her relation to him and confidence in him seem much the same as the Countess of Exeter's for Dr. Thomas Jacomb.

Mr. Thomas Brand, as Calamy informs us (III. 514), 'was born at 'Leaden Rooding in Essex, 1635'; where his father was rector from 1597 to 1660. In 1653, he matriculated at Merton College, Oxford (June 24), and in 1656, 'he went from the university to the Temple, 'being designed for the law.' In 1660 he graduated B.A. and 'afterwards 'applied himself to divinity, and became one of the brightest mirrors of 'piety and charity, and one of the most fervent useful preachers the age 'hath afforded.' Then follows a very lengthy description of his character, which we well could have spared for an abstract of his life, which Palmer had thought of inserting from Dr. Annesley's funeral sermon preached in 1691. Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses' says that he 'became a Nonconformist divine at Staplehurst, Kent, and elsewhere.' Staplehurst (*alias* Stablehurst) is only a few miles north of Cranbrook.

We learn from these Indulgence-documents that he was chaplain to Lady Roberts in 1672; and no less than three applications were made for licences for him and for her house 'Glassenbury.'

The first is on **320** (**115**)—a paper endorsed: 'Persons who desire 'Licences, 17 Apr. 1672'—evidently a list drawn up by Benson from different memoranda or from verbal instructions. It is on the last line but one:

> 'Thomas Brand a Presbyterian desires a licence to teach at the Lady Roberts howse in Cranbrooke, in Kent.'

The second is concerned entirely with this case [**320** (**161**)]:

> 'The house of y^{e} Right W^{ll} the Lady Bridget Roberts called Glastenbury in y^{e} Parish of Cranbrook in y^{e} County of Kent for a P^{rs}byterian Congregation.
>
> 'M^{r} Thomas Brand her Presbyterian Chaplain'

The third is briefer, and has also an application for two other Kentish licences.

It is calendared **320** (**162**), and reads:

'Kent	'M^{r} Thomas Brand a Presbyt. to preach at y^{e} Lady Roberts her house in Cranbrooke 'M^{r} Rathband a Presbyt. to preach at Richard Day's house in Horsmonden'

These applications were promptly acted on, for the licences desired are entered as issued on the 20th of April (not much more than a month after the issue of the Indulgence). They are entered on **E.** (**33**) and **E.** (**34**):

E. (**33**):

'Brand Pr Cranbrooke	'Licence to Thomas Brand to be a Presb. Teacher in the Lady Roberts howse in Cranbrooke. 20. Apr. 1672

E. (**34**):

'Cranbrooke Pr. Roberts howse.	'The howse of the Lady Roberts in Cranbrooke licensed for a Presb. Meeting Place. 20. Apr. 1672.'

And now a singular thing happened. Though the licences had been granted as early as April 20th, and they were then ready for Mr. Brand or any friend of his and Lady Roberts's to take away, no one appears to have called for them in Whitehall for at least nine days. Although three several applications had been 'put in' for them, only one of the memoranda bears a date, and none of them is signed. The first bears date April 17, so that the application was promptly attended to, only three days elapsing between that first application and the actual issue of the licences.

There is nothing in either of them to help us towards ascertaining who it was who carried the application through, or why the licences which had been so expeditiously obtained were not at once sent down to Cranbrook. Their non-arrival caused both Lady Roberts and her chaplain serious concern, and we have still preserved in the Public Record Office a letter which Thomas Brand wrote on the 29th of April expressing his consternation and showing the real peril to which their inability to produce the licences was subjecting them. But the letter shall speak for itself. It is calendared **320 (205)**. It begins 'Reverend S^{r},' so that it cannot have been sent direct to any of the Whitehall officials, who were all laymen. As it was brought in to Whitehall, however, it must have been brought to Whitehall by the 'Reverend gentleman' who had received it, and left there to ensure the delivery and despatch of the licences. Of the ministers who were acting as agents in this matter, the only ones who were dealing with Kent were John Hickes and Richard Steele (though it might have been James Innes senior). Richard Steele was too careful and conscientious a worker to have neglected the matter had he taken it up; but John Hickes, in his impulsive generosity, was only too ready to take up cases which he had neither time nor opportunity properly to carry through. So that it might well be that the letter was addressed to him. It reads:

'REVEREND S^{R}

'I received yours y^{e} w^{ch} was noe small disappointment to us all (Specially my Lady) y^{e} licences not coming for we are in more than ordinary danger of being disturbed. The Church men & y^{e} Justices will take any information. y^{e} last weeke I was sent for by one of them to know whether I had a License, & yesterday we had met with trouble, had not one of them beene my Ladys friend S^{r} in short they are resolved to try y^{e} Strength of y^{e} Declaration whether twill be valid ag^{t} an act of Parliament, and my Lady is y^{e} person they will begin with, hoping thereby to deter others from any such practise, now we are advised by an able consellor & Justice to get a license according to y^{e} Kinges decl: & then we hope to stave off trouble for y^{e} present, though tis judged y^{t} twill com in the end notwithstanding a license. S^{r} I hope to be in London y^{e} next weeke but whether I shall reach through by y^{t} hour you mention is doubtfull not being used to ride, & how to be absent soe long (my Lady not being provided as yet) I know not especially this juncture of time, twould have fitted me much better about 6 weeks hence, for then I shall be necessitated to be in London & doe hope by y^{t} time y^{t} I shall get Glastonbury provided: but notwithstanding all I intend to com except it may be as well then, y^{e} which is all but service and thanks from him who is

'S^{r}
'Y^{r} obliged servant,
'THO: BROND.

'Aprill 29: 72'

It will be noted that the writer signs himself Br*o*nd, though everybody else calls him Br*a*nd (including Calamy); and that Lady Roberts's house is throughout called 'Glastonbury'—though it has for long in maps and other references been called 'Glassenbury' (or 'Glastenbury').

The letter is dated April 29, which was a Monday. So that the fear of trouble 'yesterday' was in connection with an ordinary Sunday service held by him in the Mansion. In threatening 'him and his 'Lady' the Kentish officials were quite within the terms of the Declaration of Indulgence [as well as of the Penal Statutes (which were suspended)] so long as neither Lady Roberts nor her chaplain had a licence; for the concluding paragraph of the Declaration contained these words: 'And if, after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects 'shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and . . . . shall meet in places 'not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare 'we will proceed against them with all imaginary severity.' It was only those who had a licence that could claim authority either to preach in, or to hold Nonconformist Conventicles in their houses.

The only suggestions that I can make in explanation of their not having received licences which had been ready nine days before Thomas Brond (Brand) wrote this letter are: either that their correspondence-agent in writing to them had forgotten to enclose the licences, though he had told them that they would find them within; or that they were under the impression that the Whitehall officials would send them on as soon as they were made out, and so had sent no one to Whitehall to fetch them. Whereas, the officials did no posting nor despatching. They simply made them out, and handed them to any authorized person who called for them.

The sequel of this interesting episode we have no means of tracing.

(2) *Canterbury and East Church (Isle of Sheppey)—Sir William Broadnax.*

Sir William Broadnax of Godmersham, Kent, was knighted at Whitehall by Charles II., October 11, 1664.

He is reported in 1669 as an abettor of two Conventicles in Kent. The one was a very large and influential one in the City of Canterbury, consisting of 500 Independents who met in the morning in St. Peter's parish, and in the afternoon in St. Paul's (**R. 154**). His name is one of eleven of the principal citizens of the Cathedral City named as 'Abettors' of it.*

The other Conventicle was numerous, but was of Presbyterians, not Independents, and met in East Church, in the Isle of Sheppey (**R. 158***b*). The preacher there was Nathaniel Wilmot, who had been ejected from Feversham (Cal. II. 326, 327), and was reported in 1669 as preaching at Davington (**R. 159**) and Godmersham (**R. 156**), as well as at East Church (**R. 158***b*). Although he had also residential property in Canterbury, Godmersham was Sir William's place of residence, about nine miles due south of Feversham (which was close to Davington), East Church being about the same distance due north of it on the Isle of Sheppey. It is clear that Sir William thought highly of Wilmot and was attached to his ministry; and as a J.P. would be able to shelter and protect him. He was not himself a Presbyterian; for in Canterbury where there were Conventicles of each denomination, he attached himself to the Congregational or Independent meeting.

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* Thomas Broadnax, probably his brother, was an Alderman of Canterbury in $165\frac{8}{9}$, addressed by the President of the Council of State, together with the Mayor and four others, to inquire into disturbances of public worship in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, made by the Quakers [S.P. Dom. I., 98, 10]. [Robert Mascall, the licence-agent, and Thomas Scot and Thomas Monins (reported as Abettors of the Independent Conventicle in 1669, and licensed as Teachers in 1672) were three of them. Vincent Denn was the fourth.]

(3) *Maidstone, St. Faith's Green—Lady Tayler.*

Lady Tayler (or 'Taylor') was Elizabeth, daughter of George Hall, of Maidstone, who married (1657 ?) Sir Thomas Taylor, Bart., of Park House, Maidstone, and Shadockhurst, Kent. Sir Thomas died 1665 (?). So that she had been seven years a widow when she desired and secured a licence for her house in May, 1672; as entered on **E. (141)**, the very first line on the page:

> 'The howse of the Lady Tayler in S^t Faith Green near Maidstone Kent. Pr. Meeting Place. 25 May. 72.'

The way in which she secured it is interesting.

A Mr. John Richards actually handed in the application, signing the document which he handed in. It is quite possible he was one of the four John Richardses given by Foster in his 'Alumni Oxonienses,' the son of Sir John Richards of Yaverland, in the Isle of Wight, who was born 1617; matriculated the 8th of May, 1635, at Magdalen Hall, Oxford; and entered as student of law in the Middle Temple, 1636.

But the real applicant was Sir John Banks, who must have been a personal friend of Lady Tayler. The application-memorandum [**321** (**264**)] reads:

> 'S^r John Banks desires a Lycence for a Meeting Place at a House of y^e Lady Taylers in St. Faith Green neer Maidstone in Kent. the People have allready Fitted it Up and have a great desire to meet there. Presbiterians.
>
> 'JOHN RICHARDS.'

St. Faith's, on St. Faith's Green, was a 'free chapel,' north of Maidstone, on the way to Park House (the residence of Lady Tayler). It became private property (under Edward VI. ?) with right of the Corporation to use the chapel for services and the chapel-yard for burials. Reduced to the chancel, it was used for Walloon services from the time of Elizabeth till 1634, when it was 'shut up for some small time, when 'it was again opened, and made use of by a congregation of Presby-'terians' (Hasted's 'Kent,' ii. 121). It was for these the licence was granted. They continued to meet there till about the year 1735.

In the 'Complete Baronetage,' the following account is given of Sir John Banks:

'John Bankes of the city of London (and after 1681 also of Alesford, Kent) was the son and heir of Sir Caleb Bankes (Knt) of Maidstone; was born about 1627, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Dethick Lord Mayor of London. He resided in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and was M.P. for Maidstone in Oliver's Parliament from 1654 to 1659. Yet on the restoration of Charles, he seems to have been received with favour, and was created Baronet 22 August 1661. He sat for Winchelsea from 1677 to 1678; and in 5 parliaments for Rochester, 1679 to 1690: and for Queenboro 1690-1695—dying in 1699, at the age of 72. He had a country seat at Aylesford which was on the Medway south of Rochester (about 7 miles) and 2 miles north of Maidstone:—so quite a near neighbour to Lady Taylor.'

He was a man, evidently, of great energy and influence in the city, for both Pepys and Evelyn refer to him in their Diaries. As early as 1663-64, writing under date February 19, in speaking of a conversation with 'Mr Cutler' at 'Change,' says:

'By and by joyned with us Sir John Bankes': [NOTE: "An opulent merchant, residing in Lincoln's Inn Fields"]. 'Who told us several passages of the East Indian Company; and how in every case, where there was due to him and Alderman Mico 64,000*l.* from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indys, Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money every farthing.'

His allusions to Sir John in 1668 pretty clearly shows his Puritan sympathies. On December 23 he writes:

'Discoursed with Sir John Bankes; who thinks this prorogation will please all but the Parliament itself, which will, if ever they meet, be vexed at Buckingham, who yet governs all. He says the Nonconformists are glad of it, and, he believes, will get the upper-hand in a little time, for the King must trust to them or nobody; and he thinks the King will be forced to it.'

And early in the following year—March 24, 1669—he gives quite a picturesque account of Sir John's Aylesford house. Pepys had business at Chatham, and on the day after he had discharged his Navy business, took Mr. Gibson and Mr. Coney for a coach ride 'towards Maydstone,' 'which,' Pepys adds, 'I had a mighty mind to see.' And this is his description of their jaunt:

'A mighty cold and windy but clear day; and had the pleasure of seeing the Medway running winding up and down mightily, and a very fine country: and I went a little out of the way to have visited Sir John Bankes, but he at London; but here I had a sight of his seat and house' [NOTE: 'The Friary in Aylesford parish, now the property of the Earl of Aylesford, whose ancestor Heneage Finch married the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Bankes,'] 'the outside, which is an old abbey just like Hinchinbroke, and as good at least, and mightily finely placed by the river; and he keeps the grounds about it, and walls and the house, very handsome: I was mightily pleased with the sight of it.'

Sir John Evelyn, too, some seven years later (August 25, 1676), notes: 'Din'd with Sir John Banks at his house in Lincoln's Inn 'Fields, on recommending Mr Upman to be tutor to his sonn going to 'France. This Sir John Banks was a merchant of small beginning, 'but had amassed £100,000.'

He established almshouses for six persons, endowing the foundation with £60 a year, which bear his name (as Sir John Banks's Almshouses) to this day.

(4) *Sevenoaks.—Lady Boswell.*

Was this Lady Boswell the widow of Sir Thomas Boswell (*alias* Bosville), of Kent, who was knighted in 1642 at York by Charles I. (Shaw's 'Knights')? Or was she Margaret, daughter (and ultimately heiress) of Ralph Bosville, of Brabourne Manor, Sevenoaks, who married Sir William Boswell, knighted 1634? In either case, her husband's sympathies were strongly Royalist. It was when Charles withdrew his Court to York and made a rally there of those devoted to his cause just previous to his unfurling his Standard on Nottingham Castle, that Sir Thomas Boswell received his knighthood as reward for his eagerness in the Royal cause; and Sir William had been for twenty-one years resident at the Hague for Charles I. Clearly the widow's sympathies were Puritan. She came out boldly in 1672 on the side of the Nonconformists, having her house in Sevenoaks licensed for Presbyterian worship under the ministry of John Stone, who had been ejected from Hellingley (Cal. III. 320) in the adjoining County of Sussex (just north of Hailsham).

The licences are entered on **E. (285)**:

> 'The house of y^{e} lady Boswell of Sewnoek in Kent Pr̃: Licence to John Stone a Pr. Teachr: at y^{e} house of y^{e} lady Boswell above said'

What was the connecting link between John Stone with the ministry he had exercised so far from Sevenoaks as the sea-coast of Sussex and Lady Boswell I do not know, and I cannot even suggest. That his work at Hellingley was abiding in its influence we have practical proof in the last three entries on **E. (279)**:

> 'The house of Nicholas Winton of Waldron in Sussex Pr'
> 'Licence to John Stone Pr̃. Teachr̃ at y^{e} house of Winton abovesd̃.'
> 'The house of Samuell Burton of Hallinglȳ in Sussex. Pr̃.'

Waldron is only five miles north-north-west of Hellingley, so that in securing licences to preach in Waldron (in Nicholas Winton's house) he would doubtless be ministering to old parishioners who would be glad to come to hear him when he was preaching there. Moreover, as to every licence for a particular place was appended a clause authorizing the licensee to preach in any other 'allowed' place, he would also be able to go to his old parish Hellingley and preach in Samuel Burton's house.

It is possible, of course, that the John Stone who was licensed for Lady Boswell's house at Sevenoaks was another person—a son of this Sussex ejected minister, or his father; or merely his namesake, and not a relative at all.

(5) *Fairlawn, in the parish of 'Shipborne'—Lady Vane.*

'The *Lady Vane*' had her house licensed for Congregational worship in December, 1672; for the ministry of a Mr. Ayers.

The licences are entered on the same page as Lady Boswell's—viz., **E. (279)**:

> 'Licence to James Aÿers Congr̃. Teach̄^{r} at the house of y^{e} Lady Vane att ffairlawres in Kent Decemƀ: 72.'

I suppose 'James Ayers' must be Calamy's 'M^{r} Aires' (II. 417), who was ejected from Glentworth Vicarage, in Lincolnshire. The connection he had with Lady Vane and the County of Kent is indirectly suggested by the letter hereafter cited.

'The Lady Vane' is, no doubt, Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Bart., of Glentworth, who (on July 1, 1640) married Sir Harry Vane, one of the noblest of the great political idealists who sprang into notice in the upheaval of the Great Civil War—so ardent and thorough-faced a Republican that he was opposed to government by a single person of any sort, even when that single person was one he so warmly admired as Oliver Cromwell.

Indeed, Oliver thought his influence so dangerous that from September 4 to December 31, 1656, he imprisoned Vane in Carisbrook Castle. After Richard Cromwell's fall his independence offended the Rump Parliament, and in January, 1660, he was sent down to his house at Raby [Raby Castle, Durham]. Returning to London, he was, in February, 1660, sent in custody of the sergeant-at-arms to his house in Lincolnshire—Belleau (or 'Bellean'), near Alford; and on the Restoration of Charles II. he was plunged at once into far greater peril. From the Amnesty of 1660 Sir Henry Vane was excepted (together with Hacker, Axtel, Lambert, and Haselrig). But the Commons would not hear of this breach of faith, and a joint address of the two houses desired the King to spare the lives of Lambert and Vane. The Parliament of 1661, however, was of a very different temper from the Convention Parliament, and though they confirmed the Act of Indemnity, they could not refrain from attacking Lambert and Vane, charging them with acts of high treason against Charles II. in exercising their offices under the Commonwealth.

Vane was found guilty (spite the fact that during this period Charles could certainly only be said to be King *de jure*, and was not King *de facto*). The King himself, enraged at the independence of his defence, urged on his condemnation, and Vane was executed on Tower Hill, June 14, 1662, though his widow was allowed to remove his body for interment in the church of Shipborne, Kent (a victim to the servility of the Bench and the calculating falseness of the King).*

From an 'Information' written by Robert Johnston ('out of the Tower') six months later [S. P. Dom. Car. II. 67, 54] we learn that Lady Vane was then living at Hampstead ('Hamsteade') ['My Lady

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* Bright's 'History of England' ('Personal Monarchy'), pp. 723, 727.

Vane at Hamsteade had some correspondence with the Lady Warriston ']. The Vanes had property in Kent, near Maidstone. This was confiscated, as we learn from S. P. Dom. E. B. 15, 132, which tells us that on August 3, 1663, the King issued a Warrant for a grant to James Duke of York of all Manors, lands, etc., in Kent, belonging to Sir Henry Vane, convicted of high treason.

Though granted to the Duke of York, however, he does not appear to have 'ejected' them, but allowed them still to reside there [I suppose by the grant of a lease or yearly rental]. Of the influence of Sir Henry Vane's writings, and even of his memory, the Court still seemed afraid, though he was no longer living. They were on the outlook for any books which preserved either, as 'seditious' and therefore dangerous. Williamson has notes (dated 1663) 'That Twinning printed the generall 'epistle of Sr Henry Vane; and that Bruister ' (*i.e.* Brewster, a printer and bookseller in Bristol] 'manag'd the printing of Vane's triall & life '& death.' They kept their eye upon his widow and her family, and tampered unblushingly with her correspondence.

The following letter was detained doubtless from the suspicion that because the proper names in it were all part of a kind of Classic cipher the writer was conducting secretly a correspondence of a factious, seditious character. Never, surely, was there so 'much ado about nothing.' The letter simply expresses the mutual personal anxieties of two friends, Lady Vane's daughter and Mrs. Hutchinson, and is occupied wholly with little details of their families and friends, with not a scintilla that could be construed into any political design.

It is calendared S. P. Dom. Car. II. 83-87, and endorsed :

'Copy of the paper unexplayned.'

It is addressed : 'To my hon. friend Mrs Anna Hutchinson.

'Leave this wth Mr John Sympson at the Grange near Grantham

'These present
'GRANTHAM.'

It reads as follows: *

'MY DEARE ARAMINTA [MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON],

'The tedious cessation of letters that hath between us of late could not be more disagreeable to you then grievious to me, & had I not had your prohibition to writ till a new sum̃ons from you I had two or three times at least inquired after you ere now, for a correspondence wth you is the only Satisfaction I can promise myselfe in so long a separac̃on from you, & truly were it not for this small contentment I should support this distance wth much more impatience. hearing from the last that *Amestus* [Mrs. Hutchinson] is in *Sardis* [Stragglethorpe] makes me still in greater despaire of seeing her at *Carthage* [London] for I am not ignorant the treatment she alwais meets with from *Polycrate* [Lady Earle] is so obleidging as will undoubtedly exclude any thoughts from *Carthage* [London]. I am assured you are very well pleased where you are & therefore am very (un)willing to give any interruption to yor satisfaction by complaining of my owne misfortunes, for so I esteeme an absence from you, but am denied of any hopes of being more happy: the winter having made so great a progress already. *Eliza* [Lady Vane] & her family continues still at *Syracuse* [Faire Lawn], & am ignorant whether they winter there or not, they being yet uncertaine; but I believe the next part of it will be spent there, since the[y] intreat *Olinda* [Frances Vane] & *Panthea* [Mrs. Vane's sister] wth the rest are there will oblige them to make their confidence most constantly at *Syracuse* [Faire Lawn], but *Corinth* [Hampstead] will sometimes be visited by them, though but for a month or two.

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* I have inserted in brackets the prose equivalents of the Classic cipher-names as far as they are given in the key, which is appended.

'*Elisa* [Lady Vane's mother] is now at *Carthage* [London] & has been there almost a fortnight for y^{e} dispatching some business so y^{t} *Aximiza* & *Alfizeesia* are much alone, and have been so accustomed to be so the last three yeares that I wonder they are not absolutely savage, for they see very little company, & were not both theire inclinations to bookes some reliefe to them I know not how they would spend so many houres alone.

'Were Flavia (?) at *Syracuse* [Faire Lawn] I am sure *Panthea* [Mrs. Vane's sister] would desire few more, but since that is too much happinesse for her to expect, she must desire a frequent converse wth Flavia as that which will in some small degree supply the loss I sustaine in the deprivation of her company. I cannot foresee any way for *Panthea* [Mrs. Vane's sister] to see *Claremond* [Mr. Cholmley] since the only way to compass that would have been by the *Armenians,* but the conclusion that is put to all commerce between them & the *Ardeans* will prevent any interview between *Alsemere* and *Zephalinda.* You tell me nothing of *Thyrsis* which I wonder at, for he is so ingenious a person y^{t} I know not how you can forgett him. I suppose he is still with *Alcidon* [Mr. Phillips] and *Pherenice* [Mrs. Phillips] & therefore believe you saw him when y^{u} were with y^{m}. he used to make so good entertainm^{t} with *Theaphila* y^{t} the violation of it would much divert me. You give me a short account of *Polydore's* (Mr. Markham's) discourse wth *Amestus* [Mr. Hutchinson] w^{ch} methinkes should be very pleasant Considering the little adventures I formerly heard of betweene *Hepomanes* & *Aspasia* w^{ch} used to produce such alterations in his countenance when he approacht *Asphelia.* I long much to heare how *Polemander* [Sir William Bury] & *Clemana* [Lady Bury] treat *Eumenia* [Mrs. Hutchinson] whether as formerly or noe, w^{ch} I thinke used to be in a very particuler mañer. And therefore should be glad to heare some account of it. You say nothing of the discourse I have formerly heard of a new relac̃on between *Amarintha* [Mrs. Anne Hutchinson] & *Lysander* [Mr. Earles] w^{ch} makes me believe it might be only report. Nor anything concerning *Belinda* [Mrs. Earle] and *Polydore* [Mr. Markham], w^{ch} I thought I heard reported. Could not believe that *Polycrate* [Lady Earle] would dispose *Belinda* [Mrs. Earle] into the familie of *Mussidorus* [Sir Robert Markham] it being not suitable to the education *Polycrate* [Lady Earle] hath given to her.

'Lett mee know in yo^{r} next w^{t} is become off *Philodaspes* [Mr. Rooksby] & *Erithea* [Mrs. Rookeby] he being a person much in my esteeme and therefore an account of him would be very pleasing to me. *Clarimond* [Mr. Cholmly] & *him* are the only persons that ever acquired my esteem without acquaintance first, but you may in this see how powerfull an Interest you have in me from the relac̃on they have to you and . . . of them I pay so greate a respect to her . . . never saw, you have been so long from hence that you are perfectly a stranger to all those I would discourse to you of, who, if you knew, would afford me subject enough to write on, w^{ch} now I want having so often repeated old stories that they grew very unpleasant to me. wherefore am at a loss which way to answer the expectac̄on you have of a long letter from me, having nothing to acquaint you wth. With the assurance of the constancy of my friendship for you, & that truth I have so frequently declared that you can no longer doubt of my being in much sincerity

'Yor most faithfull friend
'Amalthra.

'*Novemb:* 9
'Faire lawne

'My service to the vertuous *Arele* and the amiable *Artemisia* . . . *The Castle* in Cheapside is the place where my letters are left. *Artemisia* commends her to you and so dos *Philecta* [Dorothy Vane]. This day is *Elisa* [Mrs. Vane's mother] returned to *Syracuse* [Faire Lawn], and brings me news wch I cannot believe that she had it from *Cylenisa* [Mrs. Hutchinson] who tells her *Flavia* is comming up to *Carthage* [London] to live wth *Statera* but haveing nothing from you of it I cannot believe now.

[On fly-leaf opposite :]

'This is a true Copy examined the xiith day of November Año Domini 1663, by us

'Andre. Broome
'Wm Hodgkinson
'Town Clarke.

'The originall of this lyes in the Alderman's hands at *Grantham*, with Mis Anne Hutchinson's examination.'

It will be noted that this long letter was written from Fairlawn, the very house which, nine years later, was licensed for Congregationalists. Its destination was 'Mrs. Anna Hutchinson, care of Mr. Sympson, The 'Grange, near Grantham.' The minister licensed to preach at Fairlawn (Mr. Ayres) had been ejected from Glentworth.

Glentworth and Grantham are in the same County of Lincoln, so that Ayres may have got to know Lady Vane when staying with Mrs. Hutchinson. But the two places are nearly five-and-thirty miles apart, Glenworth being about ten miles due north of Lincoln city, and Grantham about twenty-five miles south of it. And Calamy does not help us to trace the connection, for he seems to know nothing of Mr. Ayres but the place whence he was ejected.

I append the further papers connected with this innocent letter. The first is calendared S. P. Dom. Car. II. 83, 88, and is endorsed:

'Copies of the papers explained "My deare Anne Hutchinson, &c." '

The most interesting part of it is a postscript in Mrs. Hutchinson's own hand, showing that she had been examined by Alderman Broome, who had retained the letter, and had secured from her the appended explanation of the cipher used, apparently without any hesitation.

'P.S. Nov. 13. 1663
'The hard names in the letter is as I think truly explained by me
Anne Hutchinson

'There is no other key to the names that I know off, but wt is here explained

'Anne Hutchinson'

The 'Key' thus furnished is preserved in S. P. Dom. Car. II. 83, 89:

A CHARACTER FROM *ALCIONIDA*—VIZ. M^{is} VANE TO *ARAMINTA*—VIZ., M^{is} ANNE HUTCHINSON

Persons (Male)

M^r Briggs	*Strephon*
Revend *Strephon*	*M^r Briggs*
Musidorus	*S^r Ro: Markham**
Polidore	*M^r Markham*
Coradon	*M^r White*
Philadaspes	*M^r Rookeby*
Perenthus	S^r Rich: Earle †
Lisander	M^r Earles
Polimander	S^r W^m Bury
Clarimond	M^r Cholmly
Alcidon	M^r Philopps
Thyrsis	M^r Marsh
Amyntus	M^r Hall
Timantus	y^r Bro. M^r Hutchinson
Themestus	M^r Hutchinson
Molcontus	M^r Thurston
Antymachus	M^r Gooderick
Thrasymedes	M^r Charles
Sophocles	M^r Courtney

Places

Sardus	Stragglethorpe
Athens	Grantham
Carthage	London
Paris	Easton
Pryneste	Belue ‡
Ephesus	Ragby §
Corinth	Hamstead
Syracuse	Fare Lawne
Uffica	Alford ‖

Persons (Female)

Elisa	M^{is} Vane her mother
Olinda	Frances Vane
Panthea, polyxena	M^{rs} Vane sister
Amestus, Eumenia	M^{is} Hutchinson y'selfe
Philesta	Dorothy Vane
Evelin	M^{rs} Hutchinson y^e mother

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* Sir Robert Markham, Bart., M.P. for Grantham in the Parliament of 1660 and 1661—afterwards for Newark-on-Trent, 1679 and 1680.

† Any relative of Dr. John Earle, in 1660 Dean of Westminster, and afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury, *ob.* 1665?

‡ *I.e.*, Belleau (or 'Bellean').

§ *I.e.*, Wragby.

‖ Alford was the home of William Hutchinson, the husband of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the Antinomian who in 1633 went to Massachusetts, and died at West Chester, N.Y., 1643. W. Hutchinson himself died the year before, 1642.

Persons (Female)—*continued*

Artelinda	Lady Markham
Carilla	M^{is} Hall
Agnea	M^{rs} Ratcliffe
Lusingha	Lady Eliot
Polycrite	Lady Earle
Belinda	M^{rs} Earle
Pherenice	M^{rs} Phillipps
Nessionissa	M^{rs} Parson
Clemena	Lady Bury*
Phronesia	M^{is} Whist
Amarantha	Elisabeth Bury
Clarithea	M^{is} South
Belisa	M^{is} Worsley
Izme	M^{is} Bridges
Erithea	M^{is} Rookeby
Cylenisa	M^{is} Hutchinson

N.B.—This was thus Englished by M^{rs} Ann Hutchinsons own hand.

Endorsed: A character between M^{rs} Vane & M^{rs} Hutchinson Letters betwixt M^{rs} Vane and M^{rs} Hutchinson intercepted wth chcter Cypher. exam^{d} by y^{e} Mayor of Grantham from M^{rs} Hutchinson.

This follows:

'A second Copy of the Character annotated: I have lost the old 'list we us'd to have, and therefore made a new one w^{ch} keep carefully. 'Have made use of some of our old names w^{ch} are in my memory so 'that you may let them stand for the same persons as well as these new 'ones.' The original of this is in the Alderman of Grantham's hand.

N.B.—S. P. Dom. Car. II. 90, 85, also refers to Mrs. Hutchinson's correspondence. It is a couple of months later, and refers to the 'escape' of Mr. Hutchinson.

Of course, the Mistress Anne Hutchinson of this correspondence cannot be the celebrated 'fanatic' of that name (propagandist of Antinomianism in New England). Both she and her husband had been dead now twenty years. William Hutchinson, her husband, had died in 1642, and she survived him only a year, dying in West Chester 1643. This Mrs. Hutchinson was probably the wife of a son of the William Hutchinson just mentioned; as there is reference in this correspondence to Alford (Lincs), which was the home of William Hutchinson and Mistress Anne his wife before they left for New England. [Colonel John Hutchinson and his accomplished wife were connected almost wholly with Notts, not Lincs, the Colonel being Governor of Nottingham Castle, and his home being at Owthorp, some miles south-east of Nottingham, but well within Notts county. His wife was Lucy—not Anne—daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Governor of the Tower of London.]

The places given in the key to the cipher are nine in number; and six of these are in Lincolnshire. The only places outside the

* Of Linwood Grange, Lincs.

county are London (with its north-eastern suburb, Hampstead), in Middlesex, and Fairlawn (Shipborne) [the home of the Vanes], in Kent.

The places in Lincolnshire are somewhat widely scattered. Alford, the home of the Lincoln Hutchinsons is almost due east of Lincoln City, about five miles from the coast, and Belleau ('Belue') is quite near to Alford (north-west), while 'Ragby' (*i.e.*, Wragby) is almost due south of Market Rasen, now on the railway between Lincoln and Louth about half-way; these three all north-east of Lincoln.

The other three are south of Lincoln: Stragglethorpe, south-west about twelve miles; Grantham, as far again beyond it from Lincoln; and Easton, almost due west of Bourn.

Of the name in which we are most interested as the seat of the Burys, 'Linwood' Grange, there are two in this county. Linwood, or Lingwood Hall, in Blankney parish, south-east of Lincoln City; and a larger village Linwood, north-east of Lincoln, between Market Rasen and Wragby. The fact that the former is comparatively near Leasingham, whence the preacher (to be licensed for Linwood Grange) was ejected, would make it the more probable site. The neighbourhood of the other to Wragby, however—which is mentioned in the correspondence under the soubriquet of 'Ephesus'—makes that the more likely.

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson appears to be staying somewhere in Lincolnshire, else the letter of Lady Vane's daughter would scarcely be sent to Grantham for Mr. Sympson to convey to her, and 'M^{rs} Hutchinson' (her mother?) is visiting at Stragglethorpe.

Lady Vane's daughter describes Lady Vane as just then on some urgent business in London; as likely sometimes to be in Hampstead; but as having her usual abode now at Fairlawn with her daughters, the writer and her sisters.

Lady Vane had four daughters:

(1) Frances (disguised in this correspondence as 'Olinda'), who married Edmund Kekewich. [A Samuel Kekewich's house in St. Germain's, Cornwall, was licensed April 20, 1672 [**E. (44)**].]

(2) Albinia, who married Alderman John Forth, of London, whose house in Hackney was licensed for Nonconformist worship May 16, 1672 [**E. (135)**].

(3) Dorothy, who married Thomas Crisp, of Essex [William Crisp is one of the signatories of the Petition for William Ames to preach at Wrentham, Suffolk [**320 (204)**]].

(4) Mary, who married Sir James Tillie, of Pentillan Castle, Cornwall.

Sir Harry Vane had three seats: the noblest, Raby Castle, in Durham; the second at Fairlawn, Shipborne, Kent; and a third in Lincoln county, at Belleau or Bellean (which he had purchased of the Earl of Lindsay), close to Alford, the home of William Hutchinson. Was it in Lincoln, at Belleau, that Lady Vane formed so close a friendship with Mrs. Hutchinson?

13. Surrey and Hants.

Bagshot Park, Surrey, and Moyles Court, Ellingham, Hampshire—Lady Lisle.

Lady Lisle was widow of John Lisle, who in 1649 was associated with Sir Bulstrode Whitelock as one of the three Commissioners of the New Great Seal, and was one of Oliver's Lords. Her residence was Moyles Court, Ellingham; which she had inherited from her father, Sir White Beckenshaw, Knt. It is a substantial mansion in the parish of Ellingham, in the valley of the River Avon, some two miles due north of Ringwood. It was here in 1685 that she sheltered John Nelthorpe and John Hickes (of Keynsham), on their flight from the field of Sedgmoor, when the cause of the Duke of Monmouth was finally shattered, and for this act of Christian charity, Judge Jeffreys condemned her to the stake, commuting the sentence to execution (by beheadal) in Winchester Market-Place.

Her thorough sympathy with the Puritan cause was practically shown by her approval of the marriage of her daughter Bridget to Leonard Hoar, M.D., who was for a time the Congregational President of Harvard College. After Doctor Hoar's death, Bridget married Hezekiah Usher of Cambridge and Boston.

Bagshot Park is just within the border of the county of Surrey at its north-west corner, where it marches with the south-east corner of Berks.

Moyles Court she had already opened to Nonconformist worship at the risk of prosecution under the Penal Statutes, for in 1669 a Conventicle was reported by the Bishop of Winchester, in Fordingbridge Deanery, in the parish of Ellingham, 'kept at Moyles court, the house 'of M^{rs} Lisle, the Regicides wife' (**R. 263***b*).

The description of the gracious hostess of this Conventicle is (we see) made as contemptuous as possible. Though the widow of one of Oliver's Lords, and though three years later, in the Indulgence documents, the more respectful and significant title 'the widow Lisle' is used, here she is simply 'M^{rs} Lisle,' and noted as 'the regicide's wife.' The Bishop cannot but admit that it is a numerous Conventicle, '200' in number. That, however, is belittled by the description of its 'quality' . . . 'of the meaner sort, who come most of them 'from Ringwood & out of Dorsetshire,' and of two of the Teachers, 'M^{r} John Tucker, a Vagabond,' and 'John Harding, a weaver of 'Ringwood.' In mentioning the third, however, he is obliged to imply the dignity and substantiality of her household. He is 'M^{r} Crofts, 'Chaplaine to M^{rs} Lisle.'

Three years later, both of her residences are licensed. Her decision to seek licences for them was so belated that we have barely the entry of the fact. [For the period subsequent to the middle of June, no memoranda either of application or receipt are preserved.] These entries were made about the end of October on **E. (265)**:

'The howse of y^{e} widđ Lisle of Bagshot park in Hampsħ. Pr.'

and **E. (273)** :

> ‘The house of y^{e} widđ: Lisle of Moyles Court in Hampsħ Pr.’

Though both are assigned to Hampshire, ‘Bagshot Park’ is certainly almost wholly in Surrey, though a small strip of it may be in Berkshire. By no stretch of charity can it be put in Hants.

14. SUSSEX.

Hove—Sir John Stapley.

Sir John was the second and eldest surviving son of Anthony Stapley, Esq., of Patcham (1590-1653), who was M.P. for New Shoreham, 1624 and 1625; for Lewes, 1628; and for Sussex county, 1639-40. He was Colonel in the Parliamentary army, was appointed Governor of Chichester 1644, and Deputy-Lieutenant of Sussex county, represented the county in the Long Parliament, was one of the King's judges, and signed his death-warrant. He died in 1655, and was buried in Patcham.

Sir John was born at Patcham, 1628; was M.P. for Sussex county, 1654 and 1656; and succeeded his father to the dignity of Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex in that year. In 1657-58 he was involved in a Royalist plot, but was pardoned by Oliver Cromwell, and on the restoration of Charles II. was created Baronet by the King, in recognition of his Royalist plotting during the Protectorate. He represented the Borough of Lewes in the Parliaments of 1660 and 1661.

Patcham is about three miles north by east of Brighthelmstone, a mile and a half beyond Preston. Hove, where a house of Sir John's was licensed in 1672, is about a couple of miles west of Brighton.

In 1663 Sir John was assessed for a Lay Subsidy under Deane half-hundred as:

> ‘John Stapley Knight & Baronett in lands ... xx^{s} viij^{d}’

In 1672, the application for the licensing of the house in Hove was made by a John Moxham, on **321 (46)**, for William Wallis, of East Deane, to preach in:

> ‘William Wallis of Eastdeane. desires a place at the House of S^{r} John Stapley in How in y^{e} County of Sussex. being of a presbiterian ꝑswasion.’

The licences were issued on May 8, and are entered on **E. (83)**:

> ‘The howse of S^{r} John Stapley in How Sussex Pr. Meeting Place. 8 May’
>
> ‘Licence to W^{m} Wallis to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of S^{r} John Stapley in How Sussex 8 May.’

They were both called for and taken away from Whitehall six days later by Edward Newton, the ejected minister of Lewes.

That for Sir John's house is the first on his list [**321 (146)**]:

'Received 14 May 1672 these licences following :—

'For y^e house of S^r John Staply in Hove in Sussex

. . . . .

'For William Wallis of Hove Sussex

. . . . .

'EDWARD NEWTON.'

East Dean, whence William Wallis (Wallace) was ejected, was a long way from Brighton and Hove, about midway between Chichester and Midhurst.

But Calamy (III. 317) prepares us for what otherwise might set us questioning whether the 'Wallis' of the Indulgence Licence is the same as his 'Wallace' of East Dean. He says: 'After his ejectment, 'he preached at several places remote from his habitation, so that his 'fatigues in journeying were the greater, but his other sufferings 'the fewer. He often escaped fines and imprisonment by being far 'from home.' Calamy then gives two instances of his escape from arrest in Brighthelmstone, quite close to the 'How' or 'Hove,' where the licence was secured in 1672 for Sir John Stapley's house.

The Indulgence documents and Calamy are in this case mutually explanatory, and Calamy's reliability receives an added confirmation.

15. HANTS.

Horsley (*Hursley*)—*Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell's House.*

In the **R.** for 1669, from the Bishop of Winchester, under the head 'Winton Deanry,' a very full and interesting return is given of a Conventicle held in Hursley (**R. 263**).

It is reported as held 'Att the house of M^{rs} Dorothy Cromwell wife 'to Richard Cromwell the late Usurper.' It consisted of 'Supposed 'Presbyterians,' forty-nine in number, 'of which 24 are Parishioners, 'the rest strangers,' 'some of the Parishon^{rs} men of Estates.' The Head or Teacher is given as 'M^r Avery, M^{rs} Cromwell's Chaplaine, 'who being demanded by w^t Authority he held that unlawfull Assembly, 'Answered that he was Authorized thereto by Jesus Christ, and That 'his Lady would beare them out in all their meetings.'

To understand the situation, we must remember that Richard Cromwell had felt that England was no place for him on the Restoration of Charles II., and had crossed the Channel in 1660 to France, living very quietly in Paris under the *alias* of 'John Clarke,' and had removed to Geneva in 1670. So that at this time he was at Geneva.

[He did not return to England till 1680, when he retired to the hospitality of Sergeant Pengelley at Cheshunt, dying there in 1712. His body was taken to Hursley, and buried there beside his wife.]

Mrs. Cromwell was Dorothy, the daughter of Richard Mayor of Hursley, a strongly Royalist family. On the death of her father, she inherited the ancestral mansion and £600 a year in her own right.

On the fall and exile of her husband she retired to Hursley. She still retained her sympathy with the Puritans, and gave the shelter of her home to this Richard Avery.

In 1657 John Dunch (Hants Commissioner for ejecting scandalous ministers) writes from Hursley (December 29) complaining of the Quakers there, and of 'one Captain Every, an eminent man among 'them, that hath arms enough to arm a company. This Every,' he adds, 'is one of the excise, and a great Quaker.' Possibly—may I say 'probably'?—it was this bellicose Quaker who had received episcopal ordination without subscription at the hands of Thomas Sydserff, bishop of Galloway in 1661 (probably in London), accepted office as a minister somewhere in the adjoining county of Berkshire, being silenced or ejected in 1662, and found refuge in Lady Cromwell's family at Hursley, where he would be known. His reply to the informers of the Conventicle in her house is bold enough to come from a quondam military officer, and spiritual enough to have come from a Quaker.

It must be he who, three years later, secured licences to preach as a 'Presbyterian Teacher in the house of a M^r^ William Jones in Kings-'clere,' in this same county of Hants, in response to a Petition addressed to the King's Most Excellent Majesty by twenty 'of y^e^ inhabitants 'of y^e^ Parish of King's cleare in y^e^ County of Southampton.' [This Petition is preserved in full as **321** (**321**), and both licences are entered on **E.** (**157**) as issued June 10, 1672.]

Kingsclere is right away in the north-west corner of the county, only three miles south of the Berkshire border, quite falling in with Calamy's statement, that 'M^r^ Richard Avery was ejected somewhere in '*Berkshire*,' though the place is not ascertained.

Further puzzling light, moreover, comes from the 'Presentments' preserved in Winchester Consistory Court. In 1677, February 22, 'Richard Avery of Kingscleare is presented: and his declaration that 'he was ordained Deacon and Priest in Holy Orders by y^e^ Bishopp of 'Gallaway (Candidy Case by name) about 16 years agoe' [*i.e.*, in 1661].

Two months later, again, April 10, 1677, he is presented and warned to frequent his parish church; and in 1678, for his persistent Nonconformity, he is excommunicated.

These meteoric changes of activity, too, from Hursley to Berkshire, back to Hursley, and then back to the Berkshire border of Hants at Kingsclere, seem well to fit one who by Calamy (I. 296) 'is said to 'have been a very zealous minister, who after his ejectment, rode about 'from place to place, preaching in perilous times, wherever he had 'opportunity.'

16. WILTS.

(1) *Chilton Foliat—Sir Bulstrode Whitelock.*

In 1672 Nathaniel Ponder—Bunyan's Printer—applied for a licence for Sir Bulstrode Whitelock's house (Chilton Lodge) at Chilton Foliat, as a Congregational meeting-place for the ministry of James Pearson. It is one of three applications contained on **321** (**177**) (the first of them):

'M^r^ James Pearson of the Congregationall perswasion at the House of S^r^ Bulstrode WhiteLock at Chilton Lodge: Wiltshire'

. . . . . .

'Pray Deliver these to
'NATH. PONDER.'

The licences were issued on the 16th of May; and are entered on **E. (115)**:

'The howse of S^r^ Bulstrod Whitelock at Chilton Lodge, Wilts Congr. Meeting Place. 16 May'

'Licence to James Pearson to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of S^r^ Bulstrode Whitelock at Chilton Lodge, Wilts 16 May.'

Nathaniel Ponder called for them five days later; and acknowledged their receipt the 21st May [**321 (220)**].

This Chilton Foliat is only just within Wilts at its easternmost point—close to Hungerford—which is just within Berks. So purely border-places are they—that a part of Chilton Park is in Berks, and a part of Hungerford is in Wilts.

Sir Bulstrode Whitelock was a striking personality, and of great ability. He was born August 6, 1605, in the house of an uncle in Fleet Street, London. Through that uncle's influence he was admitted to the Merchant Taylors' School in 1615. In 1620 he matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford. In 1626 he was called to the Bar, and was elected M.P. for Stafford. In 1628 he was elected Treasurer to the Middle Temple. In 1640 he sat in Parliament for Marlow, and was made chairman of the Committee for the impeachment of Strafford. In 1642 he marched with Hampden's regiment to the relief of Brentford. In 1644 he was one of the Parliamentary Committee for conference with Charles I. at Uxbridge, and at this time was intimate with Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon). In 1648 he was appointed one of the four Commissioners of the Great Seal. In 1649 he opposed the abolition of the Lords; and was chosen one of the three commissioners of the new Great Seal (Lisle was one of the other two). In 1652 he urged Cromwell to restore the Monarchy (in his own person).* In 1653 he was sent by Oliver as Ambassador to Sweden, Dr. Daniel Whistler accompanying him as Physician to the Embassy. He represented Bucks in Oliver's Parliament of 1656. He accepted the accession of Richard Cromwell, presenting the congratulations of both Houses to him. He distrusted Monck; but on the Restoration in 1660, managed to escape prosecution—and, it is said, paid the King £50,000 to secure the Royal pardon.

From 1663 he lived in retirement on his wife's estate at Chilton Park, near Hungerford, which he had purchased with the marriage portion of his third wife, Mary, the daughter of one Carleton, and there he died 1675. He evidently retained his Puritan sympathies; and they so far revived in his retirement that he secured a licence for his mansion in 1672, to be used for Congregational or Independent worship.

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* Sir John Evelyn writes in his Diary that on April 29, this year 1652, he 'went 'to see the Queene's house at Greenwich, now given by the rebells to Bulstrode 'Whitlock, one of their unhappy counsellors, and keeper of pretended liberties.'

James Pearson—the minister of his trust—is not mentioned by Calamy in his list of the ejected.

(2) *Newton Tony and the Honourable Frances Fiennes.*

In 1672 the house of the Honourable Frances Fiennes was licensed for Presbyterian worship, and the ministry of John Crofts of that place. The application for these licences was made on a memorandum [calendared **321** (**134**)]—the first two lines of it:

> 'The house of y^e^ honourable Francis Fines at Newton Tony in y^e^ County of Wilts for a Presb. Congregaōn.
>
> 'M^r^ John Crofts of Newton Tony Wilts for a Presb. Congregation in y^e^ house of y^e^ hon^ble^ Francis Fines'

The licences were granted May 13th, as entered on **E.** (**101**):

> 'Licence to John Crofts to be a Pr. Teacher in the howse of Fran: Fines in Newton Tony Wilts. 13 May
>
> 'The howse of Fran: Fines in Newton Tony Wilts Pr. Meeting Place. 13 May'

and the following day James Innes junior called at Whitehall and took them away, as he acknowledges on **321** (**145**):

> 'John Crofts person & place . . . Received the Licenses for the fore mentioned persons & places
>
> 'by me
> 'Ja: Innes jun^r^
>
> 'May 14^th^ 1672.'

This 'Francis Fines' of the Whitehall clerks, 'y^e^ honourable 'Francis Fines' of the application, was the widow of Sir Nathaniel Fiennes, who had been as prominent in the Commons against both King and Prelacy as his father (Lord Say and Sele) had been in the House of Lords—being Commissioner of the Great Seal and Speaker of the House. He sat throughout the Long Parliament for Banbury (Oxon); but his country residence was at Newton Tony, Wilts, and there he died, December 16, 1669 (in the sixty-second year of his age), and was buried.

He had been married twice: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Eliot, of Port Eliot, Cornwall, by whom he had a son William, who became third Viscount Say and Sele on the death of his Uncle James in 1673-74; and second, to Frances, daughter of Richard Whithead, of Tuderley, Hants [*i.e.*, either East or West Tytherley, south-west of Stockbridge, and north-west of Romsey]. By her he had four daughters, the two eldest of whom died before him, and lie in the same grave with him in Newton Tony church. The youngest survived her mother fifty years. Lady Frances Fiennes continued to live in Newton Tony till her death in 1691, and was buried in the parish church beside her husband. At the time of the Indulgence she had been a widow three years, as is clear from the inscription cited below.

The monument to the Fiennes in the east end of the nave bears this inscription ['History of Modern Wilts—Ambresbury Hundred,' pp. 104-105] :

'In memory of the Honourable Nathaniel Fiennes, second sonne of William Lord Viscount Say & Seale, who departed this life the 16th day of December 1669 in the 62nd year of his age. And of his two eldest daughters Frances and Elizabeth, by Frances his wife, daughter of Richard Whithead of Tuderley, in ye County of Southton Esq. who both died in the flower of their age.

'Here lyes also the Honble Frances Fiennes, who died the 7th of October 1691 in the 70th year of her age, leaving only 2 daughters, Mary and Cecilia : Cecilia borne June ye 7th 1662, died 10th April 1741 at Hackney.'

[There is also a flat stone in the chancel to the above-named Elizabeth, the second (younger) of those two 'eldest daughters,' who died October 4, 1668 (when almost 12).]

The minister here licensed to preach in Lady Fiennes' house—John Crofts—is noted by Calamy (II. 275) as ejected from Motton, Hants. [I have not been able to identify the place.] Of his identity with the John Crofts of the Indulgence licence there can be no doubt, as the only thing Calamy has to tell us of him is that 'after his ejectment he 'was chaplain to Lady Fiennes at *Newtontony*, in Wiltshire.'

He had not been there long, however ; for in 1669 he is reported (**R. 263***b*) as one of three Teachers of a Conventicle of some two hundred Presbyterians 'kept at Moyles court, the house of Mrs Lisle, 'the Regicides wife,' the quality of the Conventiclers being described as 'Of the meaner sort, who come most of them from Ringwood & 'out of Dorsetshire.'

The other two are 'Mr John Tucker a Vagabond,' and 'John 'Harding a weaver of Ringwood.' He is described as 'Mr Crofts, 'Chaplaine to Mrs Lisle.'

Is there not in this fact a clue to the mystery of 'Motton'? There is a Mottiston (or Motteston) in the western part of the Isle of Wight (on the south skirt of Mottiston Down, five miles south-east of Yarmouth), and the 'Imperial Gazetteer' says of the property in this parish : 'It is with small exception all in one estate, which belonged to 'the Lisles, the Chekes and the Leighs.' Was not Calamy's Motton, Hants, Mottiston in the Isle of Wight, and did not John Crofts, after ejectment from this Motton, find asylum in the Central Western Hampshire home of the Lisles in Moyles Court, passing from the position of Chaplain to Lady Lisle there, to the similar one of Chaplain to Lady Fiennes at Newton Tony? In that position, however, he seems to have become widely known and highly appreciated as a preacher. Doubtless 'his Lady' would allow inhabitants, eager for a Puritan ministry, to join the worship of the household, and share the benefits of her chaplain's teaching.

Anyway, there is remarkable proof of the fact of his popularity, and the eagerness of the Puritans in Newton Tony to hear him in the town itself in the further fact that, before any application was made for Lady Fiennes's house, application had been made for licences for John Crofts to preach in the house of John Girle. The person who moved and acted for them was Isaac Chancy, of Andover, who went up to London to secure licences for several Hampshire Nonconformists, calling twice at Whitehall for the purpose. On both occasions he included in his lists an application for John Crofts, in John Girle's house in Newton Tony—doubtless as a brother he had known well when at Moyles Court. The first memorandum he left on Saturday, 'Aprill 27. 1672.' It is calendared **320 (206)**, and is endorsed 'Chancys note. Southampton' (of course meaning not the town, but the county we now call 'Hampshire'), and it opens thus:

> 'Licences desired
> 'For M^r^ John Crofts, Congregational—
> for John Girle's house in Newton Tone in the county of Wilts, or any other licensed place.
>
> . . . . .
>
> 'ISAAK CHANCY,
> of Eastontõ Andover.'

In the second, in Chancy's handwriting, though not signed by him, in which he applies for a larger number of licences, and includes his own name, the last line but one reads:

> 'M^r^ Joñ Crofts, Newton tony John Girles House. Wilts.'

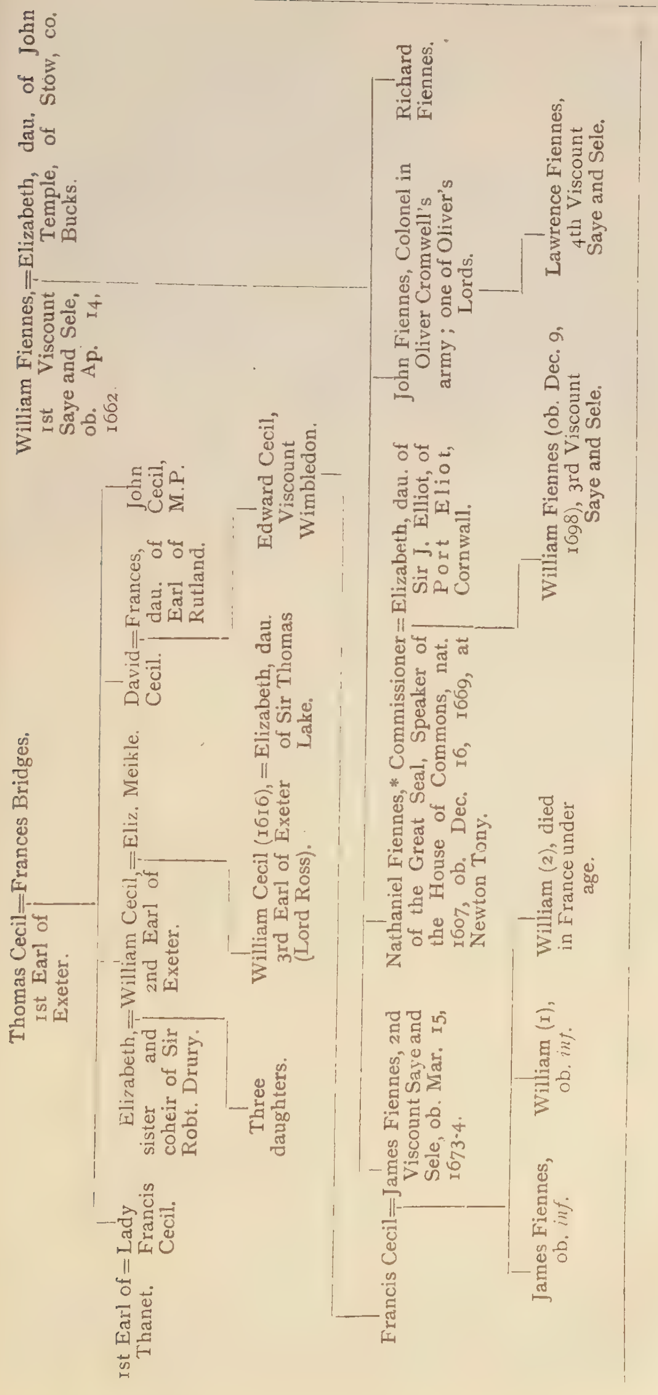
As this paper bears no date we do not know how long Chancy waited before applying a second time. Licences were not issued till May 8—*i.e.*, eleven days after he made his first application. They are entered on **E. (83)**:

> 'Licence to John Crofts to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of John Girle in Newton Tone, Wilts. 8 May
> 'The howse of John Girle in Newton Tone Wilt̃s Congr. Meeting Place. 8. May'

But two days later Isaac Chancy called at Whitehall and took away these two licences, but only one or two of the Hampshire licences—as we see on **321 (90)**, which is dated 'May 10. 72,' and reads:

> 'These Licences, Viz., for M^r^ Joñ Crofts of Newton Tony, Wilts
>
> . . . . .
>
> & for y^e^ house of M^r^ Joñ Girle Newtõ Tony
> 'Received by mee
> 'Is. CHAÑCY.'

As an incidental proof of the 'popular' character of the move, it is interesting to find that a Conventicle had been held in this house of John Girle's through the period of persecution; for in 1669 the Episcopal Returns include the report (**R. 243***b*) of a Conventicle 'of 30 or '40 at most' held in the joint parish of Allington and Newton Tony at six different houses, two of them owned by 'Gerles'—Edward and this same John Girle. [Two of the teachers reported were ejected ministers from other counties: Whitmarsh from Rowner, Hants; and Crouch


Thomas Cecil=Frances Bridges.
1st Earl of Exeter.
William Fiennes,=Elizabeth, dau. of John Temple, of Stow, co. Bucks.
1st Viscount Saye and Sele, ob. Ap. 14, 1662.
1st Earl of=Lady Francis Cecil.
Thanet.
Elizabeth, sister and coheir of Sir Robt. Drury.=William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Exeter.=Eliz. Meikle.
David=Frances, dau. of Earl of Rutland.
Cecil.
John Cecil, M.P.
Three daughters.
William Cecil (1616), 3rd Earl of Exeter (Lord Ross).=Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Thomas Lake.
Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon.
Francis Cecil=James Fiennes, 2nd Viscount Saye and Sele, ob. Mar. 15, 1673-4.
Nathaniel Fiennes,* Commissioner of the Great Seal, Speaker of the House of Commons, nat. 1607, ob. Dec. 16, 1669, at Newton Tony.=Elizabeth, dau. of Sir J. Elliot, of Port Eliot, Cornwall.
John Fiennes, Colonel in Oliver Cromwell's army; one of Oliver's Lords.
Richard Fiennes.
James Fiennes, ob. inf.
William (1), ob. inf.
William (2), died in France under age.
William Fiennes (ob. Dec. 9, 1698), 3rd Viscount Saye and Sele.
Lawrence Fiennes, 4th Viscount Saye and Sele.

* Nathaniel Fiennes=Frances, dau. of Richard Whithed, of Tuderley, Hants.
(1651).

Frances, ? 1652.

Elizabeth, nat. 1654, ob. 1668.

Mary.

Cecilia, nat. 1662, ob. 1741, at Hackney.

from Lewes, Sussex; beside Thomas Taylor from Burbich in Wilts.] John Girle, too, took out a licence to preach himself in his own house, if the Index is to be trusted (Vol. I., p. 620), though no licence is entered either in (**B.**) or (**E.**)

It should be noted that in the application for the Nonconformist worship in the town John Crofts is described as a Congregational Teacher, and the house (of John Girle) is licensed as a Congregational meeting-place; although as chaplain to Lady Frances Fiennes, he is described as a Presbyterian, and her mansion house is licensed for the use of the Presbyterians.

The two sects evidently had their separate group of adherents in Newton Tony; and it was possibly to secure the Presbyterian separate services and meetings that Lady Fiennes sought for a licence for her house, her chaplain being large-hearted enough to be willing to minister to both.

Sir Nathaniel had not proved so successful as an officer in war as he proved as a politician in peace. In 1642 his name appears in the official list of the Troops of Horse (in the Parliamentary Army) under the command of William Earl of Bedford, as Captain of the 36th Troop. He was defeated by Prince Rupert, near Worcester, September 23, 1642. And the Cavaliers made merry over his defeat:

> 'Thither came Fines, with armes complete
> The towne to take, and Byron defeat
> Provisions were made but he staid not to eat
> Which nobody can deny.
>
> 'But as soon as he heard our great guns play
> With a flea in his ear he run quite away
> Like the lawfull begotten son of Lord Say,
> Which nobody can deny.'

Nor did he fare better when appointed Governor of Bristol, for on July 26, 1643, he surrendered the City to Prince Rupert, being tried and condemned to death for this act of reputed cowardice. He was pardoned, sat in several of Oliver's Parliaments, and, as we have seen, was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal to the Protector, Richard Cromwell.

CHAPTER III

THEIR UNITED TESTIMONY AS TO THE STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF NONCONFORMITY

1. Ministers or Teachers. 2. Householders of Meeting Houses. 3. Worshippers or Conventiclers.

The documents belong to a series of years pretty evenly distributed through the period of fourteen or fifteen years—from 1662 to 1677; 1665, three years after the Great Ejectment; 1669, four years after 1665; 1672, three years after 1669; and 1676, four years after 1672.

If they all furnished the same kind of information touching Nonconformists, clerical and lay, we should have materials for a continuous history of the development or decay of Nonconformity in the first decennium and a half of its existence.

Unfortunately they do not.

1. The 1665 Returns give us information only of a small number of ejected Nonconformist ministers.

2. The 1669 Returns also give us information of ejected Nonconformist ministers, in much larger numbers, and of a number of ministers or teachers who were not ejected from the Church of England, because they were never in it; and besides this, of Conventicles held in spite of the Conventicle Act, of the houses in which they were held, of the owners or occupiers of these houses, and of the numbers and quality of the conventiclers who frequented them.

3. The Indulgence Documents, again, give us further valuable information of the Nonconformist teachers or ministers who secured licences under the Indulgence, as well of the owners or occupiers of houses which were licensed for public worship; but they give us none whatever of the numbers attending the Public Assemblies (or Conventicles) which were held in them; and, of course, none whatever of the many Conventicles which continued to be held (spite the minatory clauses of the Declaration of Indulgence) for which their leaders and teachers never sought, and would not seek, a licence from the King.

4. Further, the few Census documents of 1676 have nothing to tell us about teachers or ministers as such, nor of the owners of the premises where worship continued to be held. They simply give the numbers of Nonconformists in the varied parishes of England and Wales as units of the population.

This being so, however, comparison of the documents on the same topics is possible only to a very limited extent.

(i.) It is most complete with reference to ejected ministers: for the 1665, 1669, and 1672 documents all contain information about them.

(ii.) It is least possible with reference to the number of Conventicles held throughout this period, as that is dealt with only in the one set of Returns of 1669.

(iii.) We do get additional light from pairs of these sets of documents: (1) about ministers—*i.e.*, those not mentioned in the 1665 Returns, who ministered to the Conventicles reported in 1669, who were also licensed in 1672; (2) about houses—viz., those in which the Conventicles were held, which were reported in 1669, and those which were licensed as meeting-places in 1672; and (3) as to the number of Nonconformists, as Conventiclers in the 1669 Returns, and as Absenters from their Parish Church in those of 1676.

The number of Conventicles or Public Assemblies of Nonconformists is reported only in the 1669 Returns, and has been treated in Section I., Chapter III., par. iii., pp. 105-139.

Of the kind of information which we may gather from the first three sets about ejected ministers, I have written at some length in Section I., Chapter III.; and I have elsewhere given a sample of the interesting way in which such information vivifies and completes Calamy's story in a detailed treatment of the three Congregationalists—Joshua Churchill, Lewis Stukeley, and Thomas Mall—published in the 'Transactions of 'the Congregational Historical Society,' Vol. iv., No. 3, pp. 151-157 [though I might have added a fourth—viz., William Ben, like Joshua Churchill, also of Dorchester]. The list of twelve furnished in that article, however, is not complete. Two others at least should have been included—viz., Robert Carel of Uploman, and Theophilus Polwheile of Tiverton, and questionably a third in Thomas Powell of St. Sidwell's, Exeter.

Many more, too, of the ejected ministers mentioned in the 1665 Returns, about whom the 1669 Returns are silent, secured licences in 1672. These are all in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. And there would be a good many more had Seth Ward remained Bishop of Exeter. By 1672 he had been translated to Sarum, and the Returns sent in by his successor, Anthony Sparrow, were very incomplete. As it is, however, there are no less than forty-nine of whom we learn both their whereabouts in 1665 and the places for which they secured licences in 1672.

I append the list for any who would like to trace the story of them given by Calamy as made clearer and fuller from these two sets of documents. They are:

1. William Troughton, Bristol.
2. Thomas Moore, Hamoom.
3. Henry Martin, Tarrant Muncton.
4. Timothy Sacheverill, Enford.
5. John White, Pimpern.
6. Thomas Rowe, Litchett Matravers.
7. James Hallett, Shaftesbury.
8. George Hammond, Dorchester.
9. Benjamin Way, West Stafford.
10. Ambrose Clare, Poltimore.
11. Philip Lamb, Bere Regis.
12. George Thorn, Weymouth.
13. Francis Sourton, Honiton.
14. Thomas Ford, Exeter Cathedral.
15. Mark Down, St. Petrock's, Exeter.
16. Thomas Trescott, Shodbrook.
17. Robert Atkins, St. John's, Exeter.
18. John Bartlett, St. Mary's, Exeter.
19. Richard Herring, Drews Teignton.
20. Joseph Hallett, Chesleborough.
21. John Hill, North Ferrers and North Molton.
22. Edward Hunt, Dunchidiock.
23. Alexander Robinson, Purlock.
24. John Mortimer, Souton.
25. Samuel Tapper, St. Merran.
26. John Jordan, Stoke Canon.
27. William Stooke, Ilsington.
28. Jonathan Bowden, Littleham.
29. John Nosworthy, Manaton and Ipplepen.
30. Richard Bickle, Denbury.
31. Francis Whiddon, Totness.
32. John Kempster, Brixham.
33. John Hickes, Saltash.
34. Edmund Tooker, Dittisham.
35. James Burdwood, Dartmouth.
36. Thomas Martin, Plymouth.
37. Nicholas Sherwill, Plymouth.
38. Jonathan Hammer, Bishop's Tawton.
39. Anthony Down, Northam.
40. Daniel Morton, Ashbury.
41. Thomas Maynard, North Tawton.
42. Michael Taylor, Pyeworthy.
43. Bartholomew Ashwood, Axminster.
44. Edward Ebdine, Topsham.
45. John Flavell, Dartmouth.
46. William Bartlett, Bideford.
47. William Oliver, Launceston.
48. Roger Flamank, Sithney.
49. Robert Jago, Helston.

There are also many of the ejected ministers, of whose whereabouts in 1665, unfortunately, the 1665 Returns make no mention, who are reported as both 'teaching in Conventicles in 1669, and securing 'licences in 1672.' These are too numerous to catalogue, and will be found indicated *passim* in the Classified Summary in Vol. II.

On the information contained in these documents on the remaining two points: (1) houses used as 'Meeting Places,' and (2) the numbers of those frequenting Conventicles [or (negatively) absenting themselves from Church], it will be profitable to dwell a little more fully. On the former topic, the 1669 Returns and the 1672 Documents lend mutual illumination; and on the latter, similar mutual illumination is rendered by the 1669 Returns, and those of 1676.

1. As to Houses used as meeting-places, the totals reported in 1669, and actually entered as licensed in 1672, are most startlingly different.

The houses reported in 1669 (with the names of their owners or occupiers) is only 884 in the whole of England and Wales; yet only three years later, the number of those entered as licensed for public worship has risen to 2,552 [or taking England alone, it is 820 in 1669, and 2,443 in 1672], the figures in the second year being nearly three times as great as in the first.

In nine counties in England we have no Returns at all, and in Wales the 1669 Returns touch only three of the twelve counties. The figures are tabulated on the next page:

2. As to the numbers of those frequenting the Conventicles reported in 1669, and the numbers of Nonconformists returned in 1676.

The 1669 Returns gave primarily the number of Nonconformist Conventicles assembling in the various parishes of each Diocese, but incidentally, also, and with very varying definiteness the numbers of those usually attending them; so that in the instances where the Episcopal Reports were fullest and most definite some real, though not very accurate, opinion might be formed as to the growth or decrease of Nonconformity in the septennium between 1669 and 1676, by comparing the figures in the two sets of Returns.

The comparison would not be easy, however, because in arithmetical phrase the numbers did not belong to the same denomination.

In 1669 it is Conventicles that were reported, and the numbers which usually frequented them; whereas in 1676 it was the number of individual Nonconformists resident in each parish which was reported by the clergyman. So that in 1669, in many cases, where 0 was the figure opposite the name of a parish—since it simply meant that no Conventicle was held there—there might yet be several or even many Nonconformists residing in the parish who attended Conventicles elsewhere; and in other cases where a single Conventicle was reported, the numbers frequenting it might amount to many hundreds, though the place was small, and the vast proportion of those attending it came from other parishes. And in 1676 the numbers of Nonconformists reported as resident in a parish might be very small, yet amongst them might be 'Teachers' and 'Abettors,' so magnetic in their personality and consequently so influential with others that Conventiclers would be gathered there of scores and hundreds.

HOUSES LENT IN 1669 AND LICENSED IN 1672 FOR MEETING-HOUSES.

County.	1669.	1672.
ENGLAND.		
I. Northumberland	0	16
Durham ...	12	10
Cumberland	0	21
Westmorland	3	8
Yorkshire ...	16	97
Lancashire ...	4	117
	— 35	— 269
II. Cheshire ...	0	55
Derbyshire	13	91
Notts ...	33	45
Lincolnshire	0	39
Shropshire ...	7	54
Staffordshire	36	67
Leicester ...	2	99
Rutland ...	0	11
	— 91	— 461
III. Hereford ...	0	31
Worcester ...	12	35
Warwick ...	54	59
Northants ...	0	68
Gloucester ...	0	56
Oxfordshire	?	35
Bucks ...	64	24
	—130	— 308
IV. Hunts ...	0	17
Bedfordshire	3	45
Cambridge ...	32	46
Hertfordshire	15	28
Norfolk ...	56	77
Suffolk ...	40	92
Essex ...	0	99
	—146	— 404
Carried forward	402	1,442
Brought forward	402	1,442
V. Berkshire ...	49	38
Middlesex	7	50
London ...	49	92
Kent ...	16	78
Surrey ...	13	40
Sussex ...	41	63
Hampshire	29	76
	—204	— 437
VI. Wiltshire ...	61	70
Somerset ...	134	168
Dorsetshire	8	99
Devonshire	11	189
Cornwall ...	0	38
	—214	— 564
Total for England	820	2,443
WALES.		
VII. Flintshire ...	0	5
Denbigh ...	0	10
Carnarvon	0	6
Merioneth	0	5
Montgomery	11	4
Cardigan ...	0	6
Radnor ...	0	8
Brecknock	0	3
Pembroke ...	0	5
Carmarthen	0	4
Glamorgan	16	27
Monmouth	37	26
Total for Wales	— 64	— 109
Totals for England and Wales ...	884	2,552

The divergence would, no doubt, be reduced by taking the totals reported in a large district, or even in the whole of a diocese; but the conclusions drawn even on that larger scale would perforce be very unreliable, since the areas from which congregations gathered to Nonconformist Conventicles did not observe the limits of ecclesiastical divisions whether parishes, deaneries, archdeaconries, or even dioceses.

Moreover, we are confronted with a greater difficulty still. There are only four tables preserved in Vol. 639, which furnish us total numbers of Nonconformists in 1676, and of these only two give us the details.

Fortunately, we have also the Abstract reproduced in Section I., Cap. IV. That, however, gives us the figures for the Southern Province only, and we have to bear in mind therefore that in the totals reached the whole of the numbers for the Northern Province are excluded. In attempting to make a comparison, moreover, I have been embarrassed by a further difficulty, since in my Classified Summary (by an analysis of which I have arrived at my totals) I have grouped all the particulars, according to the civic divisions of counties, and not according to the ecclesiastical divisions of counties, which are followed in the 1676 Census. This latter difficulty, however, by a careful rearrangement, I have partly overcome.

By grouping the counties according to the Dioceses to which they belong, I have been able to give approximately the number of Conventiclers reported in 1669, side by side with the number of Nonconformists returned in 1676. These I present in tabular form on p. 802.

According to the available figures for the two years then, England, less the Northern Province, shows 60,268 + 312x Conventiclers in 1669, and 89,185 Nonconformists in 1676; Wales shows 3,225 + 14x Conventiclers in 1669, and 3,969 Nonconformists in 1676; and the whole Province of Canterbury shows 63,493 + 326x Conventiclers in 1669, and 93,154 Nonconformists in 1676.

If, therefore, the Returns for the English counties in the Province ot Canterbury were complete, the numbers of Protestant Dissenters would appear to have increased in the seven years from 1669 to 1676 by nearly 30,000, if we regarded only the definite numbers given in each set of Returns.

There are 326 Conventicles, however, whose numbers are not given in the 1669 Returns. Now, if the average number of these were put at 50, surely a very low estimate, it would raise the 1669 Returns from 63,493 to 79,793, making an increase of only 13,361; and if it were put at 90, surely a figure far nearer the probable facts, it would make the 1669 Returns, within some 320, as great as those of 1676, 92,833.

Moreover, we have to bear in mind that in 1669 there were no Returns made (at least none are preserved) from ten of the English counties in the Southern Province—viz., from West Kent, the whole of Lincoln County, Hunts, Cornwall, Hereford, Gloucester, Northampton, and Oxfordshire [though the last have been discovered in another MS. volume in the Lambeth Library by Rev. John Stanley, F.R.Hist.S., of Longhope, Gloucester].

That would very decidedly turn the scale the other way. The Episcopal Returns for 1669, if complete, would show a far larger number of Conventiclers in that year than of Nonconformists in 1676; and to that result no doubt the Archbishop would point with keen satisfaction as a proof of the salutary effect of the severer application of the Penal Statutes after the withdrawal of the Indulgence.

All this, however, concerns the Southern Province alone. The figures for the Northern Province I cannot deal with at all definitely.

Diocese.	Census No. 1676.	County.	Return of 1669.	Total for Diocese in 1669.
ENGLAND.				
Canterbury ...	6,287	East Kent	1,367 + 31x	1,367 + 31x
London ...	20,893	Essex Herts Middlesex London	19x 1,772 + 7x 500 + 9x 9,960 + 17x	12,232 + 52x
Winchester ...	7,904	Hants Surrey	3,086 + 12x 2,251 + 21	5,337 + 14x
Rochester ...	1,752	West Kent	—	—
Norwich ...	7,934	Norfolk Suffolk	4,292 + 17x 1,661 + 10x	5,953 + 27x
Lincoln ...	10,001	Lincoln Leicester Bedford Hunts Bucks	— 1,946 + 4x 809 + 8x — 1,482 + 33x	4,237 + 45x
Ely	1,416	Cambs Hunts-pt	1,847 + 14x —	1,847 + 14x
Chichester ...	2,452	Sussex	2,380 + 19x	2,380 + 19x
Sarum ...	4,075	Berks Wilts	2,316 + 24x 3,881 + 25x	6,197 + 49x
Exeter ...	5,406	Devon Cornwall	1,553 + 2x —	1,553 + 2x
Bath and Wells	5,856	Somerset	12,315 + 18x	12,315 + 18x
Worcester ...	1,325	Worcester Warwick	815 1,774 + 34x	2,589 + 34x
Lichfield and Coventry	5,042	Derby Staffs Salop	1,350 1,640 + 7x 345	3,335 + 7x
Hereford ...	1,076	Hereford Part of Salop	— —	—
Gloucester ...	2,363	Gloucester	—	—
Bristol ...	2,200	Bristol and Dorset	1,125	1,125
Peterborough ...	2,081	Northants	—	—
Oxford ...	1,122	Oxon	—	—
	89,185			60,268 + 312x
WALES.				
Bangor 247 St. Asaph 635 St. David's 2,368 Llandaff 719	3,969	Montgomery Glamorgan Monmouth	165 + 6x 605 + 5x 2,455 + 3x	3,225 + 14x
England and Wales ...	93,154	...	...	63,493 + 326x
If $x = 50$ ...	93,154	...	...	79,793
If $x = 90$ ...	93,154	...	...	92,833

The 1676 Returns are, of course, all to be found in the Salt MS. volume, and those for the Diocese of York (at least) are preserved also in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian.

For the York Diocese the 1669 Returns give just over 5,000 [5,008] Conventiclers; for the Durham Diocese, 616; for the Diocese of Carlisle, 688; and for the Chester Diocese, 500—giving nearly 7,000 for the Northern Province as a whole [6,812]. But that excludes the strongly Nonconformist county of Cheshire, for which unfortunately none of the 1669 Returns are preserved.

The minimum figures for 1669 would bring the Conventiclers of that year up to 100,000 at least.

Then we must remember that Nonconformists were far more effectually reached, harassed, fined, imprisoned, and so repressed (if not suppressed) under the second Conventicle Act of 1670 than under the first of 1664, which we must also remember in 1669 had been largely in abeyance for two years (its proper term of three years having run out in 1667).

So that it is only what we might expect that the numbers of those who still 'conventicled' with sufficient openness to be known as Conventiclers to the Church officials, or who preserved sufficient resoluteness of dissent, persistently to absent themselves from the worship of the Parish Church, would be much smaller in 1676, than were those of the Conventiclers reported in 1669.

I have referred to the numbers in the Southern Province as a whole. It may be of some interest to look at the two sets of figures in each Diocese.

For 1669 I give alternative totals; according as the average number attending Conventicles, for those of which the numbers are not reported, are taken as 50 or 90.

Diocese.	1669.			1676.
	Numbers as given.	If $x=50$.	If $x=90$.	
Canterbury	$1,367+31x$	2,917	4,157	6,287
London	$12,232+52x$	14,832	16,912	20,893
Winchester	$5,337+14x$	6,037	6,597	7,904
Rochester	—	—	—	1,752
Norwich	$5,953+27x$	7,303	8,383	7,934
Lincoln	$4,238+45x$	6,488	8,388	10,001
Ely	$1,847+14x$	2,547	3,107	1,416
Chichester	$2,380+19x$	3,330	4,090	2,452
Sarum	$7,322+49x$	9,772	11,732	4,075
Exeter	$1,553+2x$	1,653	1,733	5,406
Bath and Wells ...	$12,315+18x$	13,215	13,935	5,856
Worcester	$2,589+34x$	4,289	5,649	1,325
Lichfield and Coventry	$3,335+7x$	3,685	3,965	5,042
Hereford	—	—	—	1,076
Gloucester	—	—	—	2,363
Bristol	1,125	1,125	1,125	2,220
Peterborough	—	—	—	2,081
Oxford	—	—	—	1,122

Now, looking only at the cases where returns were given in both years, we find:

1. The 1676 census marks an increase in the number of Nonconformists in—

(1) Canterbury, from about 3,000 or 4,000 to over 6,000 (twice nearly).
(2) London, from about 15,000 or 17,000 to nearly 21,000.
(3) Winchester, from about 6,000 or 6,600 to nearly 8,000.
(4) Lincoln, from about 6,500 or 8,400 to over 10,000.
(5) Exeter, from about 1,700 to nearly 5,500 (three times).
(6) Lichfield and Coventry, from about 4,000 to over 5,000.
(7) Bristol, from about 1,100 to about 2,200 (twice).

The most striking increases are with Exeter, which is threefold; and Bristol, exactly double; and Canterbury, nearly double; though the increase is considerable in London, Winchester, and Lincoln.

2. The 1676 Census, however, marks a decrease as remarkable in—

(1) Ely, from 2,500 or 3,000 to about 1,400.
(2) Chichester, from 3,000 or 4,000 to less than 2,500.
(3) Sarum, from 10,000 or 12,000 to only 4,000.
(4) Bath and Wells, from 13,000 or 14,000 to scarcely 6,000.
(5) Worcester, from 4,000 or 5,500 to less than 1,500.

The difference is not very striking in the case of Chichester; but the numbers have sunk to about half in Ely; to considerable less than half in both Sarum and Bath and Wells; while in Worcester they have fallen to a third or less.

3. In the case of Norwich, the numbers are about equal.

There remain the cases of the two Dioceses in which (in this Volume **639**) we have the figures for each individual parish—viz., those of Canterbury and Sarum.

We have the more confidence in making the comparison between the figures of the 1669 Return and those of the 1676 Census, because in both Dioceses the same person was Bishop in both years.

In Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon had come to the See, and acquired the Primacy six years before the 1669 Return—viz., in 1663; and retained both till his death two years after the 1676 Census—viz., in 1678. And in Sarum, Seth Ward had been transferred from Exeter two years before he sent in the 1669 Return—viz., in 1667; and retained it for thirteen years after he had sent in the 1676 Census—viz., in 1689.

It will be noted that Canterbury belongs to the group in which the 1676 Census shows an increase as compared with the Return of 1669, being almost double.

But Sarum belongs to the group in which the 1676 Census shows a decrease more remarkable still, the 1676 numbers being only a third of those of the 1669 Returns.

I append a tabular comparison of the figures for each parish of the two Dioceses in the two years:

TABULATED COMPARISON OF NUMBERS OF NONCONFORMISTS REPORTED IN THE EPISCOPAL RETURNS OF 1669 AND 1676 IN THE DIOCESES OF CANTERBURY AND SARUM.

I. CANTERBURY (ARCHBISHOP SHELDON), PER SAMUEL PARKER, ARCHDEACON.

(B. = Baptists, Q. = Quakers, I. = Independents, Pr. = Presbyterians, P. = Papists.)

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
R 154. Canterbury.		
St. Paul's St. Peter's	500 at least	55 157 } 212
St. Dunstan	Not so numerous as the other	74
R 154*b*.		
St. Mary, Northgate	B. not numerous	800
St. Gregory's	Q. numerous	
St. Andrew	0	96
St. Cosmus	0	8
St. Mary, Bredin	0	13
St. Mary, Bredman	0	53
St. Cross, Westgate	0	324
St. George	0	54
St. Margaret	0	42
St. Mildred's	0	68
St. Mary Magdalen	0	7
All Saints'	0	87
Forditch	0	2
St. Stephen's	0	14
Herbaldowne *al.* Harpledowne	0	6
Hardres parva	0	2
Milton by Cant.	0	0
Nackington	0	0
Sturrey	0	13
Thannington	0	16
	$500 + 3x$	1,891
R 155. Sandwich Deanery.		
St. Clement's	Very numerous	47
St. Mary	0	121
St. Peter	0	147
Mongham magna	0	8
Mongham parva	0	0
Knowlton	0	0
Sutton by Dover	0	5
Tilmanstone	0	6
Betshanger	0	1

CANTERBURY—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
Colred	o	o
East Langdon	o	3
Eythorne	o	12
Ham	o	o
Barfreston	o	o
Northborne	o	12
Kingswold	o	3
Ripple	o	40
Shepherdswell	o	o
Shoulden	o	5
Woodnesboro'	o	5
West Langdon	o	o
Waldershare	o	o
Walmer	o	o
R 155*b*. Bredge Deanery.	Very numerous	409
Ash	200 or 300	100
Adsham and Staple	Numerous	013
Chilham	Not considerable for numbers	010
Goodneston	Numerous	02
Nonnington and Wymeswold ...	I. numerous ; Q. very numerous ; B. not so great	09 02
Preston by Wingham	B. numerous	025
Waltham	Q. a great number	006
Wye	B. 50 or 60	012
Bishopsbourne	000	002
Barham	000	009
Challock (Godmersham) ...	000	08
Chillenden	000	000
Elmesden (Elmston)	000	003
Hardres magna	000	000
Kingston	000	005
Moldash	000	000
Patricksbourne	000	004
Petham	000	005
Stodmersh	000	000
Stelling	000	000
Wickham breux	000	002
R 156.		
Braksbourne	o C.	008
Bredge	o C.	000
Brooke	o C.	016
Bockton Aluph	o C.	005
Crondall	o C.	004
Chartham	o C.	006

CANTERBURY—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
Ilkham (Ickham)	o C.	03
Littlebourne	o C.	006
Stourmouth	o C.	012
Wingham	o C.	20
Godmersham	I. Wilmot	—
	3,601 + 5 numerous	297
DOVER DEANERY.		
St. Maries, Dover	P. very numerous ; I. numerous	200
St. James, Dover	B. numerous	101
Folkestone	B. numerous ; Q. numerous	040
R 156*b*.		
Guston	B., I., Q. numerous	02
Swingfield	Q. numerous	04
Alkham	o	009
Cheriton	o	003
Capelferne	o	—
Charleton	o	02
Buckland *juxta* Dover	o	01
Ewell	o	000
Hougham	o	002
Hawkings	o	001
Liddon	o	000
St. Margaret's at Cliffe	o	005
Newington	o	00
River	o	01
Whitfeild	o	—
	7 numerous conventicles	371
R 157. ELHAM DEANERY.		
Hythe (Hith)	B. not numerous	25
And Saltwood	Q. some few	00
Acryse	o	001
Brabourne	o	004
Denton	o	001
Elham	o	006
Elmested	o	00
Horton (Monachorum)	o	03
Hastingleigh	o	02
Posting (Postling)	o	02
Stowton (Stonting)	o	18
Wodeton (Wotton)	o	00
	2 small numbers	62

CANTERBURY—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
CHARING DEANERY.		
Ashford	B. and Q. not so numerous; P. and I. 200 or 300	80
Cranbrooke	B. very numerous; Q. above 100	400
R 157*b*.		
Tenterden	B.	300
Bennenden (Behenden)	0	45
Biddenden	0	90
Bockton Malherbs (Boughton Mathers)	0	38
Bethersden (Bittersden)	0	30
Chart magna	0	07
Chart parva	0	05
Eastwell	0	02
Frittenden	0	84
Halden	0	36
Hothfield	0	22
Hawkherst	0	150
Kennington	0	10
Newenden	0	02
Pluckley	0	05
Rolvenden	0	40
Smarden	0	100
Sandherst	0	75
	400 + 2 numerous	1,521
LIMPNE DEANERY.		
Lydd	Q. numerous; B. not so numerous; I. said numerous	50
New Romney	Q.	06
R 158.		
Appledon (Appledore)	0	00
Brentsett	0	00
Brookland (Bruckland)	0	04
Bilsington	0	01
Burmersh	0	00
Dimechurch	0	—
Eboney	0	01
Hope All Saints	0	03
Hinxhill	0	01
Kingsnorth	0	02
Kenarton	0	00

CANTERBURY—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
St. Mary in the Marsh (in Marisco)	0	00
Mersham	0	04
Orlastone	0	0
Old Romney	0	11
Rucking	0	02
Seavington (Seamington) ...	0	01
Stone in Oxney	0	13
Selling	0	03
Snergate (Snargate)	0	01
Snave	0	00
Shaddoxherst	0	02
West Hith	0	00
Willesborow	0	70
Warehorne	0	00
	2 numerous + 1 not numerous	175
R 158*b*. Sittingbourne Deanery.		
Eastchurch (East Murch) ...	Pr. numerous	08
Minster	B. inconsiderable	09
Milton by Sittingbourne ...	B. inconsiderable	17
Tong	B. inconsiderable	00
Borden	0	02
Bopping...	0	00
Bapchild (Bapshild)	0	01
Bicknor (Bignor)	0	00
Hartlip (Hartcliffe)	0	02
Halstowe (Halstod)	0	00
Iwade (Eywade)	0	00
Kingsdowne	0	00
Leisdowne (Liftdowne)... ...	0	01
Milkstede	0	01
Murston (Marstead)	0	00
Newington	0	00
Queenborough	0	00
Rodmersham	0	01
Raynham	0	01
Sittingbourne	0	02
Stockbury	0	05
Tonstall (Tunstall)	0	00
Ipchurch (Upchurch)	0	00
Wicheling	0	02
Warden	0	00
	1 numerous + 3 inconsiderable	52

CANTERBURY—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
R 159. OSPRENGE DEANERY.		
Davington	Pr. 100	00
Osprenge	0	07
Bocton Bleane (Boughton subter le Blean)	0	15
Badlesmere (Bathesmeare)	0	04
Buckland	0	00
Doddington (Boodington)	0	00
Eastling (East Ling)	0	01
Feversham	0	040
Goodnestone	0	00
Graveney	0	00
Hartey (Harley)	0	00
Leaveland	0	00
Luddenham	0	00
Linsted	0	01
Norton	0	00
Newenham (Newnham)	0	00
Ottrinden (Otterden)	0	01
Owre	0	00
Preston	0	00
Stallesfield (Saltfeild)	0	02
Selling	0	00
Throughly (Throughleigh)	0	00
Tenhaw (Tenham)	0	00
Hernehill	0	06
	100	77
R 159*b*. SUTTON DEANERY.		
Sutton Valence	Q.	30
Boeton Marchesley (Boughton Munchesley)	B.	13
Goodherst	Many conventicles	100
Marden	B. 40	30
Boxley (Blaxley)	0	00
Bromfeild	0	00
Bearstead (Barsted)	0	04
Breadherst	0	—
Chart by Sutton	0	00
East Sutton	0	04
Frensted (Frinstead)	0	00
Harrietsham	0	19
Hacking	0	02
Hollingbourne	0	02
Lenham	0	22
Linton	0	00

CANTERBURY—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
Langley	0	02
Leeds	0	14
Loose	0	04
Maydstone	0	310
Otham (Oatham)	0	10
Staplehurst	0	160
Thurnham	0	03
Ulcombe (Ulcome)	0	10
Wormeshill	0	00
	40 + many conventicles	739
WESTBERE DEANERY.		
Chislett	B. 80 or 100 from all parts	000
Hearne	40 or 50 from several places	16
R 160.		
Westbere	0	000
St. Nicholas at Wode (Wade)	0	00
St. Lawrence	0	050
St. Peter in Thanet	0	024
Whitstable	0	000
Birchington	0	—
Mouncton	0	—
Reculver	0	03
Hoath (Heath)	0	00
St. John's in Thanet	0	015
Minster in Thanet	0	003
Swalcliffe (Swacliffe)	0	000
Seasalter	0	000
	120 or 150	111
SUMMARY.		
1. Canterbury City	500 + 3*x*	1,891
2. Sandwich Deanery	Very numerous	415
3. Bredge Deanery	360 + 5 numerous convtls.	297
4. Dover Deanery	7 numerous conventicles	371
5. Elham Deanery	2 (small numbers)	62
6. Charing Deanery	400 + 2 numerous convtls.	1,521
7. Limpne Deanery	2 numerous convntls. + 1 not numerous	175
8. Sittingbourne Deanery	1 numerous convtls. + 3 inconsiderable	52
9. Osprenge Deanery	100	77
10. Sutton Deanery	40 + many conventicles	739
11. Westbere Deanery	120 or 150	111
	1,550 + 28 conventicles	5,711

II. SARUM (BISHOP SETH WARD).

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
R 237. ARCHDEACONRY OF WILTS.		
Aldburne (Auborne)	200 or 300	28
Marleborough St. Mary	—	150 (299)
Marleborough St. Peter	—	100
Collingborne Ducis	30 or 40	00
Collingbourne Reg. (Kingston)	—	00
Purton	Q. about 100	18
Seagry	B. near 100	06
R 237*b*.		
Dracot Cerne (Cerne)	Q. many	07
Leigh by Garsdon	—	03 + 02
Chippenham	B.	134
Grittleton	B. and Pr.	24
Yatton	0	04
Colerne	Q.	22
R 238.		
Sutton Benger	Q. 400	25
Ditcheridge	B. and Q.	02
Shereston	Very small	04
Haughtenford	Q.	—
Castle Combe	—	08
Charlton, etc.	300 or 400	000
R 238*b*.		
Alton-Barnes	0	00
Hedington	0	16
Compton-Bassett	0	21
Wotton Bassett	0	—
Cleve Peparol (Cl. Pepper)	0	00
Ashlington (Ashley)	0	00
Bitcham-Stocke	0	00
Staunton Bernard	0	00
Woodborough	0	09
Winterbourne Monkton	200 or 300	00
Avebury	30 or 32	25 + 274
Aleanning	0	02
East Kennet	0	—
Overton	0	05
Fifeild	0	00
Alton (Barnes)	0	00
Beechingstoke	0	00
Rowd	Q. 40	20

SARUM—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
R 239.		
Bremble (Bremhill)	Q. 300 or 400	73
North Newington (Newton) ...	0	04
Winterbourne Bassett	0	00
Broad Hinton (H. Magna) ...	0	03
Yatesbury	0	06
Calston	0	00
Calne	Pr. 200 or 300 B. 20 or 30 [300 or 400 (Arch.)]	—
ARCHDEACONRY OF BERKS.		
Wallingford	0	69 + 87
Blew-Berry	Q. 100	—
R 239*b*.		
Brimpton	Q. 100 or more	04
Newbury	Pr. 600; Q. and B. very few	40
East Ilsley	1 conventicle	12
Boxford	1 Q.	—
Lamborne	Pr. 60 or 70	27
R 240.		
Cookham	Not a few	30
Reading (St. Giles)	Hundreds	—
Bradfeild	C.	09
Sulhamsted	0	06
Cluer	0	02
Shinfeild	Q. few	30
Beenham and Tidmarsh ...	0	00
Englesfeild (Inglesfeild) ...	0	02
Remneham	0	—
Bray	0	05
Ufton	0	00
Windsor Nova	100 or more	115
R 240*b*.		
Reading	2 conventicles	140 + 442
Sutton Courtney	About 20	5 or 6 families
Drayton	About 150 }	100 + 436
Abingdon (St. Helen's) ...	Near 100 }	
Tubney	Dr. L.'s conventicle	00
Appleton	1 C.	39
Longworth	B.	47
Foxton Waldridge	1 C.	—

SARUM—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
R 241.		
Pusey *al.* Pesey	Many from several places	07
Charney	Q.	—
Great Farringdon	B.	—
Malster	Q. about 100	—
Coxwell Magna...	Sectaries many	—
Schrivenham	B. and Q.	17
Ashbury...	Q.	—
Offingdon (Uffington)	Q.	14
R 241*b*.		
West Chaloe	Q.	—
Childrey	1 C. and Q.	10
West Hendreth	Q.	—
Winton Waldridge	Fanatics about 40 or 50	—
ARCHDEACONRY OF SARUM.		
Marden	2 conventicles	16
Bishops Canning	0	—
R 242.		
Trowbridge	B. 140 or 150; P. 20 or 30; — 20; Q. 30 or 40	174
Holt	0	—
Atworth	B. 20 or 30	—
Netherhaven	0	—
Winfeild (Winckfeild)	0	02
Chiston	0	—
Bradford	P. *ca.* 200	159
Charleton	0	000
North Bradley (Norton Bradley)	B. 200 or 300	340
Melksham	Q. *ca.* 80	100
Stone	0	—
Patney	0	01
R 242*b*.		
Hilperton (Hilpington)... ...	0	35
Wilsford	0	—
Lavington	0	27
Russall	0	02
Devizes	B. 60 or 80; 5-mon^{ts} [*i.e.*, Fifth Monarchists] 40; I. 30; Q. 80 or 100 } 250	84
CHALKE DEANERY.		
Bishopston	0	02
Dinton	B. and Q.	07

SARUM—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
Damerham cum Martin	Q. 16 or 20	14
Tisbury	1 C.	06
West Knoyle (Bishop's Knoyle)	0	00
Sedghill	0	—
East Knoyle	1 C.	45
Birtford	0	—
R 243.		
Fovant	Q. and B. 12	32
Burcombe	0	—
Tiffont Evias	0	00
Bishops Funthill	0	00
Swallow Cliffe	0	—
Anstey	0	—
Funthill Gifford	0	—
Donhead St. Mary	0	30
Semley	0	04
Broad Chalke	B. 10	06
Sutton Mandeville	0	11
Donhead St. Andrew	100 or 200	45
Stratford Tony	0	02
Hindon	Some few	04
Berwick St. John's	0-4	02
Tollard Royall	0	00
Barford	0	—
Baverstoke (Baberstoke)	0	10
Compton Chamberlain	0	00
Odstock	0 C. (4 or 5 frequenters)	02
Bishopston	0	02
[N.B.—Here **R 242*b*** is repeated.]		
R 243*b*. AMESBURY DEANERY		
Bulford	0 C. (5 or 6 frequenters)	02
Winterslow	0	—
West Deane	0	03
Idmiston	0	—
Ludgersall	0	00
Brampshaw	B. very few	—
Winterborne Earles	0	—
Dantsey	0	—
Allington and Newton Tony	30 or 40	26 + 17
Durington	0 C. (B.)	—
Brickaniston (Brickston)	0 C. (B.)	02
Melston (Millston)	0 C. (B.)	00
Tighelden	0	—

SARUM—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
Lanford Rivers	0	—
Amesbury	30	10
White Parish	0	02
North Tidworth	0	00
Chute	0	—
R 244.		
Alderbury	0	—
Pitton	0	—
Farleigh	B.	—
Hornington	400 or 500	—
Mayden Bradley	B. 20	31
Wyley	0	02
Fisherton Delamer	0	—
Barwick St. James	0	—
Kingston Deverill	0	01
Mere	0	—
Stourton	0	03
Norton-Bavant	0	08
Bishops Strow	0	12
Codford St. Mary	0	—
Upton Lovel	0	—
Upton Skidmore	0	00
Westbury	B. and Q.	—
Chitterne All Saints	0	—
Tilshead (Stilshead)	0	01
R 244*b*.		
Orcheston St. Mary	0	00
Orcheston St. George	0	00
Shrewton	0	01
Maddington	0	01
Winterbourne Stoke	0	03
Stapleford	0	03
Stockton	0	00
Heylesbury	0	—
Fenny (Henny) Sutton	0	18
Deverill Langbridge	0	27
Monkton	0	—
Chittern St. Mary	0	01
Rolston	1 C.; number inconsiderable	02
Warminster	P. 200 or 300	56 families
Steeple Langford	0	01
Langford Parva (Lanford Parva)	0	00
Boyton	0 (5 frequenters)	06

SARUM—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
Wilton Deanery.		
Fisherton	o	Many scores
South Newton	B.	20
Dounton	o	—
R 245.		
Foulstone	o	—
Wilton	o	—
Sarum City	o C. (11 frequenters)	12
Stratford sub-castro	o	04
St. Edmund's	1	44
R 247. Com̃ Dorset.		
Brece Regis	o	—
Kingston	o	—
Bloxford	o	—
Anderton Fiveash	o	—
Tompson	o	—
Turner's Puddle	Pr. 40 or 50	—
Alton Pancras	o	—
Charminster	o	—
Stratton	o	—
Froome Whitfeild	o	—
Fordington	200	—
Hermitage	50 or 60	—
Preston	o	—
R 247*b*.		
Lime Regis	200 or 300	—
Halstocke	o	—
Chardstocke	o	—
Wambrooke	o	—
Netherbury	o	—
Beaminster	100	—
Maperton	o	—
Yetminster and Clifton	60 or 70	—
Grimston	o	—
Ligh	o	—
Chetwell	o	—
Rime Intrinseca	Q. 20 or 30	—
R 248.		
Stockwood	o	—
Sherborne	o	—
Castletowne	o	—

SARUM—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
Woborne	0	—
Folke	0	—
Slaydon	0	—
Long Burton	0	—
Holnest	0	—
North Wotton	0	—
Lillington	P. 300 or above	—
Candlemarsh	0	—
Beere Haggatt	0	—
Over Compton	Pr. 70 or 80	—
Nether Compton	0	—
Thornford	0	—
R 248. In Com̃ Devon.		
Ilfcomb *al.* Ofculme (Ulfcombe)	300	—
R 248*b*. In Com̃ Berks.		
Hungerford	100	Berks, 1196
Sonning	0	—
Okeingham	Pr. 200; B. 10 or 12	—
Hurst	0	—
Ruscomb	0	—
Sandhurst	0	—
Arborfeild	0	—
Blew-berry	Q. 100	—
Upton Auston Upthroope	Q.	—
R 249.		
Wantage *al.* Wanting	Pr. 400 or 500	—
Chipping	Q.	—
Farringdon	Q.; B. 25	—
In Com̃ Wilts.		
Meere (*vide* **R 244**)	0	—
Heytesbury (? *i.q.* Heylesbury, **R 244***b*)	0	—
Knooke	0	—
Hornisham	Pr. 600 or 700	—
Tythrington	0	—
Swallowcleife	0	—
Huldevill	0	—
Stratford	0	—

SARUM—*Continued.*

Parishes.	1669.	1676.
R 249*b*.		
Bedwin magna	0	—
Bedwin parva	0	—
Burbage...	B. 30 or 40	—
Ogborne St. George	0	—
Ogborne St. Andrew	0	—
Romesbury	Pr. 40 or 60	—
Shalburne	0	—
Chute	0	—
Highworth	0	—
Blunsdon and Marston	0	—
Sevenhampton	0	—
Bishopton	0	—
Calne (**R 239**)	Pr. 300 or 400	—
R 250.		
Barwick Bassett...	Pr. and I. 60 or 70	—
Cherill	0	—
Blackland	0	—
Yetsbury	0	6
Netherhaven	0	—
Willesford	0	—
Woodford	0	—
Darneford	0	—
Comb. Bissett (Compton Bassett)	0	21
Harnham	0	—

On a comparison of the columns in these two sets, one thing strikes the student at once. It is much easier to estimate the local differences in the Canterbury Returns (both in individual parishes and in the several deaneries or archdeaconries, as the case may be) than in those of Sarum.

But it will be found even there that the totals reached in this detailed schedule and those given in the Summary (on p. 803) do not exactly agree. Still, that is due to the fact that I could retain in this schedule only those items which appeared in both Returns. (There is a slight variation in the names of the parishes included in the two lists.)

It would be too tedious to attempt an exhaustive comparison; but there are some cases in which the contrast is striking. For the City of Canterbury the 1676 Census shows nearly 1,900 Nonconformists, as against 500, plus 3 unnumbered Conventicles in 1669; in Sandwich 315 are returned in 1676 to only one 'v. numerous' Conventicle in 1669; but at Ash, from the 200 or 300 of 1669, the 1676 Census drops to only 100. In Ashford and Cranbrook the figures are about the same; but at Tenterden the single Baptist Conventicle of 1669 becomes 300 in 1676; and in the 17 parishes for which the 1669 Returns give no conventicles at all, we find in 1676 no less than 741 variously distributed among them.

So in the Limpne Deanery three conventicles (unestimated) become 175 individuals, and in the Sutton Deanery a Return of 40 individuals and many Conventicles become in the 1676 Census 739. For the Diocese of Canterbury these scattered hints must suffice; but for the Diocese of Sarum, I cannot attempt even as much as this. It must be left to the student of separate localities or parishes to give the patient analyses of the figures furnished which alone can yield any satisfactory result.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

EPISCOPAL RETURN FOR OXFORD

COUNTY AND DIOCESE OF OXON

Parishes and Conventicles in them.	Sects.	Numbers.	Quality and Abettors.	Teachers.
[R 232.]				
HENLEY.				
1. In y^{e} house of W^{m} Walters i	Quakers	40 or 50	The principal Frequenters & promoters of both these Meetings are such as were Officers & Soldiers in y^{e} Parliament Army	M^{r} Farrington, M^{r} Mayo, M^{r} John Rice (Nonconformist Ministers)
2. In the house of W^{m} Craw, a London Vintner, once in three weeks, or oftener sometimes i	All other sorts of Sectaries but chiefly Presbyterian			
THAME.				
3. In y^{e} houses sometimes of John Burton, sometimes W^{m} Atkins, &c. i	Presbyterians, Anabaptists, etc.	About 200		M^{r} Swinnock, M^{r} Bennet, M^{r} Clarke (Nonconformist Ministers)
This Meeting upon y^{e} appearing of the Justices is removed into Buckinghamshire.				
WATLINGTON.				
4. In the house of John Ovey Fellmonger i	Mixt of Presbyterians, Anabaptists &c.		The same Ovey is a notorious Ringleader	And the same is for the most the Speaker
5. In the house of Mary East, Wid., & sometimes of Gregory West, Weaver i	Sabbatarians who observe Saturday			

COUNTY AND DIOCESE OF OXON—*Continued.*

Parishes and Conventicles in them.	Sects.	Numbers.	Quality and Abettors.	Teachers.
[R 232]—*Continued.*				
LEWKNOR.				
6. In the Houses of Thos. Stevens, W^{m} North, Christopher North, M^{r} Huish, but especially at Woomkey House [query Wormsley] i	Anabaptists	About 30		M^{r} Collins, Teacher
KINGSTON.				
7. In the house of Richard Chitch, John North, & M^{rs} Mary North	Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers & Sabbatarians mixt	About 30 or 40		Rich^{d} Chitch & John North (Domestique Teachers), M^{r} Button & one Belch^{r} Forein^{rs}, who under pretence of receiving the rent come hither to teach
[1 to 7 all south-east of Oxford]				
WORBOROUGH.				
8. At the house of Tho. Gilpin, an Oliverian Soldier, & a great Seducer i	Quakers, Every Sunday & sometimes on Week-day			The same Gilpin is for most part the Speaker
9. At the house of Margaret Hinton, on Saturdays i	Sabbatarians	40 or 50		Stamp, a Brasier of Abingdon, & other teachers
10. Kept by John Bersley, son of the said Margaret Hinton, at her howse Monthly i	Anabaptists	About 100	The same Bersley, great Abettor	William Duggrove, Tobacco Cutter of Berwick, John Tomkins, Bottle-maker, John Combes, Shoe-maker, both of Abington
[8 to 10 also south-east of Oxford]				

[R 238.]

CHARLBURY.					
11. In the house of Alexander Harris, on Sundays & Fridays most weeks	i	Quakers	About 30		
CHADLINGTON.					
12. In the house of Rob. Clemnts an old Anabaptisticall Soldier	i	Presbyterians, Anabaptists, &c.	About 30		The said Rob^t Clements is for the most part y^e Speaker, & sometimes one Dunce an itinerant Nonconformist
CHIPPING NORTON.					
13. In y^e house of Josiah Lilson, on Sundays Monthly	i	Independents	20 or 30		Their Teacher not certaine, but often one Worden, formerly a Shoemaker
HOOKE NORTON.					
14. In y^e house of James Wilmot, on Sunday Monthly	i	Anabaptists	About 60	Leading persons such as were Soldiers under Lambert	James Wilmot Samuel Wilmot John Langley } Teachers
MILTON (UNDER WYCHWOOD).					
15. In y^e house of Robert Seacole, at Shipton under Whichwood, Monthly	i	Quakers	80 or thereabout		

COUNTY AND DIOCESE OF OXON—*Continued.*

Parishes and Conventicles in them.	Sects.	Numbers.	Quality and Abettors.	Teachers.
[**R 233***b.*]				
ADDERBURY.				
16. In the houses of M^r Bray Doyley, sometimes of William Gardener, sometimes of Widow Swift. Weekly	Sometimes Quakers, sometimes Presbyterians & Anabaptists	Sometimes 200		M^r Wells M^r Whately M^r Newell } Nonconformist ministers
TADMERTON.				
17. At y^e house of W^m Potter. Every other Fryday i	Quakers	About 80	Principal abettors y^e s^d W^m Potter, John Elm, Benjamin Ward, a Quarter Master in Cromwell's Army	
SUADESCLIFFE [SWALCLIFF].				
18. In y^e house of Charles Archer at Burdrop i	Anabaptists	About 50		The same Archer, & one Wilmore of Hooke Norton are y^e Teachers
19. In y^e house of Tho^s Gilkes at Sibbord Gore [Sibberds Gore] i	Quakers			
BLOXHAM.				
20. In one Ingram's howse once a month i	Anabaptists	Neither in any considerable numbers		
21. In y^e house of George Anson i	Quakers			

[R 234.]				
BURCESTER [*i.e.*, BICESTER].				
22. In y^e house or Barne of Thomas Harriss, Baker i	Separatists of all sorts	100 or 200		M^r Bagshawe, M^r Wells, M^r Swinnock, M^r Dod, M^r Troughton, M^r Whateley (Nonconformist ministers)
In this &	Place they have a Pulpit, are said by reason of their	Seats & Ga impunity to	lleries erected : increase.	
DADDINGTON.				
23. In y^e houses of Timothy Bicknell, Widd. Wyer. But most frequently in M^r Whateley's Barne at Hampton, on Sundays i	Presbyterians	About 40		The said M^r Whateley is for most their Teacher
[R 235.]				
BRIZE NORTON.				
24. In the house of Francis Dring upon Sundays, once a Month	Quakers	About 100	The said Francis Dring a great Ringleader of y^e Sect	And is also himself a Preacher
NORTH LEIGH ('LYE,' R. Morden).				
25. At the house of Tho: Taylor i	Quakers	60 or more		
WILLCOT.				
26. In the house of Francis Ambrose i	Anabaptists	Towards 100	The said Ambrose a great promoter of such meetings	One Coombes, a Miller of Abingdon, their teacher

COUNTY AND DIOCESE OF OXON—*Continued.*

Parishes and Conventicles in them.	Sects.	Numbers.	Quality and Abettors.	Teachers.
[R 235]—*Continued.* Coggs.				
27. In the howse of one M^{r} Blake* of y^{e} Fine Office—once & sometimes twice every Lord's Day	Presbyterians & Independents	About 200	Edward Wise, Rich^{d} Cruchfield, and the Steward of y^{e} s^{d} Blake—by the said Blake's encouragement—are great promoters of this Meeting in defiance of authority	The Teachers are a combination of Non-Conformist Ministers: viz., D^{r} Langley, M^{r} Cornish, M^{r} Dod, M^{r} Troughton, & M^{r} Conoway

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* Rev. John Stanley, F.S.A., thinks this 'M^{r} Blake of the Fines Office' is the 'Blake' (or 'Blakin, late Justice of the Peace') of Covent Garden who on August 5, 1664, was informed against (S. P. Dom. Car. II. 101, 102) as keeping a fashionable Conventicle in Covent Garden, 'where were p^{r}sent many ꝑsons of quality, viz: The Countess of Valentia & Peterborough & Anglesey, the 2 Lady Ermyns, & 4 or '5 Kn^{t} whose names could not bee learnt, where *Blake* himselfe, late justice of peace pray'd, & M^{r} Cockaine, now a 5^{t} Monarchist p^{r}ched: 'about 200 people in all.' There was a William Blake, a wealthy draper, who, early in the reign of Charles II., purchased Earl Dorchester's mansion at Highgate, and turned it into an orphanage (or orphan asylum), where forty fatherless boys and girls were to be educated in painting, as well as more practically useful subjects ('Old and New London,' vol. v., p. 424).

APPENDIX II.

CLASSIFIED SUMMARY—OXFORD.

I. PRESBYTERIAN.

1. *Banbury* (*vide* Vol. II., p. 826).

2. *Adderbury*.
    - (1) **M^{r} Wells** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 120), ej. from Banbury.
        - '69 : **R.** (**233***b*) Ps. at A.
    - (2) **M^{r} Whately** (t^{r}) ('T. Wheatley') (Cal. iii. 350), ej. from Sutton-under-Brailes (Warw.)
        - '69 : **R.** (**233***b*). Preaching at Adderbury.
    - (3) **M^{r} Newell** (t^{r}), *i.q.*, Christopher Nevil (Cal. iii. 121), ej. from Bloxham.
        - '69 : **R.** (**233***b*), Prs. at Adderbury.
    - (4) M^{r} Bray Doyley's howse (m.pl.).
        - '69 : **R.** (**233***b*).
    - (5) William Gardener's house (m.pl.).
        - '69 **R.** (**233***b*).
    - (6) Widow Swift's house (m.pl.).
        - '69 : **R.** (**233***b*).
    - (7) Josiah Cox's house (m.pl.).
        - '72 : **E.** (**232**), **L.I.** Aug. 10, '72.

3. *Deddington* (Doddington).
    - (1) **Thomas Wheatley** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 350), ej. from Sutton-under-Brailes (Warw.).
        - (i.) '69 : **R.** (**234**), P^{g} at Daddington, in his own Barne.
    - (2) **Thomas Wheatley's** house (m.pl.).
        - '72 : **321** (**364***b*), appl. by Ja: Innes, junr. : **E.** (**171**) ? **L.I.**
    - (3) **Thomas Wheatley's** Barne (at Hampton, close to Daddington (m.pl.)
        - ? *i.q.* (2).
        - '69 : **R.** (**234**).
    - (4) **Timothy Bicknell's** house (m.pl.).
        - (i.) '69 : **R.** (**234**).
        - (ii.) '72 : **321** (**364***b*), app. by Ja: Innes jun^{r} ; ? was licence granted.

(5) Philip Appletree's house (m.pl.).
'72: **321** **(311)**, appl. by Rich. Steele (to M^r Benson), June 4, '72; **E.** **(153)**, **L.I.** June 10, '72, 'Dedington'); I.

(6) Widow Wyer's house (m.pl.).
'69: **R.** **(234)**.

4. *Caversfield.*

(1) **John Troughton** (t^r), John Troughton (Cal. i. 235), ej. from Fellowship of St. John's College, Oxford.
'72: **E.** **(19)**, **L.I.** Ap. 13, '72; **I.**

(2) William Burnard's farm (m.pl.).
'72: **E.** **(20)**, **L.I.** Ap. 13, '72; **I.**

5. *Bicester* ('Burcester,' 'Bisseter').

(1) M^r **Bagshaw** (t^r), Edward Bagshaw, M.A. (Cal. iii. 111-114), ej. from Ambrosden.
'69: **R.** **(234)**. P^g at Burcester.

(2) M^r **Wells** (t^r), *i.e.*, Samuel Wells, M.A. (Cal. iii. 120), ej. from Banbury.
'69: **R.** **(234)**, P^g at Burcester.

(3) M^r **Swinnock** (t^r) Geo. Swinnock (Cal. i. 303-304), ej. from Great Kymble (Bucks).
'69: **R.** **(234)** P^g at Burcester; also at Thame [**R.** **(232)**].

(4) M^r **Dod** (t^r) M^r John Dod (Cal. iii. 123), ej. from Nether Heyford.
'69: **R.** **(234)** P^g at Burcester.

(5) M^r **Troughton** (t^r) (Cal. i. 235), ej. from Fellowship of St. John's Coll: Oxford.
(i.) '69: **R.** **(234)** P^g at Burcester.
(ii.) '72: **E.** **(187)** ? **L.I.** ('Traughton').

(6) Thomas Harriss's 'house or Barne' (m.pl.).
'69: **R.** **(234)** 'Baker.' 'In this Place they have Pulpit, Seats & Galleries, &c.'

(7) **John Troughton's** house (m.pl.).
'72: **E.** **(187)** ? **L.I.**

6. *Chadlington.*

(1) **One Dunce** (t^r) ? *i.q.*, John Dunce (Cal. ii. 251), ej. from Hasleton, Gl.
'69: **R.** **(233)**.
[(2) Robt. Clements's ho:—*Anabaptist.*]

7. *Milton-under-Wychwood.*

Samuel Cox's house (m.pl.).
'72: **321** **(311)**, appl. by Richard Steele, June 4, '72; **E.** **(153)**, **L.I.** June 10; '72 **I.**

8. *Radcot.*

Ann Beck's house (m.pl.).
'72: **E.** **(230)**, **L.I.** Aug. 10, '72 (1); **E.** **(243)**, **L.I.** Sep. 5, '72 C.—[W. H. S. 'Peck.']

9. *Whitney.*
vide Vol. II., p. 827.

10. *Coggs.*
- (1) **Mr Langley** (tr) *i.e.*, Henry Langley, D.D. (Cal. i. 254-257), ej. from Mastership of Pembroke Coll: Oxford. [**R.** (**235**)], Pg at Coggs.
- (2) **Mr Cornish** (tr) Henry Cornish, B.D. (Cal. i. 215, 216), ej. from Christ Church Coll: Oxf.
  '69 : [**R.** (**235**)], Pg at Coggs. [Aftds licd at Stanton-Harcourt, *vide* Vol. II., pp. 827, 828.]
- (3) **Mr Dod** : Mr John Dod (Cal. iii. 123), ej. from Nether Heyford (O.).
  '69 : **R.** (**235**), Pg at Coggs.
- (4) **Mr Troughton** (tr) John Troughton (Cal. i. 235), ej. from Fellowship of St. John's Coll: Oxf.
  '69 : **R.** (**235**), Pg at Coggs.
- (5) **Mr Connoway** (tr), *i.q.*, Mr Conway (Cal. i. 246), ej. from Magdalen Hall, Oxon.
  '69 : **R.** (**235**), pg at Coggs.
- (6) Mr Blake's house (m.pl.).
  '69 : **R.** (**235**), 'Mr Blake of the Fine Office.'
- (7) Edward Wise (A).
  '69 : **R.** (**235**).
- (8) Richard Cruchfield (A).
  '69 : **R.** (**235**).
- (9) Mr Blake's Steward (A).
  '69 : **R.** (**235**).

11. *Stanton-Harcourt.*
vide Vol. II., pp. 827-828.

12. *Woodstock.*
vide Vol. II., p. 828.

13. *Oxford.*
vide Vol. II., p. 828.

14. *Sandford.*
vide Vol. II., p. 828.

15. *Thame.*
- (1) **Mr Swinnock** (tr) Geo. Swinnock (Cal. i. 303-304), ej. from Great Kymble (BK).
  '69 : **R.** (**232**), Pg at Thame; also **R.** (**234**) at Bicester.
- (2) **Mr Bennett** (tr), *i.e.*, Robert Bennett (Cal. i. 308-309), ej. from Waddesdon (BK).
  '69 : **R.** (**232**), Pg at Thame.
- (3) **Mr Clarke** (tr) (Cal. i. 122), ej. from Chipping Norton.
  '69 : **R.** (**232**), Pg at Thame.

(4) John Burton's house (m.pl.).
'69 : [**R.** (**232**)].

(5) William Atkins's house (m.pl.)
'69 : **R.** (**232**).

16. *Kingston* (Kingston Blount), south-east of Thame.

(1) **Mr Button** (tr) Ralph Button (Cal. i. 215 and iii. 126-127), ej. from Canonry of Christchurch Oxon, and Oratorship to Oxfd University.
'69 : **R.** (**232**) 'Foreiner,' Pg at Kingston.

(2) One Belcher (tr)? *i.q.*, Wm. Belcher, a Sabbatarian Baptist, son of William Belcher, A.M. (Cal. ii. 338), ej. from Ulcomb, Kent.
'69: **R.** (**232**), pg at Kingston ('Foreiner').

(3) Richard Chitch (tr).
'69 : **R.** (**232**) ('Domestique Teacher').

(4) John North (tr).
'69 : **R.** (**232**) ('Domestique Teacher').

(5) Richard Chitch's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** (**232**).

(6) John North's house (m.pl.)
'69 : **R.** (**232**).

(7) Mrs Mary North's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** (**232**).

17. *Watlington.*

(1) John Ovey (tr).
'69 : **R.** (**232**), 'Fellmonger,' 'Notorious Ringleader.'

(2) John Ovey's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** (**232**).

(3) John Harper's house (m.pl.).
'72 : **E.** (**223**), **L.I.** Aug. 8, '72.

18. *Nettlebed.*

Thomas Colle's house (m.pl.).
'72 : **E.** (**260**) ? **L.I.**

19. *Henley-on-Thames.*

(1) **Mr Farrington** (tr), ? *i.q.*, Mr F. (Cal. ii. 289), ej. from Aston (Herefd).
'69 : **R.** (**232**), pg at Henley; *i.q.*, **R. 219*b***, pg at Horse-shoe Round, Smithfield.

(2) **Mr Mayo** (tr), Richard Mayo (Cal. iii. 204), ej. from Kingston-on-Thames.
'69 : **R.** (**232**), pg at Henley.

(3) **Mr John Rice** (tr).
'69 : **R.** (**232**), 'a Nonconformist minister' [Cal does not know him].

(4) William Craw's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** (**232**), 'a London Vintner.'

20. *Maple Durham.*
vide Vol. II., p. 828.

II. CONGREGATIONAL.

1. *Chipping Norton.*
(1) One Worden (t^r), ? *i.q.*, Thomas Worden, lic^d as a Congr^r teacher at *Hinton Waldrist*, Berks, June 20, '72 [**E.** (**151**)].
'69: **R.** (**233**), p^g at Ch. N. ('formerly a Shoemaker').
(2) Josiah Lilson's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** (**233**), 'Independents.'
(3) The Town Hall (m.pl.).
'72 : **320** (**56**), appl. by S. Ford. No licence.
(4) Josiah Difion's house (m.pl.).
'72 : **E.** (**183**), ? **L.I.**

2. *Coggs* (close to Witney).
ut Presbyterians No. 10.

3. *Worton.*
John Higgin's house (m.pl.).
'72: **E.** (**183**), ? **L.I.**

4. *Oxford.*
vide Vol. II., p. 829.

5. *Dorchester.*
Lawrence Overy's house (m.pl.).
'72 : **E.** (**234**), **L.I.** Aug. 10, '72.

6. *Thame.*
Edward Howes' house (m.pl.).
'72 : **E.** (**234**), **L.I.** Aug. 10, '72.

7. *Kingston.*
ut Presbyterians No. 16.

8. *Latchford.*
George Gooding's house (m.pl.) *vide* Vol. II., p. 829.

9. *Watlington.*
vide Vol. II., p. 829 : (1) **Stephen Coven** (t^r), and
(2) Thomas Ovey's house (m.pl.).
[N.B.—In '69 : *John Ovey* (t^r and ho :) for PR. and B.]

10. *Henley-on-Thames.*
As for *Presb.* No. 19.
And *vide* Vol. II., pp. 829 and 830.

11. *Shiplake* ('Shiplack').
William Bray's house (m.pl.).
'72 : **E. (234)**, **L.I.** Aug. 10, '72.

III. Baptist.

1. *Swalecliffe* ('Suadescliffe').
(1) Charles Archer (t^r).
'69 : **R. (233)**, 'at Burdrop.'
(2) One Wilmore (t^r).
'69: **R. (233)**, 'of Hooke Norton.'
(3) Charles Archer's house (m.pl.).
'69: **R. (233).**

2. *Adderbury.*
ut for Presbyterians.
'69: **R. (233)**, No. 2.

3. *Bloxham.*
One Ingram's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R. (233).**

4. *Hook Norton.*
(1) James Wilmot (t^r).
'69: **R. (233)**. P^g at H. N.
(2) Samuel Wilmot (t^r).
'69: **R. (233)**. P^g at H. N.
(3) John Langley (t^r).
'69: **R. (233)**. P^g at H. N.
(4) James Wilmot's house (m.pl.).
'69: **R. (233).**
[? any relative of Philip Willmot of Haddenham (Bucks), at whose ho: in '69 a Bapt. conv. was held (**R. 214***b*).]

5. *Finstock.*
vide Vol. II., p. 830.

6. *Wilcot* ('Willcot').
(1) One Coombes (t^r).
'69 : **R. (235)**, P^g at W. ('a Miller of Abingdon').
(2) Francis Ambrose's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R. (235)** ('a great promoter of such meetings').

7. *Witney.*
vide Vol. II., p. 830.

8. *Wolvercut.*
   vide Vol. II., p. 830.

9. *Oxford.*
   vide Vol. II., p. 830.

10. *Thame.*
   ut for *Presbyterians* No. 15.

11. *Kingston.*
   ut for Presb. No. 16.

12. *Lewknor.*
   (1) M^r Collins (t^r).
      '69 : **R.** (232).
   (2) Thomas Stevens's house (m.pl.).
      '69 : **R.** (232).
   (3) William North's house (m.pl.).
      '69 : **R.** (232).
   (4) Christopher North's house (m.pl.).
      '69 : **R.** (232).
   (5) M^r Huish's house (m.pl.).
      '69 : **R.** (232).
   (6) Woomkey House (m.pl.), ? *i.q.*, Wornsley Ho.
      '69 : **R.** (232).

13. *Watlington.*
   (1) John Ovey (t^r). } *ut* for Presb. No. 17.
   (2) John Ovey's house (m.pl.). }
   (3) Mary East's house (m.pl.).
      '69 : **R.** (232), 'Sabbatarians, who observe Saturday.'
   (4) Gregory West's house (m.pl).
      '69 : **R.** (232), 'Weaver.'

14. *Worborough.*
   (1) Stamp (t^r), of Abingdon.
      '69 : **R. 232**, 'a Brasier,' 'Sabbatarians.'
   (2) Margaret Hinton's house (m.pl.).
      69 : **R.** (232), 'on Saturdays.'

IV. QUAKERS.

1. *Swalecliffe* ('Suadescliffe').
   Thomas Gilkes's house (m.pl.).
      '69 : **R.** (233), 'at Sibbord Gore' ('Silford Gower').

2. *Tadmarton* ('Tadmerton').
   (1) William Potter's house (m.pl.).
      '69 : **R.** (233), also 'a principal Abettor.'

(2) John Elm (A.).
'69 : **R.** **(233)**.

(3) Benjamin Ward (A.).
'69 : **R.** **(233)**, 'a Quarter Master in Cromwell's Army.'

3. *Bloxham.*

George Anson's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(233*b*)**.

4. *Adderbury.*

? M^r^ Bray Doyley's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(233*b*)**.

5. *Charlbury.*

Alexander Harris's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(233)**.

6. *Milton* parish (*Shipton-under-Wychwood*).

Robert Seacole's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(233)**.

7. *North Leigh.*

Thomas Taylor's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(235)**.

8. *Brise-Norton.*

(1) Francis Dring (t^r), and (A.).
'69 : **R.** **(235)** ('a great Ringleader of y^e Sect').

(2) Francis Dring's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(235)**.

9. *Kingston.*

? Richard Chitch's ho:
'69 : **R.** **(232)**, *ut* Presb. No. 16.

10. *Worborough.*

(1) Thomas Gilpin (t^r).
'69 : **R.** **(232*b*)**.

(2) Thomas Gilpin's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(232*b*)**, 'an Oliverian Soldier, and a great Seducer.'

11. *Henley-on-Thames.*

(1) William Walter's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R.** **(232)** frequenters 'such as were Officers & Soldiers in y^e Parliament Army.'

APPENDIX III.

Dr. Whitley's comments and corrections on the names occurring in my Classified Summary (Vol. II.), where the statements or implications contained in that Summary he judges to be erroneous.

I give them in the concisest form :

PAGE

634. *Northumberland.*

Insert at foot of page :

III. Baptist.

Newcastle.

'69 : **R. 287,** 'Conventicles there.'

Turner, the Baptist pastor, is known by entry of 1673 or 1674 ; the Baptist church is known from 1652.

636. *Durham.*

Henry Blackett of *Witton-le-Wear.* Dr. Whitley claims as Baptist in 1698, when he witnessed the formation of the Bridlington Church ; pastor of the Muggleswick Church traditionally 'upwards of forty years' before his death in 1705. [Though I have to add that from the archives of York Diocesan Registry I find that in 1665 he was 'presented' as 'of Witton sup Weare,' with George Dixon and Jane, his wife, as an Independent.]

644. *Yorks.*

(1) After 'Baptist' *delete* 'None,' and *transfer* from p. 666 :

Stokesley.

(1) Henry Courtier (t^r^).

'69 : **R. 281**_b_ ('a Felt maker').

(2) Henry Rountree's house (m.pl.).

'69 : **R. 281**_b_.

647. (2) *Insert* at foot of page [transferred from 'Papists,' VI. 3 (p. 668)] :

9*a*. *Barwick in Elmet.*

(1) One **Hardcastle** (t^r^) (Cal. iii. 426), ej. from Bramham.

'69 : **R. 284***b*.

(2) (?) Robert Hardcastle's house (m.pl.).

'69 : **R. 284***b* (his brother).

[Their names occur in Oliver Heywood's Diaries.—Dr. Wh.]

PAGE
663. *Sheffield.*

I have placed Joseph Hancock among the Congregationalists. But Dr. Whitley says he was 'traditionally Bapt.'

677. *Lancashire.*

The Thomas Christian, licensed in 1672 for Leverpoole as a *Presbyterian*, in 1665 was 'presented' as a Baptist.

712. *Derbyshire.*

Daniel King and Manasseh King in Derby, whom I have placed among the Congregationalists, Dr. Whitley claims as *Baptists;* from contemporary records of 1651 onwards.

There are also omitted from the *Baptist* section on p. 713:

At *Moniash.*

(1) John Gratton's house (m.pl.).
'69: **R.** (**191***b*).

and probably:

(2) Thomas Watton's house (m.pl.)
'72: **E.** (**184**).

728. *Lincolnshire.*

At *Stickford* I have Mr. Snell among the *Presbyterians.* Dr. Whitley says Anthony Snell was certainly *Baptist* in 1651.

731. At *Bassingham*

I have put Edward Browne among the *Baptists*, because so designated in **E.** (**225**). But Dr. Whitley will not acknowledge him. He says the application [**321** (**336**)] is right in making him a Presbyterian.

736. In *Salop.*

At *Stoke upon Tern*, Thomas Low (whom I have put among the Presbyterians), Dr. Whitley says was a Baptist as early as 1685, evangelizing in Lancashire and Cheshire.

761. In *Leicestershire*

I have placed *John Owneby* among the Presbyterians of *Barwell.* Dr. Whitley says he was a *Baptist. John Kitching*, too, was a *Baptist*, as so placed twice on p. 771.

But he was not 'ejected' *John Kitchen*, but an *ironmonger* of *Leire.*

Further, the William Biges and Edward Cheney of *Earl Shilton*, were not Presbyterians but *Baptists.*

762. The 'one *Farmer*,' too, whom I have placed as a Presbyterian of Kibworth, and ejected from Leire, was *Richard Farmer*, a Baptist yeoman of Kilby.

764. *Henry Hartshorne* of *Lubbenham*, again, was not a Presbyterian, but a *Baptist*, Dr. Whitley says; as shown by Baptist records of 1651 onwards.

PAGE

767. The Congregationalist *Richard Adams*, of *Mount Sorrell*, Dr. Whitley tells us, was a pupil of Tombes, who in 1688 became a Particular Baptist in London.

Also the *Congregationalist*, John Fox of *Blaby*, according to **E.** (**254**), Dr. Whitley says was a *Baptist.*

780. *Herefordshire.*

The '*Morouse*' where the Baptist David Jones lived (which I could not locate), Dr. Whitley identifies with *Moccas*, on the River Wye, east of Bredwardine.

786. *Worcestershire.*

'Eagleson' of *Kington*, Dr. Whitley identifies with John Eckles of Bradley.

800. *Warwickshire.*

(1) Dr. Whitley rejects the suggestion that *William Sadler*, the Baptist teacher, of *Nuneaton*, was Richard Sadler, the minister ejected from Ludlow, Salop.

801. (2) So, too, with *Phillips* of Stoneleigh and John Yates, the Baptist teachers at *Ashow*, Dr. Whitley cannot accept the identification with the rejected ministers named. Nor does he think any of the four named under Ashow were Baptists. He thinks they were much more probably either Presbyterians or Congregationalists.

802. (3) Dr. Whitley thinks the same of *Martin* (described as 'of 'Daventry') and *Jonathan Wye.* It is certain that the houses of Jonathan Wye and Robert Marsh were licensed in 1672 for *Presbyterians*, September 5, 1672 (**E. 243**), at the same time that Samuel Bryan was licensed as their Teacher.

Richard Martin, too, was ejected from *Monk's Kirby* (Cal. iii. 346) and may well have retired to Daventry. In 1669 he is reported as preaching at Birmingham (**R. 194***b*), and at Burton Dassett (**R. 195**), as well as at *Southam.*

(4) *Robert Hyarne*, of Radway, too, Dr. Whitley does not recognize or acknowledge as a Baptist.

(5) The Kington or Kinston, which I have put in Warwickshire, Dr. Whitley thinks is the *Worcester* Kington.

818. *Gloucestershire.*

Dr. Whitley points out that of the *Bristol Nonconformists:*

(1) *Mr. Ewins* is, of course, *Thomas Ewens*, Baptist pastor of Broadmead.

819. (2) *Simon Tovy* was a decided *Baptist*; and

(3) *Andrew Jifford* is *A. Gifford*, *Baptist*, though entered in **E.** (**249**) as a Presbyterian.

In the extant licence, in 'Library of Bristol Baptist College,' he says it is altered from Presbyterian to Baptist in Gifford's own handwriting.

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820. All the names under *Ruardean* and *Clearwell*, Dr. Whitley claims as Baptist. [See *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.*, III. 117.]

831. *Buckinghamshire.*

(1) *John Gibbs* of Newport Pagnell, Dr. Whitley claims as a Baptist, though he was licensed as a *Presbyterian*: **E. (139)**. [N.B.—Called an *Anabaptist* at *Olney* and *Newport Pagnell* **R. (215)**.]

832. (2) Dr. Whitley says: 'The Baptist Church at Stony Stratford claims Geo: Martin as its founder.'

833. (3) Robert Goodson of *Woodham* is in contemporary General Baptist records.

833. (4) So, too, with John Verey and Robert Clarke of *Cuddington.*

834. (5) At *Bledlow*, Dr. Whitley says 6 and 7 were Seventh Day Baptists, and Daniel Baldwin a General Baptist.

840. (6) Dr. Whitley questions whether Mr. Marriot of *Haddenham* was a Baptist.

896. *Norfolk.*

(1) **Enoch Woodward** was Baptist. [*vide Trans. B.H.S.*, III. 191.]

(2) Henry Symonds, Baptist teacher at *North Walsham*, Dr. Whitley says was *not* the Henry Symonds ejected from North Fleet, Kent; nor (2) was William Tuke of *St. Clement's*, *Norwich*, the William Tuke ejected from *Sutton-in-Ashfield*, Notts.

941. *Berks.*

Those reported in 1669 as conventicling at *Abingdon*, Dr. Whitley claims as *Baptists* (*not* Presbyterians); and so

942. *Catherine Peck*, licensed as Anabaptist, May 29, 1672 [**E. (149)**], *vide* 5 (3) p. 951.

943. So also 7, 8, 9, and 10 at *Wantage.*

963. *Middlesex.*

Dr. Whitley says: Stephen Tory flourished in Stepney, 1652-1675.

973. *London.*

(1) '*Mr. Dikes*,' Dr. Whitley says *was* the *Daniel Dyke*, ejected from Hadham Magna, Herts, *a Baptist*, as early as 1665, assistant to *Captain Kiffen* at *Finsbury Court.* He also thinks that the 'Daniel Birch' of 62 (2), p. 975, should really read 'Daniel Dyke' ('Dike').

982. (2) Dr. Whitley claims *John Light* of *Thames Street* as a *Baptist.* [*vide Trans. B.H.S.*, II. 129-160.]

PAGE

986. (3) Dr. Whitley thinks the *Powell* reported in 1669 as 'a very factious Man' must be *Vavasor Powell*, not 'Thomas Powell' of Exeter.

988. (4) *Francis Smith*, Dr. Whitley informs us, was 'a Bookseller at the Elephant and Castle.'

989. (5) Edward Harrison owned the house in *Petty France*, his son, Thomas Harrison, was the minister who had come up to London from Kensworth, Herts. [*Cf.* Urwick, 'Memorials of Nonconformity in Herts,' pp. 444, 445.]

(6) Mr. Jennings of *Limehouse* was *not* Thomas Jennings, ejected from Brimsfield, Gloucester.

990. (7) The James Jones, Baptist teacher in *the Borough*, was *not* an ejected minister, but 'a coffee-man in St. Olave's Parish.'

1004. *Kent.*

(1) The Baptist teacher, '*one Arthur*,' at Folkestone, Dr. Whitley thinks, cannot be the Dr. J. Arthur ejected from Clapham, Surrey.

1005. and 1009. (2) Dr. Whitley also questions whether *Smallwood*, ejected from Bucklesbury, Berks, who was reported at *Bledlow*, Bucks, in 1669, and was licensed for Maple Durham, Oxon, in 1672, could be the Baptist reported in *Ashford* in 1669.

1006. (3) Mr. Bright (*Marden*) should certainly be transferred to p. 995, 21 (1). He is not known as a Baptist.

(4) The George Hamond, reported as Baptist teacher at Cranbrook, and on p. 1002 as preaching at Beckley, Sussex, was not the ejected from Dorchester, but a *General Baptist Messenger* (Dr. Whitley).

1007. (5) '*Norgame*' (No. 35), must be 'St. Mary, Northgate, Canterbury' (Dr. Whitley).

1008. (6) *Benjamin Bowyer*, the Baptist teacher at Chatham, was not the ejected from *Dorset*.

1017. *Surrey.*

Francis Smith was not the ejected minister but a Bookseller of Temple Bar and Croydon.

1018. *John Wheeler*, the Baptist teacher at 'Elstood' (which is *Elstead*), was not the University man ejected from Clare Hall, Cambridge (Dr. Whitley).

1031 and 1032. *Sussex.*

Thomas Bennett, the Baptist teacher reported as preaching at *Peasemarsh* and as 'of Rolvenden, in Kent,' was no relative of Joseph Bennett, ejected from Brightling.

PAGE

1033. Nor was W. Fletcher, Baptist teacher at Chichester, brother of Edward Fletcher, ejected from Duntsborne, Gloucestershire (Dr. Whitley).

1061. *Wilts.*

(1) Thomas Collier, licensed as a *Presbyterian* teacher in *North-Bradley*, Dr. Whitley says, was a 'messenger of the *Baptists.*' [*vide Trans. B.H.S.*, I. 56, III. 1.]

1067. (2) The Mr. Tombes of *Salisbury* was not 'Tombes of Saltash, Cornwall,' who was *William.* This one was *John.*

1073. (3) The John Oxford [or Axford (F.B.)] of *Earl Stoke*, Dr. Whitley does not accept as a *Baptist.* He thinks he was probably a Presbyterian or a Congregationalist.

(4) The tailor Baptist, *Daniel King*, at North Bradley, was *not* (Dr. Whitley thinks) the minister ejected from Winterbourne, Stoke, but the preacher at Trowbridge.

1075. (5) The two houses at *Idmiston* (2) and (3), Dr. Whitley thinks are the same. Though *refused* in *May*, this was granted in July, 1672.

1076. (6) Dr. Whitley identifies 'Weeke' as *Wyke* or *Southwick*, close to *Trowbridge.*

(7) Dr. Whitley identifies 'Whitby' as *Whitley*, close to *Melksham.*

1084. *Somerset.*

(1) John Amery, junior, of *Banwell*, was not Presbyterian, but 'a Baptist elder and messenger' (Dr. Whitley); and

(2) So was Thomas Collier, of *Mark.*

1085. (3) John Aldridge, teacher at *Wells*, was a Baptist (Dr. Whitley).

1091. (4) Christopher Hawkins, here reported under *Bicknoller*, was a *Baptist* of Stogumber (Dr. Whitley).

1105. (5) John Organ, reported under *Bridgwater*, was probably a *Baptist* (Dr. Whitley).

1122. (6) Thomas Collier, Baptist at *Axbridge*, Dr. Whitley says was a 'messenger' from 1655.

1125. (7) '*Potley*,' Dr. Whitley suggests is 'Whatley,' near Frome.

1143. *Dorset.*

Matthew Bragg, of *Burstock*, was more probably *Presbyterian*, as with his house, No. 48, on p. 1136.

1180. *Devon.*

As pointed out under London (p. 986), the *Mr. Powell* of 1669 Report (**R. 220***b*) is much more probably *Vavasor Powell* than this Thomas Powell of Exeter.

1203. *Montgomery.*

On Vavasor Powell, Dr. Whitley remarks, he was also a *Baptist.*

APPENDIX IV.

ERRATA.

VOLUME I.

PAGE

256, line 16 from bottom : space between ‘Nowell’ and ‘&.’

267, ‘N. Butler’ instead of ‘J. Butler.’

305, ‘Richard Steele’ *vice* ‘Joseph Steele.’

321, *note* ‘Dr. *Nicholas* Butler’ *vice* ‘Dr. John Butler.’

359, signature ‘ ,’ not ‘M.’

393, left-hand margin should be ‘Presbiterian’ *vice* ‘esbiterian.’

559, line 16 from top : ‘Ives’ should more probably read ‘Jues’—*i.e.*, *Juice.*

587, line 6 from bottom : ‘BERKS’ *vice* ‘BUCKS.’
line 15 from top : ‘BUCKS’ *vice* ‘BERKS.’

VOLUME II.

631, (1) to line 3 *add* **320 (295)**, **L.R.** by Ja: Innes jun^{r}.
(3) to last line *add* **320 (295)**, **L.R.** by Ja: Innes, jun^{r}.
(5) to **321 (87)** *prefix* **320 (293)**, appl. in John Hickes's hand to be deliv^{d} to M^{r} Nisbet.

633, after line 1, PR., C., and B.: '69 : **R. 287.** ‘135 persons that frequent the Conventicles there’ (*i.e.*, Newcastle).

637, line 12 from bottom (‘BAPTISTS’), after ‘1. *S. Shields,*’ *insert :*

2. *Witton-le-Wear.*
Henry Blackett's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R. 285.**

639, line 9 from top : ‘Cal. i. 390’ *vice* ‘320.’
lines 12 and 13 from bottom : ‘not settled when silenced in 1662’ *vice* ‘ej. from Wetherall.’

640, *insert :*

III. BAPTISTS.—None.

IV. QUAKERS.

1. *Embleton.*
'69 : **R. 293** (‘Some Quakers’).

2. *Brigham.*
'69 : **R. 293** (‘Quakers’).

3. *Distington.*
'69 : **R. 293** (‘Quakers’).

4. *Deane.*
'69 : **R. 293** (‘Meetings of Quakers, &c.’).

5. *Lamplugh.*
'69 : **R. 293** (‘Quakers, about 20’).

6. *Loweswater.*
'69 : **R. 293** (‘Quakers’).

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644, line 6 from bottom : **L.R.** *vice* ‘Appl. (ii.)’.

line 5 from bottom : *delete* [to amend **321 (180)**].

650, line 22 from bottom : before ‘alter’d from Leeds, &c.’ *insert* (‘Saile’).

653, line 2 from top : Henry Root, *vice* Timothy Root.

line 21 from top : (*Hopton*) *vice* Richard Thorp (t^{r}) *read* ‘**Richard Thorp** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 438) ej. from Hopton.’

line 3 from bottom : **Josiah** *vice* **Joseph.**

654, line 1 : **Josiah** *vice* **Joseph.**

before ‘*Hazlehead*’ *insert :*

Saddleworth.

’69 **R. 290** (2 Conventicles).

656, line 5 from top, following ‘**E. (178)** ? **L.I.**’ *insert* ‘(1) ; **E. (181) L.I.** June 15, ’72 (2) implied : but *no* sep. licence issued.’

before line 16 from bottom *insert:*

(4) **John Shaw** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 465-470) ej. from Hull.
’69 **R. 282.**

line 16, *vice* ‘(4) **Joseph**’ *read* ‘(5) **John.**’

657, line 15 from top : ‘Jonathan Grant’ should be in **clarendon type.**

line 11 from bottom : (i.) &c. refers to **John Shaw**, not **Joseph Shaw** so that ‘(ii.)’ should be omitted on line 10 from bottom.

661, between (1) and (2) of ‘10. *Heaton*’ *insert :*

(2) **Josiah Houldsworth** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 471), ej. from Sutton, Yorks.
’72 : **320 (203)** appl. by Ti: Cloudsley ; & change (2) into (3).

665, line 9 from top : for ‘*Bradford*, near *Horton*,’ read ‘*Horton*, near *Bradford*.
after line 13 from top *insert :*

3 *Stokesley.*
Henry Rountree’s house (m.pl.).
’69 : **R. 281***b*.

4. *Pontefract.*
’69 : **R. 282***b*.
‘30 Baptists.’

line 19 from top : *read* ‘Tong.’ *vice* ‘Long.’

666, *delete* lines 6 and 7.

and between lines 19 and 20 from bottom *insert :*

9a. *Hutton Bushell* and *Wykeham.*
’69 : **R. 283.**

672, line 20 from bottom : ‘James Bradshaw’ should read ‘John Bradshaw.’

line 15 from bottom : after ‘M^{r} Hill (t^{r})’ *insert* ‘? **Matthew Hill** (Cal. iii. 471) ej. from Thirsk.’

line 9 from bottom : after ‘’72 :’ *insert* ‘**E. (67) L.I.** May 1, ’72.’

674, ‘Capallton’ identified by Rev. G. le Porteus (Nov. 27, ’11) with Coppull Chapel in Standish Parish.

7, (2), after ‘(m.pl.)’ *add* ‘att Cappallton, township in Standish [Rev. G. le Porteus].’

675, line 9 from bottom : ‘Roger Baldwin’ should be in **clarendon type**, as on p. 674.

677, line 20 from bottom : after ‘(m.pl.)’ *insert* (‘Rebecka’).

678, line 41 from top : after ‘Richard Steele ;’ *insert* ‘**320 (83 I.)** Petition signed by 13 Inhabitants ;’

between lines 4 and 5 from bottom *insert :*

(12*a*) John Leeds’s house (m.pl.).
’72 : **E. (214) L.I.** July 25, ’72.

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680, line 7 from top: 'Richard Holbrook' should be in **Clarendon type**, and *insert* after ('t^{r}'): '(Cal. ii. 377) ej. from Salford.'

681, line 12 from bottom: *delete* 'just in Westmorland' and *insert* 'in Cartmell parish, Lancs.'

685, line 10 from top: before '69 *insert* (i.); and after 'etc.' *insert:*
(ii.) John Leeds's house (m.pl.).
'72; **E.** **(214)** ? **L.I.** July 25.

691, line 12 from top: for 'Pemberton' *read* 'Peberton.'

694, between lines 19 and 20 from bottom *insert:*
6*a*. *Disley.*
'69: **R. 289.**

695, line 18 from top: instead of Andrew Barnet (t^{r}) *read* '**Andrew Barnet** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 151) ej. from Roddington (Salop).

line 22 from top: *read* '**Andrew Barnet's** house.'

697, line 11 from top: instead of [? &c. . . .] *read* '**Thomas Harrison, D.D.** (Cal. i. 330, 331), ej. from St. Warburg's, Chester Cathedral. *Vide* S. P. Dom. Car. II. 126, 13 (July 3, 1665).'

701, line 18 from top *insert:*
(1) **Samuel Charles** (t^{r}) (Cal. i. 417-421), ej. from Mickleover.
(i.) '69: **R. 191**, P^{r} at Finderne.
(ii.) '72: **E.** **(188)**, ? **L.I.**
(2) George Poynton's house (m.pl.).
'72: **E.** **(188)**, ? **L.I.**

line 19 from top: before 'Peter &c.' *insert* (3).

702, line 9 from bottom: *delete* 'Wiglaye' and *read* 'Wigleys.'

706, line 13 from top: *delete* 'Cockeyne.'

711, lines 4 to 9 inclusive should be in Section I., 'PRESBYTERIAN,' under 4., p. 701.
(4) should be altered to (1); (5) to (2); and (6) to (4).

line 3 from bottom: *delete* the 'e' in 'Hancocke.'

713, after line 16 from top, *insert:*
(3*a*) one Ainsworth.'
'69: **R. 191***b*, 'out of Leicestershire.'

after 4. *insert:*
5. *Moniash.*
(1) John Gratton's house (m.pl.).
'69: **R. 191***b*.
and probably—
(2) Thomas Watton's house (m.pl.).
'72: **E.** **(184)** ? **L.I.**

lines 6 and 4 from bottom: instead of **R. 191***b* *read* '**R. 192.**'

716, line 13 from bottom: Robert Porter should be **Robert Porter** (*vide* '*infra*').

line 11 from bottom: John Billingsley should be **John Billingsley** (*vide* '*supra*').

720, last line: between ; and **I.** *insert* **321** **(216)**, **L.R.** by Owen Davies, May 20, '72.

721, line 9 from top: between ; and **I.** *insert* **321** **(216)**, **L.R.** by Owen Davies, May 20, '72.

line 21 from bottom: between ; and **I.** *insert* **321** **(216)**, **L.R.** by Owen Davies, May 20, '72.

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721, line 17 from bottom : between ; and I. *insert* **321 (216), L.R.** by Owen Davies, May 20, '72.

722, line 8 from top : between ; and I. *insert* **321 (216), L.R.** by Owen Davies, May 20, '72.

also on lines 12 and 15 from top.

above line 5 from bottom *insert:*

(4) Mr. Layton (t^r).
'69 : **R. 278***b*.

723, line 2 from top : instead of *Markham*, *read* '*Muskham*' or '*Muscomb* (one mile north-east of Kelham).'

726, line 10 from bottom : after (' Linwood ') *insert:*

' Is it not rather the Linwood, two miles south by east of Market Rasen ?'

729, line 11 from bottom : instead of ' Manley ' *read* ' Manby.'

740, line 19 from top : before (' Cal.'), &c., *insert* ? **Thomas Quarrell.**

741, last line but 1 : for ' Jefforyes ' *read* ' Jeofforyes.'

744, below line 4 from top *insert:*

11*a*. *Hanbury*.

(1) **Mr. Henry Bee** (t^r) (Cal. iii. 234), ej. from Hanbury.
'69 : **R. 197***b*.
(2) **Mr. Thomas Ford** (t^r) (Cal. i. 410), ej. from Gresley, Derbyshire.
'69 : **R. 197***b*.
(3) Mr. Webster (t^r).
'69 : **R. 197***b*.
(4) John Oakes's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R. 197***b*.
(5) William Woodruffe's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R. 197***b*.
(6) Thomas Smeeden's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R. 197***b*.
(7) George Pibus's house (m.pl.).
'69 : **R. 197***b*.

754, line 18 from top : for ' Simone ' *read* ' Symone.'

758, line 4 from bottom : for ' George Long (t^r)' *read* '**George Long** (t^r) (Cal. iii. 239), ej. from Newcastle-under-Lyne, Staffs.'

759, line 6 from top : for ' Shirop ' *read* ' Stirrop.'

769, above line 11 from bottom *insert:*

6a. *Barkby*.

Shoemaker of Derby (t^r).
'69 : **R. 209***b*.

770, above line 5 from bottom *insert* :

19*a*. *Saddington*.

(1) William Haynsworth (t^r).
'69 : **R. 208** (' of West Langton, Labourer ').
(2) Joseph Blythe (t^r).
'69 : **R, 208** (' of Arnesby, Weaver ').
(3) Henry Hartshorne (t^r).
'69 : **R. 208** (' of Lubnam, yeom̃.).

772, line 5 from bottom : *delete* **Clarendon type** for ' Farmer ' and ' James Farmer (Cal. ii. 391),' and *insert* ' Lawrence Farmer — still in prison, May 8, '72.'

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773, line 11 from top: after 'Edgton' *insert* 'In Speed's map, "Edgeton," south-east of Oakham.'

line 10 from bottom: after '*Seaton*' *insert* 'In Speed's map, "Seyton," east-south-east of Uppingham.'

777, line 14 from bottom: after 'appl. (ii.)' *insert* ('Hughs').

line 2 from bottom: instead of 'Hollman' *read* 'Holman.'

779, line 8 from top: instead of '**L.R.**' *read* 'appl. (iii.).'

as also on line 8 from bottom.

782, line 3 from bottom: between 'from' and 'St.' *insert* 'All Saints and.'

785, line 20 from top: between 'from' and 'St.' *insert* 'All Saints and.'

789, line 7 from bottom: instead of 'Chas.' *read* 'Samuel.'

790, below line 19 from top *insert:*

8a. John Wall's house (m.pl.).
'72: **320 (259)**, appl.: No licence.

792, line 18 from bottom: in place of ? *i.q.* *read* 'brother of.'

793, below line 1 *insert:*

(1) one **Southall** (t^{r}), Richard Southwell (Cal. iii. 229), ej. from Basweek, Staffs.
'69: **R. 193***b*.

(2) Thomas Beck's house (m.pl.).
'69: **R. 193***b*.

(3) Thomas Harthill's house (m.pl.).
'69: **R. 193***b*;

and change (1), (2), (3) into (4), (5), (6).

797, line 10 from top: instead of **E. (343)** *read* '**E. (243)**.'

798, line 15 from bottom: after 'Christopher Cox' *delete* '(t^{r}).'

799, line 20 from top: for 'John Boun' *read* '**John Boun**.'
and after '(m.pl.)' *insert* (Cal. iii. 447), ej. from Settrington, Yorks: but had practised as a lawyer.

line 22 from top: instead of **E. (94)** *read* **E. (95)**.

802, line 6 from top: instead of 'Martin' *read* **Martin**; and after 'Daventry' *insert* '*i.q.* **Richard Martyn** (Cal. iii. 346), ej. from Monks' Kerby (Wk.).'

805, line 4 from top: in place of **E. (288)** *read* **E. (228)**.

807, line 16 from bottom: instead of 'John Worth' *read* '**John Worth**'; and after '(t^{r})' *insert* '(Cal. iii. 41), ej. from Kilby (NP.).'

809, line 19 from bottom: between (2); and **I.** *insert:* **321 (86) L.R.** by Nath. Ponder, May 10, '72.

line 16 from bottom: between '72: and **I.** *insert* **321 (86) L.R.** by Nath. Ponder, May 10, '72.

811, line 13 from top: between ; and **I.** *insert* **321 (86) L.R.** by Nath. Ponder, May 10, '72.

813, line 8 from bottom: between ; and **I.** *insert* **321 (86) L.R.** by Nath. Ponder, May 10, '72.

line 13 from bottom: for 'Well's' *read* 'Wells's.'

815, line 10 from bottom: between : and **E** *insert* '**321 (293)**, appl. by John Juxon, May 31, '72.'

line 5 from bottom: instead of 'Brades' *read* 'Bradles' (p. 600).

line 3 from bottom: instead of 'William's' *read* 'Williams's.'

816, line 20 from bottom: *Haresfield* should be '*Horfield*' (north of Bristol).

line 16 from bottom: 'appl. (ii.)' should be '**L.R.**'; and should be inserted in line 15 from bottom, between ';' and **321 (358)**.

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816, line 15 from bottom : after 'Davies' *insert* 'June 12, '72.'

817, line 6 from bottom : 'Goslett' should *read* 'Gostlett.'

819, between lines 7 and 8 from top *insert :*

(i.) '69 : **R. 148**, P^{g} at North Cheriton ; **R. 148*b***, P^{g} at Dunkerton ; **R. 149**, P^{g} at North Cadbury (all in Soms.) ; **R. 242**, P^{g} at Bradford-on-Avon ; **R. 244**, P^{g} at Horningham ; and **R. 244*b***, P^{g} at Warminster (all in Wilts).

line 18 from top : instead of 'Priston' *read* 'Pensford.'

line 9 from bottom : *add* 'I have placed it also under Glastonbury.'

822, line 17 from bottom : instead of 'William Tray' *read* **William Tray**.

825, at foot *insert :*

5. *Bristol.*

Mr. Ewins (t^{r}), *i.q.* **Thomas Ewens** (Cal. iii. 175-177), ej. from Bristol (St. Philip's and S. Michael's, &c.).

831, line 11 from bottom : after 'Taylor' *insert* ('Smyth'), *bis.*

833, line 20 from top : after 'Dunstan' *insert* ('Dunston').

834, line 12 from top : instead of 'Lombards' *read* 'Lombard St.'

841, line 5 from top : from **214*b*** *delete* '*b*.'

843, between lines 8 and 7 from bottom *insert* 'Amersham.'

between lines 3 and 2 from bottom *insert* '*Chalfont St. Giles.*'

859, first line : instead of IV. read III.

865, line 22 from top : after '**R. 179*b***' *insert* ('Duckins').

last line : between '72 and **E.** (**251**) *insert* **321** (**270**) appl. by John Light ('Hay' and 'Haginton'); **E.** (**135**), **L.I.** May 25, '72 ('Day' 'Haginton') ; **I.** (gen^{ll} t^{r}).

N.B.—[Haginton is *i.q.* Ockington or Oakington.]

866, After '12. *Fen Ditton*' *insert* '25. *Barrell* (*i.e.*, *Burwell*), *High Town*, from p. 870.

868, line 3 from bottom : instead of 'Cal. i.' *read* 'Cal. ii.'

line 2 from bottom : *delete* 'Cambs.' and *read* 'Hunts.'

869, last line : *vide* No. 8, p. 865.

870, line 4 from top : '*Barrell Hightown—i.e.*, *Burwell Hightown*,' to distinguish it from *Burwell Fen* (W. M. Palmer).

line 3 from bottom : '*Coles*'—*i.e.*, '*Cotes.*'

876, first line : 'Marvis' should read 'Morris.'

line 15 from bottom : *delete* '(Cal. . . . Bucks.' and *insert* '(Cal. ii. 303), ej. from Cottered, Herts.'

880, above line 10 from bottom *insert :*

4. (ii.) (1) to (5) on pp. 882, 883, as Congregationalists *not* Baptists. [*Vide* Urwick's 'Nonconformity in Herts,' p. 179.]

881, line 22 from bottom : **John Yates**. Neither **Jno. Yates** ej. from Binstead, Hants, nor **Joseph Yates**, of London (Cal. i. 198).

882, 883, the whole of section 4 (ii.) belongs to *Congregationalists* (p. 880) : not to Baptists.

883, line 7 from bottom : 'Croote, J.P.' should be 'Crooke, J.P.'

885, line 5 from top : 'Wither's' should be 'Withers's.'

line 13 from top : 'Reynold's' should be 'Reynolds's.'

887, line 17 from top : after **I.** *insert* ('Mumford').

888, line 16 from top : after '(m.pl.)' *insert* [signature is 'Juby'].

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888, after line 18 *insert :*

(3) Rob^{t} Kipping (S.P.).
'72 : signs Petition **320** (**304**).

after line 18 from top *insert* also :

(4) John Heath signs Petition **320** (**304**).
(5) James Cobb signs Petition **320** (**304**).
(6) Joseph Porie signs Petition **320** (**304**).
(7) Henry Greene signs Petition **320** (**304**).

890, line 17 from bottom : 'Martin Finch' should be '**Martin Finch**' (Cal. i. 425), ej. from some pl. in Derbyshire.

892, first line : 'Martin Finch' should be '**Martin Finch**' (Cal. i. 425), ej. from some pl. in Derbyshire.

line 8 from top : 'John Hooke' should be '**John Hooke**' (Cal. iii. 6), ej. from Greatwich.

896, line 20 from bottom : 'Deasley' should be 'Dearsely.'

lines 14 to 10 from bottom should be in the 'QUAKER' section.

898, line 14 from top : for 'Wdiow' *read* 'Widow.'

902, between lines 16 and 17 from bottom *insert* as *7a. Norwich* (St. Edmund's) lines 14 to 10 from bottom of p. 896.

904, line 9 from bottom : 'Folkherd' should be 'Folkerd.'

905, line 2 from top : '**300**' should be '**320**.'

908, line 13 from top : 'Sheere's' should be 'Sheeres's.'

912, line 13 from top : after '72' *insert* ('Cooper').

915, line 11 from top : after ''72' *insert* ('Sandall').

line 10 from bottom : instead of 'Thomas Benton (t^{r})' *read :*
'**Thomas Benton** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 13), ej. from Pulham, Norfolk.'

line 5 from bottom : after '(m.pl)' *insert* 'of Wattisfield Hall' (*vide* Cal. iii. 283).

923, above line 8 from bottom *insert :*

? (4) —Stanbridge (t^{r}).
'69 : **R. 222**.

932, line 15 from top : 'John Yardley' should be '**John Yardley** (t^{r}) (Cal. ii. 195), ej. from Cranham, Essex.'

933, on lines 5 and 13 from top, and lines 14 and 10 from bottom : 'Dr. J. Butler' should read 'Dr. Nich. Butler.'

line 9 from top : 'Chennil' should read 'Chennill.'

936, line 24 from bottom : 'Sammes' should read 'Sams.'

last line : *delete* 'Implied in above. No separate licence,' and *insert* '; **E.** (**61**), **L.I.** May 1, '72.'

944, line 7 from top : after '(50)' 'appl. (ii,)' should read : 'appl. (i.) by Richard Prowse,' and after 'appl. (ii.)' *insert* 'by Ri: Prowse.'

line 11 from top : after both '(i.)' and '(ii.)' *insert :* 'by Ri: Prowse.'

above line 16 from bottom, *insert :*

(4) one **Dent** (**Henry Dent**), (t^{r}), (Cal. iii. 371, 372), ej. from Ramsbury, Wilts.'
'69 : **R. 239***b* ('a Pention Scholemaster'), p^{g} at Cambourne.

946, line 14 from bottom : 'Kensington' should read 'Kennington, Lambeth.'

947, line 20 from top : *delete* '(Cal. i. . . . Bucks,' and *insert* (Cal. ii. 303), ej. from Cottered, Herts.

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950, line 14 from top: **John Man** was of Rawreth, and died there in 1666. (David's 'Nonconformity in Essex,' p. 270 n. It was **Richard Man** who was ejected from Danbery (*ibid.*, pp. 379-380).

951, line 20 from top: 'Ives (t^{r})' should probably be 'Jues' or 'Juice': for, according to Calamy (iii. 418), Thomas Juice was ej. from St. Martin's, Worcester, and 'afterwards (was) pastor of a congregation at Reading, where he died.'

952, line 14 from bottom: 'Parson's' should be 'Parsons's.'

955, line 6 from top: after ''72:' *insert* '**320 (90)**, appl. (i.) by John Hickes'; also alter (i.) and (ii.) to (ii.) and (iii.).

also after ''72:' in lines 9, 12, and 15 *insert* '*ut supra.*'

959, line 14 from top: 'Gabriel Sangar' should be **Gabriel Sangar** (Cal. i. 157-159), ej. from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields (*vide* p. 968).

960, line 18 from top: after ''72:' *insert* '**321 (106)**, appl. May 13, '72, by Dorman Newman;'

961, line 2 from top: after '**222***b*' *insert* ('Buscold').

962, line 2 from top: 'John James (t^{r})' should be '**John James** (t^{r}) (Cal. i. 288, 289), ej. from Ilsley, Berks.'

972, line 16 from top: 'King's Head Court' (according to S. P. Dom. Car. II. 237, 140) was in Old Street.

line 23 from top: **E.** (13) should be **E. (13) (Clarendon)**.

line 20 from bottom: **E.** (13) should be **E. (14)**.

line 11 from bottom: between ''72' and '**E**' *insert*:
320 (48) appl. (i.) by John Hickes; **320 (52)** appl. (ii.) by John Hickes.

974, line 11 from bottom: 'Vincent' should be '**Vincent.**'

977, line 8 from top: 'D^{r} John' should be 'D^{r} Nicholas.'

line 8 from bottom: **Parson's** should be **Parsons's**.

978, line 19 from bottom: after '*Horsley Down*' *insert* ('Fishmonger Alley').

980, first line: 'Hill's' should read 'Hills's.'

982, line 10 from bottom: after 'Sir J. W.' *insert* ('dated 6. Apr. 72 (!)).'

983, line 7 from bottom: for 'Bloxom' *read* 'Bloxon (Bloxom).'

987, lines 27, 20, 17, and 12 from bottom: 'Dr. J. B.' should be 'Dr. N. B.'
between lines 9 and 8 from bottom *insert*:

(6) **Mr. Collins** (t^{r}) *i.q.* **John Collins** (Cal. iii. 51), silenced when Chaplain to Gen^{l} Monk.
(i.) '69: **R. 221***b*.
(ii.) '72: licensed as Cong^{l} teacher in Geo: Best's house in Duke's Place, May 29, '72 (*vide* p. 981).

992, line 15 from top: 'Dr. J. Butler' should read 'Dr. N. Butler'; as also on line 23.

995, line 21 from top: after 'M^{r} Bright (t^{r})' *insert* [probably **Edward Bright** (t^{r}) (Cal. ii. 328), ej. from Goudhurst].

line 14 from top: 'Dr. J. Butler' should read 'Dr. N. Butler.'

1000, line 15 from top: 'Church' should read 'Parish.'

1002, line 19 from top: 'Glentwood' should read 'Glentworth.'

1003, line 20 from bottom: 'Colmer' should read 'Colemar.'

line 2 from bottom: *delete* 'Saunders' and the two brackets.

1004, line 12 from bottom: after ('Searles') *insert* (2).

1006, line 8 from bottom: *delete Biddenham* ('Biddendon') and *insert* '*Biddendon.*'

1007, line 23 from top: after 'at' *insert* 'Hastings and.'

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1008, line 9 from top : *add* 'Benjamin Bowyer's original licence is preserved at Sandwich.'

1012, line 16 from top : *add* ('from Wimbledon').

1014, lines 4 and 5 from top : *omit* '**321 (231)** . . . ('Purkins').' [These are for 'Benjamin' and 'Edward' Purkins.]

line 24 from bottom : 'Mr. King' should read : '**Mr. King** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 300), ej. from Ashted.'

1016, below 'II. CONGREGATIONAL' *insert :*

1. *Mortlake.*

(1) **David Clarkson** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 305, 306), ej. from Mortlake.
(2) John Beamish's house (m.pl.),
for Cong^{s} as well as Presb^{n} [*ut* p. 1011].

lines 16-20 from top : '*Frimley*, &c.' should be '*Farnborough*, Hants,' *q.v.* p. 1036.

line 12 from bottom : after 'Mr. Feake' *insert* ('A prominent Fifth Monarchy minister—in prison).'

1019, under '(i.) *East of Beachey Head*,' *insert :*

1. *Selscombe al. Sedlescomb*, with (1), (2) and (3) from p. 1026.

lines 19 and 16 from bottom : instead of 'Bothey' *read* 'Botley.'

1020, lines 11 and 12 : No. (2) is the correct allocation.

'(ii.) *On the Ouse*' should be inserted *after* East Grinstead, not before it.

1021, line 14 from top : '$\mathbf{M}_{r}$' should read '$\mathbf{M}^{r}$.'

1026, line 14 from top : *delete* '*Atherington*,' and *read* '*Ashington*,' adding after it 'between *Wiston* and *Thakeham*.'

line 20 from top : '*Thomas Wilmer*' more probably Congreg. than Presb., as he lived at *Shipley*, *q.v.* (p. 1029).

lines 12-4 from bottom : '*Selscomb*, &c.' should be placed at the head of p. 1019 ; and so should *Saddlescomb*, &c., p. 1029.

lines 6 and 3 : 'John Lover' should read '**John Lover**' [*ut supra* lines 20 and 14 from bottom].

1029, '11. *Saddlescomb*' should be '1.' p. 1019.

line 13 from bottom : after 'Cardford' *insert* '(*i.e.*, Kirkford).'

1031, lines 17 and 22 from top : after ''72' *insert* ('Willie').

line 7 from bottom : for **R. 175** *read* **R. 175***b*.

1035, after line 4 from bottom *insert :*

(5) Richard Wiggmore (S.P.)
(6) Peter White (S.P.)
(7) Thomas Bramley (S.P.)
(8) Ambrose Pearc(e) (S.P.)
(9) William Smith (S.P.)
(10) William Lane (S.P.)
(11) Thomas Rabbets (S.P.)
(12) Thomas Sexton sen^{r} (S.P.)
(13) Edward Lawrence (S.P.)
(14) Richard Badcock (S.P.)
(15) Anthony Hanington (S.P.)
(16) Walter Bacheler (S.P.)
(17) James K. Knight (S.P.)
(18) William Farr (S.P.)
(19) Henry Duckett (S.P.)
(20) Benjamin Crooke (S.P.)
(21) Stephen Hunt (S.P.)
(22) Edward Gilberd (S.P.)
(23) Richard White (S.P.)
(24) Stephen Slater (S.P.)

as all signatories of the Petition **321 (321).**

1036, after lines 6 and 8 from top *add* '**321 (164) L.R.** May 15, '72, by Dorman Newman.'

1037, line 2 from bottom : instead of 'Graene' *read* 'Greene.'

1039, line 15 from bottom : instead of '**364**' *read* '**364** back.'

1040, line 7 from bottom : instead of '6' *read* '18.'

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1041, line 13 from bottom: after 263*b* *insert* ('the Regicide's wife') from line 15 from bottom, where *delete*.

1046, lines 17 and 14 from bottom: after (ii.) *insert* **320** (**261**) appl. (iii.) by Tho. Blood.

1047, line 9 from bottom: *add* 'ministered in Wooburn, Beds, and Fareham.'

1050, after last line *add*:

9*a*. *Fordingbridge*.
'69: **R. 263*b*** ('very few').

9*b*. *Portsmouth*.
'69: **R. 262*b*** 'some small meetings of Anabaptists.'

between 7 and 8 *insert*:

7*a*. *Southamptan*.
(1) Richard King (t^{r}).
'69: **R. 264**.
(2) Thomas Trod (t^{r}).
'69: **R. 264**.
(3) William Harding sen^{r} (t^{r}).
'69: **R. 264**.

1052, V. FIFTH MONARCHISTS.

Southampton.
James Wise (t^{r}).
'69: **R. 264**.

1058, line 7 from bottom: before '**320** (**160**)' *insert* ('72).'

1059, line 7 from top: after (gen^{ll} t^{r}) *insert* ('of Salsbury').

1060, line 10 from top: befor ''69' *insert* (i.); and after it *insert* (ii.) '72: **320** (**160**) signs Acknowledgment of Wilts min^{rs}.'

line 20 from top: between it and next line *insert* '(i.) '69: **R. 239**, P^{g} at Calne; **R. 249*b***: P^{g} at Calne ('of Broomham').

line 21 from top: change (i.) into (ii.).

1061, line 22 from top: transfer from CONGREGATIONALISTS, 5. *Trowbridge* (1), (2) and (3) [p. 1070], numbering them as (3), (4), and (5).

1065, above line 15 from bottom *insert* '(i.) '69: **R. 242**, p^{g} at Tisbury.'

line 14 from bottom: before ''72' *insert* (ii.).

1069, line 7 from bottom: **R. 242** should read **R. 242*b***.

1070, *delete* 5. *Trowbridge* (1), (2), (3). They are really Presbyterian, not Congregationalists.

1073, line 6 from top: *delete* '*Bradford-on-Avon*' and *read* '*Bulford*.'

after line 20 *insert*:

(2*a*) James Taylor (t^{r}).
R. 242 ('a Shearman').

1074, line 9 from top: 'Parson's' should read 'Parsons's.'

lines 19 and 18 from bottom: *delete* '? Joseph Read (Cal. iii., 416) ej. from Great Witley, Worc.; more.'

1075, line 13 from top: (**259**) should read (**295**).

1082, line 7 from top: 'Richard Ford' should read 'Thomas Ford.'

line 23 from bottom: 'Sander's' should read 'Sanders's.'

1083, line 13 from bottom: 'John Stubbes' should read '**Henry Stubbs**.'

1085, line 14 from bottom: 'John Stubbes' should read '**Henry Stubbs**.'

1087, first line: 'Rogers' should read 'Rogers's.'

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1087, line 9 from top: 'Henry Butter' should read '**Henry Butler** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 225, 226), ej. from Yeovil.'

1091, line 9 from bottom: after 'Somerset' *insert* ('of Taunton St. James's').

line 8 from bottom: after 'appl.' *insert* (i).

line 7 from bottom: after 'Aylmer' *insert* '**321** (**14**) appl. (ii) by Thomas Stone, May, 7, '72.'

1094, line 8 from top: instead of 'Carter' *read* 'Roman.'

1095, lines 15 and 16: *not* from *Allenton*, but 'minister of Ilminster (1655-1657) Commonwealth Excheq^{r} Papers (290, 23).'

1096, lines 20 and 19 from bottom: *ut supra.*

1098, line 13 from top: John Musgrove (t^{r}) should read '**John Musgrove** (t^{r}) (Cal. iii. 226), ej. from some place in Soms. uncertain.'

1099, lines 19 and 20 from top: *delete* '[**321** (**42**)] appl. (iii.) by Mr. Payne.'

line 20 from top: '**321**' should read '**320**.'

1103, line 16 from bottom: after 'James Strong (t^{r})' *insert* 'minister of *Ilminster* (1655-1657) *ut supra* (p. 1095).

1105, line 11 from top: **220** should read **320**.

1107, line 26 from bottom: *not* from Allenton, but of *Ilminster* (*ut supra*) pp. 1095 and 1103.

line 18 from bottom: 'John' should read 'Thomas.'

1110, line 11 from bottom: before '69 *insert* (i), and on the line below it *add* (ii.) '72: **320** (**2**) signed Ackn^{t} of Devon ministers, Mar. 22, '72.

1111, lines 6 and 7: *not* from *Allenton*, but of *Ilminster*, *ut supra*, 1095, 1103, and 1107.

lines 17 and 18 from bottom, and line 3 from bottom: ditto. ditto.

line 15 from bottom: after **R. 145** *insert* 'P^{g} at Aishill.'

1113, above line 10 from bottom *insert:*

(i.) '69: **R. 249**, P^{g} at Lillington, Dorset.

line 10 from bottom: after ''72' *insert* **321** (**77**) signed Ackn^{t} of Dorset N.C. min^{rs}, May 10, '72.

1114, line 11 from bottom: after ('Mills') *insert*; **331** (**77**), &c., *ut supra.*

1117, line 10 from top: after (t^{r}) *insert* (Cal. iii. 190); *delete* [? Sellworthy] and *substitute* (close to Stogumber).

line 4 from bottom: 'John Hill' should read **John Hill** (Cal. iii. 190), ej. from Elworthy. So, too, line 6 from top.

1120, between lines 15 and 16 from top *insert:*

(i.) '69: **R. 144*b*** p^{g} at Stoke St. Mary; **R. 146*b*** P^{g} at Bridgwater.

line 16 from top: before ''72' *insert* (ii.).

line 9 from bottom: John Eaton (t^{r}) should read **John Eaton** (t^{r}) (Cal. ii. 119), ej. from Bridport, Dorset.

line 8 from bottom: before **320** (**93 I.**) *insert* '72: **320** (**57**) appl. (i.) by John Hickes; and *change* (i.), (ii.), and (iii.) to (ii.), (iii.) and (iv.).

1124, first line: William Clarke should read **William Clarke** (t^{r}), though not known to Calamy (a 'Nonconformist minister').

line 2: between ''72' and **E.** *insert* **321** (**77**) Signed Acknowlegm^{t} of Dorset min^{rs}, May 10, '72.

1125, line 12 from bottom: 'Parson's' should read 'Parsons's.'

1126, line 14 from bottom: After '— Anderton (t^{r})' *insert i.q.* John Anderton of Bridgwater (given in List of Somerset Friends, 1659).

line 12 from bottom: for John Batt, *read* 'Jaspar Batt,' as on p. 1125 line 17 from bottom.

line 2 from bottom: 'Rocke' should read 'Rock.'

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1128, lines 9 and 19 : after '72 *insert* **321 (77)** Signed Ackn^{t} of Dorset min^{r}, May 10, '72.

line 29 : after **I.** *insert* **321 (77)** signed Ackn^{t} of Dorset min^{rs}, May 10, '72.

line 13 from bottom : James Hallett (t^{r}) should read **James Hallett** (t^{r}) (Cal. ii. 148), ej. from Shaftsbury.

line 12 from bottom : after '72 *add* (licensed for Cerne Abbas, p. 1131).

line 11 from bottom : 'Wolfrey' should read 'Woolfrey.'

1129, line 6 from bottom : *add* **321 (77)** signed Acknowlegm^{t}, May 10, '72.

1130, line 5 from bottom : 'Steven's' should read 'Stevens's.'

1132, line 28 from bottom : *add* 'also signatory of the Pet^{n} **321 (197B)**.'

line 7 from bottom : *add* '**321 (197B)** signatory of the Petition.'

line 6 from bottom : 'Jaspar' should read 'Jasper.'

after line 5 from bottom : *add:*

(9) Joseph Michell
'72: signs Pet^{n} [**321 (197B)**]
(10) John Gilbert
'72 : signs Pet^{n}.
(11) John Torrington
'72 : signs Pet^{n}.
(12) Abraham Templeman
'72 : signs Pet^{n}.
(13) Richard Atkins
'72 : signs Pet^{n}.
(14) Thomas Hall
'72 : signs Pet^{n}.
(15) Samuel Symes
'72 : signs Pet^{n}.
(16) William Churchill
'72 : signs Pet^{n}.

1133, last line : **E. 85** should read **E. 88.**

1134, line 4 from top : after '72 *insert* '**321 (77)** signed Acknowlegm^{t} May 10, '72.'

1135, line 2 from bottom : Henry Parsons (t^{r}) should read **Henry Parsons** (t^{r}) (Cal. ii. 122, 123), ej. from Burstock.

last line : after '72 *insert* '**321 (77)** signed Ackn^{t}, May 10, '72.'

1136, line 27 from bottom : after 'Bragge's house' *add* 'and barne.'

line 26 from bottom : after **L.I.** *add* ; **E. (275)** ? **L.I.**

line 8 from bottom : 'John Brice' should read **John Brice** [*vide* line 3 from bottom].

line 7 from bottom : *delete* the whole : (W^{m} Hunt's lic. was a general one).

1137, line 25 from bottom : *add* 'and (Cal. iii. 184) ej. from Combe St. Nicholas, Soms.'

last line : *delete* 'Abettor' and *read* 'Persecutor'; Capt^{n} Alford 'returns' inhabitants in the sense of 'presenting,' 'charging,' or 'suing' them.

1138, line 10 from top : before ''65' *insert* '(i.).'

below line 12 from top : *insert:*

(ii.) '72 : **321 (77).** Signed Acknow^{t} of Dorset min^{rs}, May 10, '72.

lines 16 and 14 from bottom : Zachariah Mayne (t^{r}) should read **Zachariah Mayne** (though not known to Calamy).

line 15 from bottom : after ''72' *insert* **321 (77)** signs Ackn^{t} of Dorset Nonconformist Min^{rs}, May 10, '72.

1139, line 3 from bottom : after '72 *insert* **321 (1)** Petition signed by himself and 4 others, May 6, '72.

1140, line 6 from top : after '72 *insert* **321 (1)** Petition signed by himself, May 6, '72.

line 13 from top : after 'Congr.' *insert* **321 (30)** Petition signed by himself.

line 15 from top : after 'appl.' *insert* (i) ; **321 (30)** Petition signed by J. French, &c., appl. ii.

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1140, between lines 20 and 19 from bottom *insert:*

10*a*. *Puddletown.*

Edward Downer (t^{r}).

'72 : **E**. (255) **L.I.** Sep. 30, '72.

1141, first line : **177** should read **77**.

line 19 from top : after 'licence' *insert* **E.** (42) **L.I.**, Ap. 22, '72 (*vide Quarlestone*, p. 1139).

1142, line 5 from top : after '**I**' *insert* ; **321** (**77**) signed Ackn^{t}, May 10, '72.

1144, line 11 from top : after 'Ford,' *insert* **320** (**57**) appl (ii.) by John Hickes ; and *change* (ii.) line 12 into (iii.), and (iii.) in line 13 to (iv.).

line 14 from top : after 'I' *insert* ; **321** (**77**) signed Ackn^{t} of Dorset Non con. Min^{rs}, May 10, '72.

line 2 from bottom : after ''72,' *insert* **320** (**57**) appl. (i) by John Hickes ; and change (i.) to (ii.).

last line : change (ii.) and (iii.) into (iii.) and (iv.).

1145, first line : change (iv.) into (v.).

line 18 from top : before ''65' *insert* (i.).

between lines 19 and 20 from top *insert:*

(ii.) '72 **320** (**2**) signed Address of Deven min^{rs}, Mar. 22, '72.

line 4 from bottom : *delete* 'May 8' and *insert* '? June.'

1146, line 2 from top : *delete* '(or John Webber).'

line 20 from top : after 'Michell' *insert* ('Mitchell').

line 18 from bottom : after ED. *insert* p. 1148.

line 10 from bottom : transfer '**I.**' to *before* '**L.I.**, &c.'

1147, line 7 from bottom : after 'CONG.' *insert* p. 1177.

1148, line 14 from top : after ''72' *insert* **320** (**2**) signed Acknowl^{t} of Devon min^{rs}, Mar. 22, '72.

1150, line 10 from top : after 'Bradbeer' *insert* ('Bradbeare'); and for Bradbeece' *read* 'Bradbeech.'

line 12 from top : after ''72' *insert* ('Bradbeech').

line 14 from top : after ''72' *insert* ('Broadbeare').

1152, line 12 from top : 'William Crompton' should read **William Crompton** (Cal. ii. 13), ej. from Collumpton.

1156, line 6 from top : instead of 'Ap. 20, '72 ; **I.**' *read* 'Ap. 22, '72 ; **I.**'

1157, lines 14, 21, 33, and 35 from top, and line 3 from bottom : after ''72' *insert* **320** (**2**) Signed Ackn^{t} of Deven min^{rs}, Mar. 22, '72.

1158, line 5 from top, and lines 16, 11, and 2 from bottom : after ''72' *insert* **320** (**2**) Signed Ackn^{t} of Devon min^{rs}, Mar. 22, '72.

line 24 from bottom : after ''72' *insert* **321** (**77**) signs Ackn^{t} of Dorset min^{rs}, May 10, '72.

1159, line 7 from top : before ''65' *insert* (i.) and below line 7 *insert:*

(ii.) '72 : **320** (**98**) Signed Ackn^{t} of Cornwall min^{rs}.

line 10 from top : before '65 *insert* (i.) and below line 10 *insert:*

(ii.) '72 : **320** (**2**) Signed Addr. of Devon min^{rs}, Mar. 22, '72 ('Jno. Jurdaine').

(22*a*) **Mr. Tickel** (t^{r}), *i.e.* **John Tickle** (Cal. ii. 114), ej. from Exeter, but afterwards conformed.

'65 : **R.** **307*b*** ; **R.** **398**, residing in Exeter.

1160, line 13 from top : after ''72' *insert* **320** (**2**) Signed Acknowledg^{t}, Mar. 22, '72.

1161, line 6 from top : below it *add* '72 : *q.v.* p. 1158.

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1161, lines 17 and 13 from bottom : after '72 : *insert* **320** (2) Signed Acknowledg^{t}, Mar. 22, '72.

1163, line 16 from top : ''69' should read ''65.'

1165, line 4 from top : after 'appl.' *insert* (i.).

line 5 from top : after 'licensed' *insert* ; **321** (50) appl. (ii.) by Ri: Prowse.

line 19 from top : before '65 *insert* (i.) ; and below below line 19 *insert :*

(ii.) '72 : **320** (2) Signed Ackn^{t} Mar. 22, '72.

1166, line 24 from top : '**E**' should read '**320**.'

1169, lines 19 and 21 from top : **404** should read **404*b***.

1172, line 17 from top : after ''72' *insert* **320** (57) appl. (i.) by John Hickes ; and after 'appl.' *insert* (ii.).

line 5 from bottom : 'appl. iii., &c.' should follow **I.** (g^{ll} t^{r}) line 4 from bottom.

1174, line 9 from top : after ''72' *add* ('Welstreet').

1177, line 19 from top : 'Treesham' should read 'Trusham.'

line 12 from bottom : 'Ralph Spragg' should read **Ralph Spragg** [*i.e.* Mr. Ralph Sprake (Cal. ii. 98) a Dorset man (Lyme Regis)].

1181, line 14 from top : before **R**, *insert* '65.

1185, line 5 from top : *delete* (Barse).

1186, line 21 from bottom : after 72: *insert* **320** (98) Signs Acknowl^{t} of Cornwall min^{rs}.

line 2 from bottom : after '72 : *insert* **320** (98) Signs Ackn^{t} of Cornwall min^{rs} ('W. Toms').

1187, line 19 from top : before '65 *insert* (i.) and below line 19 *insert :*

(ii.) '72 : **320** (98) signed Address, &c. ('Thomas Traverse').

line 9 from bottom : after '72 : *insert* **320** (98), &c., *ut supra.*

line 2 from bottom : 'Rowse' should read 'Rouse.'

1188, line 7 from top : after ''72' *insert* **320** (98) Signed Ackn^{t} of Cornwall Min^{rs} ('Th: Hancocke').

lines 11 and 3 from bottom : after '72 : *insert* '*ut supra*' on line 3, adding ('W. Trevithicke').

1189, lines 4, 16, and 33 from top : after '72 : *insert* '*ut supra*'; with ('Otho Whitehorne') after insertion on line 4 ; and ('Th. Tingcombe') after that on line 33.

line 18 from top : '20' should read '22.'

above line 16 from bottom *insert :*

(2) **William Treis** (t^{r}) (Cal. i. 355), ej. from St. Mabyn.
'72 : **320** (98) Signed Ackn^{t} of Cornwall min^{rs}.

1190, lines 3, 17, 23, and 29 from top : after '72 *insert* '*ut supra.*'

1191, lines 1, 9, 16, and 28 from top, and line 2 from bottom : after '72 : *insert* '*ut supra.*'

line 15 from top : Stephen Lobb (t^{r}) should read **Stephen Lobb** (Cal. does not know him).

line 28 from top : after insertion *add* ('J. Langsford').

line 2 from bottom : after insertion *add* ('J. Cowbridg').

1192, line 18 and 5 from bottom : after '72 : *insert* **320** (98) Signed Ackn^{t}.

line 18 from bottom : after insertion *add* ('R. Flamanke').

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1194, line 6 from top : 'Charles de La March' should read **Charles de la March** (t^{r}), *i.q.* **M^{r} Le Marsh** (Cal. ii. 267), ej. from Guernsey Island.

1198, line 8 from top : 'Charles Morton' should read **Charles Morton.**

line 9 from top : after '72 : *insert* 320 (98) Signed Acknowl^{t} of Cornwall min^{rs}.

line 8 from bottom : before '65' *insert* (i.) and below line 8 *insert :*

(ii.) '72 : 320 (98) Signed Ackn^{t} of Cornwall min^{rs}.

below last line : *insert ;*

42. *St. Just.*

Edward Sheffield (t^{r}) (Cal. i. 352), ej. from St. Just.
'72 : 320 (98) Signed Ackn^{t} of Cornwall min^{rs}.

1198, line 6 from top : after ''72' *insert* (2).

1203, line 6 from top : 'Roger's' should read 'Rogers's.'

1213, below last line, *insert :*

2. *Llangennyth.*

(1), (2), and (3), as on p. 1218.

1214, last line : 'Kildandy' should read 'Kildaudy.'

1218, line 7 from bottom : 'Gower' should be Carmarthenshire, and (1), (2), and (3) should be transferred to p. 1213.

1224, line 17 from bottom : 'Richard's' should read 'Richards's.'

'15. Panteg.' This section should be placed with QUAKERS.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

I. SUBJECTS ; II. NAMES

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I. SUBJECTS; II. NAMES

Abbreviations Used:

639 = No. 639 of Tenisonian MSS. in Lambeth Palace Library.
B. = S.P. Dom. Entry Book, No. 27.
O.R. = 'Original Records,' Vol. I.
'65 = 1665.
'69 = 1669.
'72 = 1672.
'76 = 1676.
Pr. = Presbyterian.
C. = Congregationalist.
B. = Baptist.
Q. = Quaker.
T. = Teachers licensed.
H. = Householders licensed.
Cs. = Conventicles.
Crs. = Conventiclers.

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